

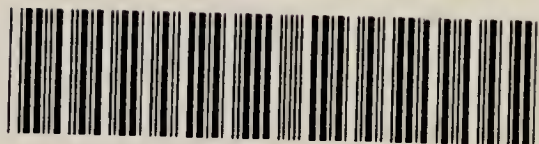


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PRIMITIVE SOCIETY  
AND ITS VITAL STATISTICS





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ITS VITAL STATISTICS

BY  
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*In Central Australia a brother may speak freely to his elder sister in blood but at a distance say of forty yards. But he may not speak to a younger sister. If, however, it is necessary to do so, he must remain at least a hundred yards away. This restraint between brothers and sisters, which exists in various forms among primitive races, has been explained as a custom intended to prevent incest. It is just in connection with practices such as these that I have asked myself if origins of restraint from incestuous relations should not likewise be regarded from the point of view of the number of children in a family and their respective ages. In an Australian family the number of children living simultaneously did not average more than three, and these children were separated one from another by intervals of at least three or four years in their ages. The possibility of any sort of sexual relation between an elder sister and a younger brother was excluded in a quite natural manner — a ten-year-old girl, or one even younger, usually went to her future husband's hut, and a few years later she was a mother. When her younger brother attained the age of initiation, and secured the right to have relations with a woman, his elder sister was already a mother, about twenty years old, and that, in Australia, was a somewhat advanced age for a woman. Any closer relations between them were, hence, made extremely improbable in consequence of her being married, and of their respective ages. The case was rather different if the brother was elder than the sister. But then also, a girl some four years younger than her brother was generally taken possession of as a wife by some tribesman before her brother was admitted to the rite of initiation. Unless, of course, there was a still younger sister. But in that case, too, the enforced restraint of the youth until he had been through initiation made it very difficult for him to have intimate relations with her. It is not my task here to consider the question in detail of how the small number of children in the family and their respective ages, as well as the early marriages of the girls, made sexual relations between brothers and sisters difficult. The factors mentioned*

above in all probability existed in the distant past. They inevitably decreased the likelihood of incestuous relations, and in any case made them extremely rare. In other words, they tended against such relations becoming a general custom.

I have taken the above example as one of those which clearly emphasise the necessity for taking what we to-day call vital statistics into consideration when studying primitive communities. If we are properly to realize the extent, scope and application of primitive customs and institutions, it is indispensable to estimate their weight, i. e., to consider them in connection with the number of persons who come under their influence. I return to this problem several times in the course of the succeeding pages. Being aware of this necessity I decided to analyse the size and composition of population in the primitive community. I began that work many years ago and in 1901 I published in Polish a contribution to the subject: *Pierwotne społeczeństwo i jego rozmiary* (*The primitive community and its size*). The fundamental principles of the present work are the same as those of that contribution, they are only supported by a greater collection of facts. A second part has been added, containing tribal statistics. I devoted many years to this laborious compilation of data on tribal population. As I desire to avoid the possible reproach that I have made arbitrary estimates of tribal population, I have given exhaustively all the statistical data I could find for each tribe under consideration and this will render it possible for those interested to make estimates for themselves. But I have been most of all concerned with something more important, namely, to show by my contribution to the subject, that there exists a division of primitive life not hitherto sufficiently taken into consideration by science: that of vital statistics. (There is, however, Prof. A. M. Carr-Saunders' work: *The Population Problem*. Oxford 1922, which treats some subjects contained herein.) It would serve no useful purpose to dwell at length upon the difficulties which I met with in my efforts to give a more precise form to this question. The existing numerical data on primitive communities are of very doubtful value. They are extremely meagre, far from being exact and they have really just got by chance into the pages of books of first-hand information. They must inevitably arouse a host of reservations in the mind of every inquirer. As a result of this paucity and small value

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*of material, I have been obliged to make use of rough and ready methods of reckoning, in cases where present-day statistics has recourse to complicated and neat mathematical formulae which take a host of active factors into account. I have in mind here my mathematical expression of conditions under which the population of a tribe would remain stationary. In view of all these difficulties, I do not therefore regard this work as sufficiently complete, or as a sufficiently exact depiction, from the statistical point of view, of the primitive community. For instance, I have not given as full consideration to some races of primitive population as to others: the apprehension that I should be obliged to have recourse to still more inexact material than that of which I had made use, has restrained me from considering them all to the same extent.*

*I express my heartiest thanks to Miss H. E. Kennedy, who was kind enough to undertake the translation into English of the first part of this book and to Mr. A. Truskowski for his help in connection with the second part. I am also indebted to the National Culture Fund of Poland for the financial aid it has given me for the publishing of this work.*

*Ludwik Krzywicki*





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PRIMITIVE SOCIETY



## I. SOCIAL ISOLATION

1. Social dispersion in the period of savagery.  
Rarity of intercourse between man and man.

“Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briars!”

Let us invert this prophecy of Isaiah and apply it not to the future, but to the remote past, when it will describe very accurately the state of things then existing.

In that remote past, the earth was all overgrown with “thorns and briars”, that is, with wild-growing plants from which man gathered not over-plentiful crops. And even when at times plant crops were fairly, or even very plentiful in proportion to the population, this surplus did not outlast the period of maturity of the fruit, bulbs and roots, and what was not then used was wasted: during the remaining months the plants were only weeds and briars which were of but little use to man. And amid this vegetation there lived game animals which, except in the season when they were plentiful, were also not numerous enough to maintain more than a few small groups of human beings. Nature, not being compelled by human foresight to produce food on a spot chosen in advance, as happens when agriculture and cattle-breeding are practised, provided man with an uncertain maintenance, but usually insufficient to satisfy his needs. It was, too, provided in a rather irregular manner. No doubt there were some more fertile localities, but they yielded abundant food only at seasons when troops of nomadic animals migrated through them, whole shoals of fish swam down the rivers or plant food was ripe. Those were days of abundance of food, and of pleasant leisure, merry games and even frenzied enjoyment,—joyful events interrupting the monotony of heavy, daily care for the provision of food. But it was not those joyful times which determined the density of population on a given area; that

density was determined not by seasons of plenty, but by the amount of food which was at the disposal of man at the worst and most sterile time of the year, especially if that season lasted too long.

Such were the conditions prevailing in the remote past of humanity, and the same conditions prevail even now among those peoples which have remained at the stage of savagery. The scantiness and perhaps even more the uncertain yield of the sources of food, which are inseparable from the lowest stages of social culture, cause man, apart from the seasons when food is plentiful, to roam about in groups which are composed of a small number of persons, and are separated from each other by considerable distances. Population is infinitely sparse. In general, on this level of culture the statement holds good which J. Baegert towards the end of the XVIII century made about the natives of California (from the promontory of St. Lucas to the Rio Colorado). "There are very few Californians, and in proportion to the extent of the country, almost, as few, as if there were none at all... A person may travel in different parts four and more days without seeing a single human being..."<sup>1</sup> The Australian continent, which over such a large area has retained through the ages the customs of savagery, had at the time of its discovery a population of not more than 300,000 aborigines, if indeed its population ever attained that number.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> J. Baegert, 358.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates of the aboriginal population of Australia vary very greatly. In Australia the population was very thinly spread over the regions (amounting to nearly one-seventh part of the continent) which T. L. Mitchell explored: he did not estimate the number of aborigines at more than 6,000; on the contrary, he believed it to be considerably less, T. L. Mitchell, II. 351. (This territory, i.e. the area drained by the Murray-Darling rivers, was among the better populated parts of Australia, though then already depopulated by epidemics). From observations made among the Watchandie tribe in Western Australia, A. Oldfield, 220, concluded that the entire aboriginal population of the Australian continent did not exceed 150,000 souls. But the Watchandie country not being very barren, Oldfield believes this figure to be exaggerated. E. J. Eyre, II. 413, estimated the number of Australian natives at the time of the discovery at 200,000. Only G. Bennett (quoted by J. Henniker Haddon, 116) ventures to suggest the improbable figure of 1,000,000 souls and L. de Freycinet, II (part 2). 735, gives an extravagant estimate of 1,139,400 souls; yet even these numbers would correspond to a population of only 70—80,000 persons on the area of France. G. Grey, II. 246, did not attach much importance to calculations of the number of natives, because he had found the number of inhabitants to a square mile to vary very much from district to district, from season to season, and to depend upon a great variety of local circumstances. In the year 1921, the total number of Australian aborigines was estimated at 58,771; of these, 25,887 would be living in West Australia and 17,349 in the Northern Territory (*Official Year-book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, XV (1922). 1054).



means that if in the French Republic those conditions of human existence prevailed which prevailed in savage Australia, France would, on its whole area, accomodate only about 20,000 inhabitants. And even if we took into account some exceptionally high and therefore improbable estimates of the aboriginal population of Australia, we should obtain on that continent, for a region as large as France, at most four times the aforesaid number. Tierra del Fuego, and still more so Tasmania, seem to have surpassed Australia in this respect; in the same conditions regarding population, as existed in Tierra del Fuego,<sup>1</sup> France would contain some 50,000 inhabitants and, under Tasmanian<sup>2</sup> conditions, some 40,000—60,000. On small islands alone, at that stage of culture, the density of population is much greater owing to the greater abundance of food: France would contain some hundred thousand, if its density were as great as on the Andaman Archipelago. Of course, all these calculations are of extremely doubtful exactitude. One thing is, however, certain: even if we should double and redouble the figures given above, thus increasing the population of the above named territories to an absolutely inadmissible degree we should yet finally obtain an extremely small total for those areas. Let us repeat J. Baegert's statement: "there are very few Californians, and, in proportion to the extent of the country, almost as few, as if there were none at all." At best we should get, in some regions, amply and permanently provided with game and plant food, on an area corresponding to an average department in France, a population of a few hundred souls. But such a figure (we must emphasize that very strongly) would be considerably higher than even the most exaggerated estimates of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania or Tierra del Fuego allow. To obtain a more favourable result, we should have to take into account exclusively a few, exceptionally fertile districts of those homelands of savage humanity. Indeed, on the Australian con-

<sup>1</sup> Th. Bridges, 224, placed the number of Fuegians at 6,000 souls before the advent of the Whites, S. K. L o t h r o p, 25, at 9,000.

<sup>2</sup> We estimate the former aboriginal population of Tasmania at most at 8,000 souls. A. Oldfield, 222, only admits 4,000. According to J. E. Calder, in *J. A. I.*, III (1874). 13, Robinson always maintained that 6,000—8,000 Tasmanians were living in 1803. To what a degree the estimate of the population of Tasmania varies may be illustrated by the following: H. Melville estimated, in 1803, the number of Tasmanians at 20,000, whilst J. Milligan gives 1,500—5,000, and J. Barnard 2,000; Wm. Howitt reckons 1,600, Backhouse only 700—1,000. Cf. H. Ling Roth 1890, 168—169; R. Brough Smyth, II. 410; J. Bonwick 1870, 83—84; Wm. Howitt, I. 202; J. Barnard, 602.

continent, which, if only on account of its large size, was very diversified as regards the amount of available food, there were comparatively populous regions alongside very empty ones. It suffices to glance at the descriptions of the earlier expeditions into the interior, in order to notice this variability of conditions. For example, when Ch. Sturt went along the banks of the Upper Murrumbidgee, he found in more than 180 miles not more than 50 natives; whilst on the Murray the days were few when a company of 200 did not visit him<sup>1</sup> — true, the natives sent “ambassadors” from one tribe to another, in order to prepare for the approach of the white visitors, and this increased the number of blacks whom Sturt met; but anyhow, these “ambassadors” could only bring such numerous crowds with them because the country was less sparsely populated than elsewhere.

This sparse population lived in small communities. “The number travelling together (in Australia) depends, in a great measure, upon the period of the year, and the description of food that may be in season. If there is any particular variety more abundant than another, or procurable only in certain localities, the whole tribe generally congregate to partake of it. Should this not be the case, they are probably scattered over their district in detached groups or separate families.”<sup>2</sup> Even at a higher stage of culture, among the Eskimo,<sup>3</sup> “all depends upon the distribution of food at the different seasons. The migrations or the accessibility of the game compel the natives to move their habitations from time to time and hence the distribution of the villages depends, to a great extent, upon that of the

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Sturt 1833, I. 50—51; II. 126. How unequally the various regions of the Australian continent were peopled, is testified by the following figures, calculated on the basis of first-hand data. Among the Wonnarua there was one native to every 4 sq. miles (E. M. Curr, III. 352); among the Kariera, one native to 5 sq. miles (A. R. Brown, in *J.A.I.*, XLIII (1913). 146); among the Kalkadoon, one to 4—5 sq. miles (B. H. Purcell, 19); on Halifax Bay, one to 9 sq. miles (E. M. Curr, II. 424); in South Australia one to 25 sq. miles, J. D. Woods, VII—X (12,000 souls on an area of 300,000 sq. miles); among the Yanda one to 200—300 sq. miles, E. M. Curr, II. 360. True, in West Victoria an old Australian, named Weeratt Kuyunt, told J. Dawson 1881, 4, that the natives of the great plains which have Mt. Elephant as a centre, were once “like flocks of sheep and beyond counting;” but such an estimate can by no means be taken literally. The density of population there was probably not greater than that which E. J. Eyre, II. 372, found on the Murray from Moorundie, the most densely populated part of the country, namely about 3—4 natives to every mile of river, which as it winds very considerably in its course, would give a large population to the sq. mile (exclusive of the visitors, who frequent the river from remote tribes of the back scrubs on either side, and stay during the fishing season).

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Boas 1884—’85, 419.



animals that supply them with food." The size of these groups is small. Some twelve to fifteen, at best some twenty to fifty individuals,—such are the numbers of the every-day community, that is, of a single group remaining during many weeks or even months separated by a more or less considerable distance from the neighbouring groups, which are quite as small in numbers. Thus the Fuegians were always dispersed in small family parties; only in a few places along the shore, where the supply of food was more abundant, a few families might be found at one time, numbering altogether among them 20—40 souls, "but even those approaches towards association are rare."<sup>1</sup> The Veddas "lived in pairs and only occasionally assembled in greater numbers."<sup>2</sup> The conditions of existence seem to have been more favourable on the Andaman Archipelago: "the islanders are, generally, divided in small groups, the numbers of which vary considerably, some not containing more than ten individuals, while in others as many as 200—300 may be found, the great majority of these groups of the natives consist on an average of 30—50 men, woman and children."<sup>3</sup> The Tasmanians roamed about in groups of 10, or 20, or at most 30 souls, and, as one of Cook's companions wrote, there "never were more than three or four huts found in a place, and these capable of containing 3—4 persons each only."<sup>4</sup> On the Australian continent the same was normally observed. The earlier expeditions used to meet everywhere just such small groups: "we fell in with a numerous tribe of natives, who, added to those who still accompanied us, amounted to 53."<sup>5</sup> In Queensland the natives lived in groups of 20 to 25 persons.<sup>6</sup> Of course, larger groups were also found in Australia, for sometimes two hundred or even several hundred natives crowded together at the news of strangers having arrived, or, owing to a abundant season, camped together. But such rare or accidental gatherings cannot serve as a model of

<sup>1</sup> R. Fitzroy, II. 178. J. Weddell, 184, estimates at 80 souls the Fuegian "tribe" he saw (for a tribe he took some rather casual gathering of two or three neighbouring groups, attracted by the news that white men had landed).

<sup>2</sup> J. Davy, 118.

<sup>3</sup> F. J. Mouat, 300.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Ling Roth 1890, 117—119.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Sturt 1833, I. 18. Cf. the journeys of Ch. Sturt, T. L. Mitchell, E. J. Eyre and others.

<sup>6</sup> *Globus*, LVI. 124.

every-day social relations at this stage of culture. On an average there would be, on an area corresponding to one of the French departments, some 10—15 groups, each consisting of 15 to 20 persons.<sup>1</sup> A group of this kind, as far as every-day life and the habitual course of events is concerned, forms a definite whole, standing apart from the outside world. Just as, amid luxuriant vegetation, single trees may prevent us from seeing the forest as a whole, so it often happened that this dispersion prevented observers from perceiving that hidden but very essential tie, which bound such neighbouring groups together. They were even looked upon, to a certain extent, as independent tribal communities. For the moment, however, we will not go into the question of the existence, or, otherwise, of the nature of a permanent social tie between the adjoining groups; it will suffice to state here the established fact, that in a state of so-called savagery man lives his every-day life in very small groups composed of little more than a dozen, or at best a few dozens of persons, and that often during whole weeks or even months he scarcely sees anybody outside his group. Such are, at this stage of culture, the limits of daily social intercourse, — such are the opportunities for the daily exchange of thoughts and sentiments. To meet, apart from the seasons of copious food, some neighbouring band, is by way of being a great event interrupting the monotony of daily life at that stage. Only at the seasons of abundant food many groups meet at one place. Thus, in some parts of Queensland, this happened once in three years, in accordance with the triennial cycle of ripening of the nuts of the Bunya-Bunya tree (*Araucaria Bidwelli*).<sup>2</sup> On the Murray, the same took place once a year, when fish were plentiful; for example, at Moorundie, when the Murray annually inundated the flats, fresh-water crayfish appeared in such vast numbers that 400 natives lived upon them for weeks together and the numbers thrown away would have sustained 400 more; the fish were caught by the women; and in 2—3 hours a woman would procure as many fish as would last her family for a day.<sup>3</sup> At the same

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<sup>1</sup> Each group roams within a square of 20 to 30 miles, H. W. Breton, 216; they do not travel farther than 50 to 60 miles from the place they consider as their residence, Ch. Wilkes, II. 187.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 273; A. W. Howitt 1904, 595.

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 252—253.

time of the year, at the Rufus and at Lake Victoria, above 600 natives usually collected.<sup>1</sup> Then there was abundance of food and occasion for leisure. All conditions existed for making the camp resound with merriment and dances. Of course assemblies of this kind were also periods of pulsing social life: youths were initiated into the duties of adult age, great entertainments were held, mutual relations between the groups were regulated. That wider bond between the groups, invisible in every-day life, now made itself fully evident — the tribal bond, or sometimes even an intertribal bond, embracing the entire area, from which the groups had come to gather at the encampment.<sup>2</sup> The size of these meetings may serve us as a measure for that larger, tribal (or sometimes inter-tribal) connexion between the groups, and also for the most extensive scene of social intercourse, which at any time can exist at that stage of culture. So, to show the size of those gatherings, let us quote a few figures, all, by the way, taken from the Australian continent. Apparently it was an encampment of this kind, left empty after a gathering like that described above, that T. L. Mitchell is speaking of, when he describes a native camp, where he counted the remains of 135 fires, and as one fire was seldom lighted for less than three persons, there must have been, at least, 400 persons.<sup>3</sup> Again, Ch. Sturt relates that at the mouth of the Darling River he saw an agglomeration of seventy big huts, capable of holding 12—15 men each.<sup>4</sup> But even more exact indications of the number of persons present at such occasions are not lacking. Broadly speaking, we may agree with the assertion that gatherings of 500 persons were apparently very rare in Australia.<sup>5</sup> Yet, at least in the more densely populated regions, even more populous gatherings were held. A. L. P. Cameron saw in Western Queensland, gatherings of 800—1,000 persons.<sup>6</sup> S. Gason has seen as

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<sup>1</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 372.

<sup>2</sup> The aborigines from a distance of 100 to 200 miles come to feast upon the bunya nuts, E. J. Eyre, II. 283; some tribes come to assemblies from a distance of 80—100 miles, and probably farther, H. W. Breton, 233; over 100 miles, E. M. Curr, II. 465; see also R. H. Mathews, in *J. Roy. N. S. Wa.*, XXVIII (1894). 108.

<sup>3</sup> T. L. Mitchell 1839, II. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Sturt 1833, I. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Dumont d'Urville, II. 296.

<sup>6</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, 344.



many as a thousand men taking part in the ceremonies of Mindarie,<sup>1</sup> and Cohen, in describing an initiation ceremony, at which five tribes, from distances up to 200 or 300 miles away, assembled, estimates the men alone at 700.<sup>2</sup> J. Dawson tells us that in West Victoria native gatherings were held at which up to 2,500 persons were present;<sup>3</sup> near Maryborough there was an initiation festival in which some 3,000 persons took part, coming from territories within a radius of 50—70 miles round the gathering-place.<sup>4</sup> Of course, we have reported the largest gatherings, of which we could find any mention. Some of these, therefore, were exceptionally big assemblies.<sup>5</sup> Now, in Australia these gatherings were the most extensive opportunities of social intercourse; they happened at most once in a year and lasted but some two or three weeks. This means that but once in a year, or where there were no seasons of abundant food, only once in two or in several years, the Australian native was present at assemblies comprising a few

<sup>1</sup> S. G a s o n, in *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895). 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Au. A. J.*, I. (1897). No. 4, p. 83: in one of the ceremonies a body of 300 warriors advanced against the natives, *ib.*, No. 6, p. 115: at the end of the ceremony about 200 warriors proceeded in the direction of the mountain, where one of the tribes, numbering 150 men, approached towards them, *ib.*, I (1898). No. 1, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> J. D a w s o n 1881, 3 (this author saw up to 200 playing ball, *ib.* 6).

<sup>4</sup> A. W. H o w i t t 1904, 606. Let us have a few more figures: Thomas saw an encampment of 800 souls, R. Brough Smyth, I. 124; R. Hill and G. Thornton, I, report gatherings near Sydney of 300—400 persons; E. J. Eyre, II, 272, speaks of annual assemblies at the Rufus and Lake Victoria where above 600 natives met in such large numbers for no other purpose but enjoyment, at Moorundie there were 400—500 natives on such occasions; Ch. Sturt 1849, II. 75. had his way barred by 300 to 400 native men, and an indefinite number of women and children; in Queensland there were corroborees, estimated at 500 natives, Tom Petrie, 23; B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen 1899, 280, relate that at an initiation festival of the Arunta over 100 men were present; Cl. Hodgkinson, 222, speaks about meetings where the number of persons present (children not reckoned) was evidently not less than 500—600.

<sup>5</sup> There were in North America, at a higher stage of social culture, much larger gatherings. In the Great Lakes region *Jes. Rel.*, XLII. 223, refer in 1655—'56, to an assembly of 3,000 men, held to conclude a treaty of peace, as an event worthy of notice; B. Vimont, *ib.* XXIII. 279, reports that in 1643 the news of Nicollet's coming assembled 4,000—5,000 men. A. G. Ellis, quoted by W. J. Hoffman, 25, said of an assembly (about 1821) of 5,000 Indians, young and old, women and papooses, that such a gathering was seldom seen. In the Columbia River basin, such gatherings were a settled annual event during the salmon season; A. Ross, 117—118, speaks of an encampment formed during the salmon season numbering 3,000 souls or more, but adds that the permanent inhabitants of the place did not exceed 100 persons, the rest being strangers from different tribes, who resorted thither, not for the purpose of catching salmon, but chiefly for gambling and speculation. The above Indian gatherings are many times more numerous than those of Australian natives, although we did not seek out the largest in America.

hundred, or in exceptional cases over a thousand persons. Only seldom, and only if he was an old man with authority, did he witness similar gatherings of other tribes than his own. In Poland, towards the end of the XIX century we used to deplore that our peasant was, as it were, outside the course of modern life. And yet that peasant, even in the most remote parts, at the end of the nineteenth century, had infinitely more lively intercourse: every week in the parish church he met a considerably more numerous assembly of people than did any Australian at any gathering, he went to fairs and church festivals where there were 2,000 to 15,000 people present; many, even though but once in a lifetime, visited Czenstochowa where they came into contact with from 20,000 even up to a few hundred thousand of their countrymen; not to mention that he visited towns, that he was a conscript, that news reached him by various ways, etc. The current of new impressions in the stage of savagery was contained in a very narrow bed, and besides, did not as a rule flow beyond the tribal territory — and that not only because the people were so scattered, but also because, generally, each tribe spoke a different language, had different customs and usually lived in a state of warfare with its neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

2. Linguistic differentiation in savagery. Linguistic stocks of North America. Linguistic and social isolation among the Indians of the Amazon basin. The islanders of Melanesia and the highlanders of Assam.

1. Actually, at the lower stages of culture, we observe not only an abundance of dialects, but also of mutually unintelligible languages — a circumstance which must prevent close relations between

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to consider also gatherings of a warlike nature. R. Brothers, in *Au. A. J.*, I (1897), No. 3, p. 9, relates, that at the beginning of the XIX century, a tribe near Maneroo, numbering about 2,000 people, was exterminated for having killed a Myell-wallin who was travelling. Warriors came from all parts and they mustered around the cannibals in five armies, each numbering 3—4,000 men and they slaughtered the whole of them. It is unlikely, that such large assemblies existed in Australia, but there occasionally existed fairly large numbers of combatants. G. Taplin 2. saw in 1849 a battle where about 500 of the Narrinyeri met some 800 of the Wakanuwan. But this battle was an exception; small numbers were the rule. Cf. the figures given by L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 219.

neighbours, even if other circumstances are favourable. Broadly speaking, between tribes which speak languages of different origin, there is, at these stages of culture, a hereditary enmity, handed down from generation to generation. In North America, Indians speaking dialects of the same stock were much better able to keep the peace than those who were unable to communicate with each other except through interpreters or by sign-language: "difference of speech has undoubtedly been the most fruitful cause of their perpetual warfare with each other."<sup>1</sup> The same has been said of the Brazilian tribes.<sup>2</sup> "It was this ignorance of each other's language that kept alive these tribal jealousies and antagonisms" (Tasmania).<sup>3</sup> In Australia "great differences in language and manners usually prevent tribes from associating."<sup>4</sup>

Affinity of language is one of the most powerful factors making for friendly relations between neighbouring groups.

Therefore, when speaking of the difficulties which social evolution encounters on its lower levels, we shall do well to consider the linguistic differentiation which exists at those periods of human history. Whilst doing so, it should be mentioned that we omit the African Pigmies, who, being but scattered remains of a race driven into the bush and surrounded on all sides by comparatively more civilised peoples, are very far from being suitable to serve as a normal example of man at the lower stages of culture. Their dispersion in small communities (the Abongo, for example, live in groups of but 15 to 20 persons)<sup>5</sup> seems to indicate that there should be a similar differentiation of languages also. Unfortunately, however, our knowledge of the Pigmies is too scant to allow us to state anything more definite on this point. (It appears, moreover, that in many places they have adopted the language of their more advanced neighbours). For the same reasons we pass over not only the wild tribes of the Malay peninsula but also the Veddas. It will suffice to remark, that the Vedda speech teems with words of Hindu origin, which almost swamp a small percentage of strange expressions perhaps inherited from their own ancient lan-

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<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 196.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Ph. Martius 1832, 12.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bonwick 1870, 153.

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 62.

<sup>5</sup> O. Lenz, 111.



guage. "Our Singhalese servants generally understood the Veddas well, but there were various words quite strange to them, mostly names of such things which the Veddas have always at hand, such as axe, bow, arrow... In settlements only five hours journey from each other; the names applied to such objects were quite different."<sup>1</sup> Accompanying these linguistic differences, as their principal source, is the lack of intercourse among the several fractions of the Vedda race. "The members of one varga had scarcely any expression to denote the members of other vargas, and the majority of them had but a dim idea of the existence of other Vedda centres: thus, the Veddas of Wevatte knew nothing of the existence of the Nilgala Veddas and had no name to denote them."<sup>2</sup>

We shall dwell only upon races, whose natural environment assures us that they were not under the pressure of some higher culture, and, therefore, that they developed spontaneously and normally.

The total native population of the archipelago of Tierra del Fuego did not exceed 9,000 souls. Yet among the natives there were three linguistic stocks and four tribal groups.<sup>3</sup> And even within the same tribe the language was divided into dialects: in the Yakgan language, spoken in all by 2,800—3,000 souls about 1850, there were five distinct dialects — those dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney, that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and in the choice of words.<sup>4</sup> The mutual relations of the Fuegian tribes were very hostile. The Ona, who once numbered at most 3,600 souls, were terribly afraid of the Yakgans who did not out-number them, and the Yakgans were quite as much afraid of the Ona. But the Yakgans were still more afraid of the Alacaluf, whom they naively believed to be endowed with almost supernatural qualities; the Alacaluf, in turn, believed and told most miraculous stories about the Yakgans. Thus the Yakgans said that the Alacaluf, on their war excursions, travelled by night with extraordinary rapidity, whilst during the daytime they remained hidden in the bush. If an Yakgan disappeared in an enig-

<sup>1</sup> P. and F. Sarasin, 570.

<sup>2</sup> P. and F. Sarasin, 484.

<sup>3</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 24.

<sup>4</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 120.



matic way, his tribesmen believed him a victim of those foes, whilst in all probability he had been drowned. Four small peoples, hating each other with a deadly hatred and suspecting each other of being sorcerers! And these fears only began to disappear when the white settlers came. "All these chimerical ideas disappeared spontaneously when experience had demonstrated the ridiculousness of such superstitions. When the Yakgans encounter the Alacaluf in their canoes, whom imagination had pictured to them in such a fantastic and horrifying way, they at once are sobered and reproach themselves for their former credulity."<sup>1</sup> Ch. Darwin narrates a vivid tale of this mutual hatred of Fuegian tribes. "Although Jemmy Button well knew the force of our party, he was, at first, unwilling to land amidst the hostile tribe nearest to his own. He often told us how the savage Oensmen 'when the leaf red' crossed the mountains from the eastern coast of Tierra del Fuego and made inroads on the natives of this part of the country. It was most curious to watch him when thus talking and see his eyes gleam and his whole face assume a new and wild expression... He was of a patriotic disposition and he liked to praise his own tribe and he abused all the other tribes."<sup>2</sup>

The number of natives on the Andaman Archipelago, before the whites brought epidemics which greatly reduced the numbers of the aboriginal population, is estimated at 10,000 souls. Yet there were on the islands of Great Andaman nine tribes and three "classes" of languages, and many of the languages had two or even more dialects. It must not be supposed that the similarity between the languages of any of these "classes" is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same class, for such is not the case.<sup>3</sup> But, on the whole there is not a great deal of difference between two neighbouring tribes.<sup>4</sup> The difference increases with

<sup>1</sup> Hyades and Deniker, 15--16.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Darwin, 220, 207.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Man, XXIV. A. R. Brown, 25. C. Teschauer, in *Anthropos*, IX (1914). 37, 40, distinguishes among the Andamanese two language groups, — one of them on Great Andaman, comprising ten tribes and ten languages, whilst details on the second one, that of Little Andaman, are not given, little being known about it; only by the structure of the languages, but not by the vocabulary, can one guess that both groups are akin.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. Brown, 25.

distance and is greatest between the remotest islands: "a native of North Andaman is as utterly unable to make himself understood by a native from South Andaman, as an English peasant would be by a Russian."<sup>1</sup> And together with this difference of language "extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen,"<sup>2</sup> these feelings were the strongest at the borders of the Yarawa tribe, speaking a language of the Little Andamanese stock, and their neighbours, who were of the Great Andamanese linguistic family: they lived in a state of constant warfare, whenever two parties of them met by any chance, the larger party would attack the other.<sup>3</sup> Jealousy prevailed even among scattered communities of the same tribe and these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles from each other.<sup>4</sup> "Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only fifty miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community (i. e., a portion of the tribe) kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius." As a general rule "it may be said that no man knew anything of any of the natives living more than twenty miles from his own part of the country."<sup>5</sup>

The abundance of dialects and languages among the Bushmen, who are equally few in numbers, is great. Even when nothing but a range of hills or a stream intervenes between the tribes, there is a difference of languages.<sup>6</sup> "The race, so uniform from the anthropologist's point of view, is divided into a multitude of

<sup>1</sup> A. LANE FOX: On Man's Collections of Andamanese and Nicobarese objects, in *J. A. I.*, VII (1878), 436—437; A. R. BROWN, 14.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. MAN, XVII.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. BROWN, 14, 86.

<sup>4</sup> E. H. MAN, XVII.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. BROWN, 23, 87. Except in the case of the Aka-Bea, the average area occupied by a tribe was about 165 sq. miles; of nine tribes, that occupying the largest area was the Aka-Kede with over 500 sq. miles — the smallest was settled on an area of less than 100 sq. miles, A. R. BROWN, 25. Such were also the limits of social intercourse.

<sup>6</sup> R. MOFFAT, 10. "If a mountain intervened, the probabilities would be that the dialects of the language spoken on the different sides would vary so greatly as to prevent intercourse", G. MCCALL THEAL 1910, 44; FRITSCH, 442—443, and S. S. DORNAN, 193.

peoples, using different languages; indeed, they speak not mere dialects, but separate languages.”<sup>1</sup> “Between the separate bands there is little communication, they seldom enter into alliances, and do so only to achieve some bigger enterprise, for which the united force of many men appears to be necessary. And their intercourse is so scanty, that even the names of the commonest things are often quite as multiple as the number of bands.”<sup>2</sup> The present-day differentiation of language among the Bushmen gives a somewhat erroneous idea of their past. They were decimated by white settlers and even in earlier times probably, by neighbouring African races. Their number must have in any case much decreased during the last two centuries. If the number of distinct languages (and dialects) would not have decreased, the size of the group speaking any language (or dialect) has certainly decreased in many cases.

On the Australian continent there was a multitude not only of dialects, but of languages. Some of them in the regions of the Murray River “differ in root more than the English, French and German languages differ from each other” although “there is evidence sufficient that they belong to one family and had their origin from one common source.”<sup>3</sup> “The tribes live in complete isolation. Their intercourse is strictly limited and their isolation is so thorough that one might be justified in regarding them as different races and not as various components of the same race. Not only have tribes who live close together entirely different languages — so different that they have great difficulty in understanding one another and have to employ interpreters — but one also finds surprising differences in build and general appearance among tribes who are geographically not very distant.”<sup>4</sup> (This description refers to the tribes of Arnhem Land and Dampier Land). And in conformity with this tribal isolation, inland tribes of which E. M.

<sup>1</sup> S. Passarge 1907, 21.

<sup>2</sup> H. Lichtenstein, II. 82. S. Passarge 1907, 21, emphasizes with the greatest strength this difference of language: the Aukwe and the Aikwe, who both spend a certain season in the same country, speak two totally different languages: nay, scarcely any word of the one language appears to be derived from the same root as the corresponding word of the other language. Each of these two stocks is divided into tribes, the tribes of the same stock speak the same language with dialectic variations. Cf. I. Schapera, 31—38.

<sup>3</sup> Moorhouse, V—VI.

<sup>4</sup> Knut Dahl, 15.



Curr had experience regarded their country as the centre of the world; and inasmuch as the tribe did not happen to live on the seashore or to occupy large tracts of desert land, their country was also believed not to extend more than a few hundred miles or so in any direction.<sup>1</sup> Every such tribal community spoke at least its own dialect, if not its own language. E. M. Curr has made efforts to collect in his book specimens of every native Australian language. He was able to do so for two hundred languages "which the Blacks themselves speak of as distinct, and which, though they have many words in common, are in fact as distinct for the purposes of conversation as Spanish and Portuguese". Curr's researches embraced a half of the continent, and even from this half he was unable to obtain specimens of some fifty languages; yet he sets down approximately the number of Australian native languages at 500, and moreover states that he has arrived at so comparatively modest a figure only by making "a large allowance for what may be termed only dialects."<sup>2</sup> Thus there were 500 languages, although the native population of the continent did not exceed 300,000 souls. Of course, we cannot take Curr's statements as a precise and definitive image of the linguistic relations which then prevailed among the Australian natives. Comparative linguistics have till now made but little progress as regards the Australian natives, so we have no sufficiently reliable foundation either for an estimate of the number of these languages, or for ascertaining the extent of the divergency between them.<sup>3</sup> Yet the general impression, which Curr's attempt leaves upon us, is quite correct: there was on the Australian continent a great multitude of dialects and languages, each spoken by a few hundreds of aborigines who, by the very fact of speaking a peculiar language, were kept in an antagonistic position towards any other similarly small tribal community. However linguistic differentiation was not uniform in various districts of Australia. We have

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 50, 83.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 12—13.

<sup>3</sup> The last attempt at the classification of Australian languages was made by W. Schmidt: *Gliederung der australischen Sprachen*, in *Anthropos*, VII (1912), but it was based rather on external characteristics derived from the repertory of sounds. In the map in John Mathew 1899, there is something like a whirlpool of languages in the Lake Eyre district.

already referred to such conditions in Arnhem Land. On the contrary, from the Middle Darling to beyond Cooper's Creek and stretching thence to Lake Hope, South Australia, all speak the same tongue, or nearly the same; at all events, over that area they could readily understand each other without the intermediary of interpreters.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that such differences existed in many other districts of the Australian continent. However, it is necessary to remark this singular fact that although an individual of a tribe may not be able to understand the dialects of the natives a hundred miles from his birthplace, yet, take him considerably farther, and he will often meet with those speaking a very similar language to his own, and with whom he can converse.<sup>2</sup>

A similar state of things to that in Australia probably existed in Tasmania. There also, though the population was estimated at only at a few thousand souls, there were several tribes and many languages or dialects.<sup>3</sup> Anyhow, among the last 200 Tasmanians who had been domiciled on Flinders Island, eight to ten different languages or dialects were spoken.<sup>4</sup> Clearly the circumstance that the aborigines of Tasmania were divided into many tribes and subtribes, in a state of perpetual antagonism and open hostility to each other, materially added to the number of agents ordinarily operating on the language of an unlettered people and tending arbitrarily to diversify the dialects of individual tribes<sup>5</sup> — a phenomenon which at this stage of evolution, also appears in other regions of the globe.

"However small the number of (Lower) Californians is, they are, nevertheless, divided into a great many nations, tribes, and tongues. If a mission contains only one thousand souls, it may easily embrace as many little nations among its parishioners as Switzerland counts cantons and allies... All of these petty nations or tribes have their own countries, of which they are as much,

<sup>1</sup> J. M'Kinlay, quoted by Beveridge 1883, 73.

<sup>2</sup> A. le Souef, in R. Brough Smyth, II. 290—291; cf. G. Grey, II. 209; *Au. A. J.* 1897, No 3, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> According to A. Oldfield, 222, the native population of the island of Tasmania consisted of four distinct tribes each possessing a peculiar language: "the different tribes spoke quite a different language — there was not the slightest analogy between the languages", Robinson, in J. Bonwick 1870, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, in J. Bonwick 1870, 153.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Milligan's statements in H. Ling Roth 1890, 176.



and sometimes even more, enamoured than other people of theirs, so that they would not consent to be transplanted fifty or more leagues (Stunden) from the place they consider as their home... My parish counted far less than a thousand members, yet their encampments were often more than thirty leagues distant from each other."<sup>1</sup> "Every 15—20 miles of country seems to have been occupied by a number of small lodges or septs, speaking a different language or very different dialect,"<sup>2</sup> and these dialects were sometimes so different, that anyone of them "in no way does resemble the other."<sup>3</sup> Among the Pomo "there are many dialectic variations as one goes along. An Indian may start from Potter Valley, which may be considered the nucleus and starting point of the family and go over a long range of mountains, ten miles or so, and find himself greatly at fault in attempting to converse; ten miles farther, and he would find himself still more at sea, so rapidly does the language shade from valley to valley, from dialect to dialect."<sup>4</sup> And in harmony with that multitude of dialects, "the tribes are frequently at war with each other... weak tribes are sometimes wholly annihilated."<sup>5</sup> A. L. Kroeber<sup>6</sup> estimates the native population of the state of California at 150,000: there were 21 linguistic families with some 135 different languages and dialects — more rather than fewer, if this figure is inexact. The area of the state is almost exactly 150,000 sq. miles. Each dialect was therefore spoken, on an average, by a thousand persons occupying a territory about 35 miles in diameter and each linguistic family averaged an area of 7,000 sq. miles and a membership of 7,000 souls.

And this bewildering number of languages on a comparatively restricted area is a feature characteristic not only of this part of the American continent. To some extent, the same holds good of the Indians in the Amazon basin, though they lived in larger communities and had reached a higher level of evolution than

<sup>1</sup> J. Baegert, 359; at the San Carlos mission there were eleven different dialects, F. W. Beechey, 398.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, in H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Boscana, in H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 326. "If there are any people living twenty miles away, the Nishinam are not aware of their existence," St. Powers, 315.

<sup>4</sup> St. Powers, 146.

<sup>5</sup> F. W. Beechey, 401.

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Kroeber, in *Anthropos*, VIII. (1913). 396.

any of the races we have spoken of until now. In the State of the Amazon alone (it true that its area is six times that of France) 373 ethnical groups or tribes have been counted,<sup>1</sup> which, broadly speaking, means that the number of dialects or languages was quite as great. For, in general, the tribes (on the Uaupe river, for example) did not understand each other, and a small tribe of hardly 500 souls had its own language.<sup>2</sup> Closely connected with this diversity of language was mutual enmity. The Indian of that region had no dealings with tribes other than his own, except occasionally to barter,<sup>3</sup> though here too it is to be observed, that tribes speaking kindred tongues are less hostile towards each other than those speaking totally different languages.<sup>4</sup> In Brazil, "we see a scattered population of aborigines, who are homogeneous as to physique, temper, mental qualities, habits, customs and manners, but show indeed a marvellous variety as to language... On the ship, by which we travelled along the rivers of central Brazil, we fairly frequently counted among twenty rowing Indians but three or four, who could speak with each other in a common language; we had before our eyes the sad spectacle of the complete isolation of each individual as concerned all interests going beyond the satisfaction of elementary vital needs. In sullen silence these Indians handled the ship they rowed together, worked in common to keep it going and to prepare their frugal meals; dumb and apathetic they sat alongside each other, though travelling together hundreds of miles, and thus destined to endure many vicissitudes in common... To the north of the Amazon river a multitude

<sup>1</sup> S.-A. Nery, 338—363 (catalogue of tribes). C. R. Markham, in *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895), has enumerated in the area drained by the Amazon 905 tribal names, out of which, however, 280 are either synonyms or names of branches of larger tribes.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Coudreau, II. 178. "Hordes of the same tribe living on the same branch rivers, speak mutually unintelligible languages; this happens with the Miranhas on the Yapura, with the Collinas on the Yurua, whilst Tupi is spoken with little corruption along the banks of the main Amazons for a distance of 2,500 miles. The purity of Tupi is kept up by frequent communication amongst the natives from one end to the other of the main river. How complete and long continued must be the isolation in which the small groups of savages have lived in other parts, to have caused so complete a segregation of dialects!", H. W. Bates (1863), II. 199. Seven or eight different languages are spoken on the same river within a distance of 200 to 300 miles, *ib.*, I. 329. (On the Yurua, even scattered hordes belonging to the same tribe are not able to understand each other).

<sup>3</sup> E. F. Im Thurn, 214.

<sup>4</sup> C. Ph. Martius 1832, 12.

of petty groups and tribes live as if the primitive nations, on account of frequent wanderings, wars and other catastrophes unknown to us, had been destroyed or scattered. There are tribes consisting of one only or of a few families, completely cut off from any intercourse with their neighbours, timidly hiding in the gloom of the virgin forest, whence only fear, caused by some external circumstances, makes them emerge.”<sup>1</sup> In another part of the Amazon basin, on the great Beni plateau was a multitude of fragments of tribes impossible to classify — they were the despair of the Jesuit fathers of the XVII century: “every group of cabins,” writes Padre Fernandez,<sup>2</sup> “has an absolutely different and difficult language... among these peoples, at every step, one finds a group of a hundred families having a completely different language from their neighbours, so that there is an incredible variety of tongues.”

In North America, too, there existed considerable diversity in this respect; some regions, like the Pacific shore, had an abundance of petty language families, whilst elsewhere one linguistic family, consisting of many languages, covered vast regions. In general, the linguistic differentiation, though not so great as with peoples at the stage of savagery, was still fairly great. According to J. W. Powell, there were to the north of Mexico (including California) 58 distinct linguistic families. Some of them were divided into numerous tribes (languages), others contained but one single tribe. These linguistic families, by no means alike in their territorial extension or the numbers of human beings speaking them, were “as distinct from one another in their vocabularies and apparently in their origin as from the Aryan or the Scythian families.” Perhaps more detailed researches will reveal that some of these families belong to a common stock or stocks but, at the same time they will probably tend to increase the number of the families themselves. The diversity of language in North America was formerly far greater than it now is, for the comparison of languages which now belong to one family, shows that some of them have absorbed elements having a different origin. “Thus the multipli-

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Ph. Martius 1832, 3, 2, 10 and passim; cf. Martius and Spix 1825, I. 385; G. Church, 11—12.

<sup>2</sup> Padre G. Fernandez, quoted by G. Church, 97—98.



cation of dialects and languages of the same group furnished evidence that at some prior time there existed other languages which are now lost except as they are partially preserved in the divergent elements of the group. The conclusion which has been reached, therefore, does not accord with the hypothesis upon which the investigation began, namely that common elements would be discovered in all these languages, for the longer the study has proceeded, the more clear it has been made to appear that the grand process of linguistic development among the tribes of North America has been towards unification rather than towards multiplication, that is, that multiplied languages of the same stock owe their origin very largely to absorbed languages that are lost.”<sup>1</sup> Anyhow, this diversity of languages was a great hindrance to the tribes entering into close relations with each other. “As a rule the most persistent warfare has been waged between tribes speaking different stock languages.”<sup>2</sup> In most cases, however, “one tribe hardly ever has intercourse with another, either distant or near except such as may arise in the prosecution of offensive or defensive warfare.”<sup>3</sup>

2. This social isolation, a heritage from the earliest period of the existence of the human race, like a leading thread in the weft of that period as it came from the loom of history, weaves itself not only into the life of the lowest peoples, which are in a state of savagery, not only is it present in the period which Morgan designated by the name of lower barbarism, but it remains very strongly evident here and there in certain parts inhabited by lower races who are already settled, namely those who seek their maintenance, amongst other ways, from a more or less systematic cultivation of the soil. In passing, we should call attention to the fact that settled life in general at first weakens the intensity of social cohesion. The ethnic unit is larger: a greater number of persons speak the same language, which is divided only into dialects differing but little from each other. But in the very nature

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. P o w e l l: *Ind. Ling. Families*, 26, 27, 140, 141, M c. G e e, 377, estimated the number of tribes north of Mexico (Eskimo tribes included) at 782, and of course there were quite as many different languages or dialects, excluding the Eskimo race which shows a remarkable uniformity of speech.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. M o r g a n 1877, 110: cf. L. H. M o r g a n 1871, 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, II. 201.

of primitive settling there are inherent factors which counteract the growth of mutual cohesion. Thus, the settled life binds the former nomad down to the plot of ground he cultivates; although he is still a free tribesman, he is, in virtue of the routine of his whole simple husbandry, *adscriptus glebae*. Instead of a nomadic tribe, all the members of which, to the number of several hundred or some thousands, assemble systematically for great festivals, hunting expeditions and on other occasions, there appear more extensive ethnic units numbering even a few thousand each, but dispersed in villages and hamlets and attached, by the conditions of production proper to their stage of culture, to those villages, and unable to present themselves at any general assemblies. The former tribe, although it has considerably increased its numbers, has, as matter of fact, fallen apart into very small groups (or communities) — parochial groups, to borrow a term from mediaeval examples — with similarly parochial views. Possibilities of social intercourse and of the exchange of ideas have increased, but as we approach civilisation they are more and more limited to the ruling classes which more and more exclusively and more and more boldly begin alone to make the history of the arising nation.

We shall not trace the whole course of this action of the settled mode of life on the social cohesion of barbarian agriculturists.

An example, drawn from the island world of Melanesia, will suffice.

As regards the number of languages and variety of customs, Melanesia presents a glaring contrast to Polynesia.

In Polynesia, throughout the length and breadth of the immense expanse of ocean amid which individual archipelagoes stand out like little oases, there is maintained an amazing relative uniformity of language. In Eastern Polynesia, "in a group of 4, 7 or 10 islands within sight of each other, we have found but one dialect, the people having a good deal of intercourse, not only with each other on the same island, but also with the various islands of the group. They had their quarrels and their wars, at times, but they made up matters after a while and went on again in harmony."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, 83.



On the other hand Melanesia is astounding by reason of its linguistic differentiation.

"Take for example," says the same author from whose work we have derived the quotation just made, "four of the southerly islands of the New Hebridean Archipelago (Tanna, Eromango, Futuna and Aneiteum), all within sight of each other, we find a totally different dialect on each." And even on the same island there are two or three different dialects. "We found (on the island of Tanna) that tribes, at a distance of but four to five miles from our house, spoke quite a different dialect... We were never able to extend our journeys above four miles from our dwelling. At such distances you come to boundaries which are never passed and beyond which the people speak a different dialect. At one of these boundaries actual war will be going on; at another, kidnapping and cooking each other and at another all may be at peace, but, by mutual consent, they have no dealings with each other."<sup>1</sup> The above example of social isolation was taken, as we have remarked, from the conditions existing on the island of Tanna. Its population then numbered from about 10,000 to 20,000, but it made use of at least six dialects.<sup>2</sup> Amongst other islands mentioned, that of Eromango had five dialects, while the population about the year 1850 numbered only 5,000.<sup>3</sup> Among the larger New Hebridean islands, S. H. Ray collected specimens of fifteen dialects on the island of Espiritu Santo, twelve (besides that, there were three from which he had no collection of words) on Malikolo;<sup>4</sup> on Sandwich Island, where the population numbered about 12,000 (there was no king whose rule extended over all the island, but numbers of petty chiefs here and there) there were probably several dialects;<sup>5</sup> on Three Hill Island, with 800—1200 inhabitants, three dialects were found.<sup>6</sup>

Or let us take New Caledonia. That island had formerly at least 80,000 of an indigenous population.<sup>7</sup> Its inhabitants fell apart

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, 84, 15, 82.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, 76; S. H. Ray, 141.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, 488; S. H. Ray, 172.

<sup>4</sup> S. H. Ray, 259, 349.

<sup>5</sup> G. Turner, 393.

<sup>6</sup> Hagen and Pineau, in *R. d'E.*, VI. 309.

<sup>7</sup> J. Patouillet, 14. Sixty years ago the New Caledonians declared that they were then more numerous than formerly — the presence of the white men had put a stop to the former wars and the mutual extermination of the tribes, G. Turner, 426.

into numerous tribes, which used different languages and were without any link binding them to each other. Some of these tribes, powerful and populous, had scores of villages, others dwelt in a couple of villages each. The Wagap tribe, one of the most powerful, lived along the sea coast, spread over an expanse which took fifteen to sixteen hours to traverse and which extended for 3—4 miles inland.<sup>1</sup> On an average, a tribe would number from 500 to 2,000 and it always constituted a separate community, inimically disposed towards its neighbours, having its own customs and its own separate name.<sup>2</sup>

The same thing re-appears in other Melanesian archipelagoes.

Small islands included in the archipelagoes of the Loyalty Islands,<sup>3</sup> Bank's Islands,<sup>4</sup> and D'Entrecasteaux Islands<sup>5</sup> each constitute as a rule a separate linguistic district and many are frequently even separated into several such districts. And things are no better on the large islands of the Solomon Archipelago. For instance, Cristoval Island is divided amongst numerous tribes between which there are constant feuds. There are three ethnological divisions, differing in customs, beliefs and social organization — in one of these divisions there are seven, in another four dialects. On the double island of Malaita there are thirteen dialects, on Gwadalcanar eleven, on Ysabel Island ten, and on New Georgia Island eight dialects.<sup>6</sup> Or let us turn to the New Britain Archipelago (New Pomerania).

<sup>1</sup> P. A. C.: *Wagap*, 1886, 3 (there were on N. Caledonia at least 25 languages, besides dialects). Fr. O p i g e r, in *Bull. Geo. Car.* 444, reports 32 dialects.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. O p i g e r, *l. c.*, 428; A. B e r n a r d, 290, 292; P. A. C.: *Wagap*, 3—4.

<sup>3</sup> On Lifu, the population of which was 8,000—10,000, there are two political divisions but one dialect, G. T u r n e r, 400—401, A. B e r n a r d, 290; four tribes on Maia Islands; three on Uea, A. B e r n a r d, 290. According to S. H. R a y, 76, there are four differing languages on this archipelago which, although they are somewhat similar in phonology, have but little in common except a few words, and they are remarkably different from the languages on the Melanesian islands lying to the north of the Loyalty Archipelago.

<sup>4</sup> S. H. R a y, 428, enumerates on the largest island (Vanua Lava) eleven dialects, four on St. Maria Island, four on Sugarloaf Island, three on Saddle Island, four on Bligh Island, one each on Star Island, St. Claire Island and Row Island,—29 dialects altogether.

<sup>5</sup> George Rook Island, 23 sea-miles long, 10—12 broad, with 6,000—7,000 inhabitants, has two or three different languages, H a m y, in *R. d'E.*, VIII (1889). 515. The dense population of Normanby Island, about 6,000, is divided into tribes which speak different dialects and appear to be in a state of constant warfare; on Fergusson Island the population, about 6,000 souls, appears to be divided into tribal sections speaking distinctive dialects; peaceful, friendly intertribal intercourse is unknown to them, J. P. T h o m s o n 1892, 22, 27—28.

<sup>6</sup> H. B. G u p p y, 13; S. H. R a y, 472, 480, 515, 526, 540 *passim*.

The part of the Gazelle Peninsula that is somewhat known, though only thinly peopled, is divided into no less than twenty districts, in each of which dialects differ so much from each other that while the inhabitants of two neighbouring districts may still converse together, those of localities further apart have difficulty in understanding each other.<sup>1</sup> As the result of this linguistic differentiation it may happen in Melanesia, that a person lives three miles distant from the sea and never sees it — the hostility existing between the coastal natives and those to the interior of the island renders excursions to the seaside impossible to the latter.<sup>2</sup>

Let us now turn our attention to New Guinea. Conditions on that island should be considered more closely.

We shall begin at that part of New Guinea which formerly belonged to Germany.

A district having its own separate language generally extends here from 8 to 10 kilometres.<sup>3</sup> With regard to this part of New Guinea, we take leave to quote a passage from the works of R. Parkinson, who lived in that part of the world for so many years. According to him, "New Guinea is from the linguistic point of view a very Tower of Babel. The vicinity of Berlinhafen gives an eloquent example of this. Every village (on the coast) has its separate language, the villages lying more inland differ in language from the coastal ones. Besides, there are various dialects of these languages. The island of Tamara has its separate language, which is made use of by scarcely from 200 to 300 persons and, what is stranger still, that language is divided into two dialects.<sup>4</sup> The natives of Ali, Seleo and Angel Islands have their own language which is as different from the Tamara language as Dutch is from German. The language of the natives who live on the land to the east of Seleo Island, shows numerous affinities to the Tamara language, whereas the language of the Lemings inhabiting the coast opposite this island is completely different: these two languages are no more similar to each other than German is to French. The inhabitants of the Arop and Malol islets make use of their own language, which the Tamara people do not

<sup>1</sup> v. Pfeil, in *J. A. I.*, XXVII (1898). 183.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G. Vrh.* 1874, 207.

<sup>3</sup> M. Krieger, 209.

<sup>4</sup> M. Krieger, 209, remarks that each of five villages situated on the small island of Tamara (500 hectares) has its own dialect.



understand.”<sup>1</sup> “The languages which appear to exist seem to have no end. An insignificant tribe, of some few hundred members, frequently speaks a language totally different to that of their immediate neighbours.”<sup>2</sup> “Extremely small linguistic districts exist... on an average, a language occupies, let us say, a space of fifteen kilometres along the coast and its diffusion inland is still less. Wonne, a hamlet situated at a distance of scarcely two kilometres from the sea, uses quite a different dialect from the Jabbim language, which obtains on the coast... Gumbu village (40 huts), Bongu village (100 huts) and Male village (70 huts), situated on the shore of the Gulf of Astrolabia and distant from each other not more than 2½ hours, have each their own dialect. Similarly, on the space between Junohuk and the Croisilles Cape, a different language is used in every village... Most of the natives can speak the language of their neighbours: for the purpose of acquiring this knowledge, they stay a longer or shorter time in the required district. On the other hand, in villages which engage in trade, natives who can speak from three to four languages are a general rule.”<sup>3</sup> In consequence of this, certain languages are comparatively widely diffused as being the medium for commercial intercourse between tribes.<sup>4</sup> There is one point more to be discussed: perhaps, we have here given only more striking instances of linguistic differentiation in German New Guinea — the more striking because the explorers had unconsciously over-emphasized them. Nevertheless, such a differentiation is not an absolute rule, although it prevails. R. Neuhauss in his work says, that sometimes the same language extends over a vast area but its dialects are numerous and differing, and the natives, at a distance of a few kilometres, do not understand

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, in *I. A. E.*, XIII (1900). 48: the islands mentioned are situated near Berlinhafen.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Romilly 1889. 38,

<sup>3</sup> *N. W. L.*, IV (1888). 228, 229. Of this same district Fr. Schellong, in *I. A. E.*, II. 145, writes that along the coast within a distance which may be traversed on foot in one day, there are three tribes, the difference between whose languages is sharply defined. Cf. also *N. W. L.*, II. 93.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, owing to missionaries, the Jabbim language spoken over a distance of 25—30 klm. along the coast gained ground, although it was once spoken only by a few hundred natives, R. Neuhauss, I. 135, III. 289; *N. W. L.*, IV. 228. The Kiwai language in British New Guinea can be used over a distance of 250 kilometres along the coast, M. Krieger, 333. The Motu language is spoken by about 5,000 persons, but is understood by four times as many natives, B. H. Thomson in *R. G. S.* 1889, 527.

one another; sometimes again over a surprisingly large area dialectical differences are trifling.<sup>1</sup>

And this differentiation is also the general rule in British New Guinea. In British New Guinea, numerous tribal divisions and the almost correspondingly different languages or dialects spoken by them are a remarkable feature of the native population: "even in localities separated by only a few miles each other, the dialects spoken differ the one from the other, in some cases very considerably."<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge anthropologic expedition explored linguistic relations in British New Guinea. Sydney H. Ray has there found seven linguistic groups with 116 dialects.<sup>3</sup> It was the first serious attempt to explain this problem, although it did not embrace all dialects. And here side by side are to be found districts of extreme differentiation and territories of great uniformity: for instance, about the delta of the Purari River there are several large villages, but the language appears to be the same.

Of course, in the above accounts, which refer both to British New Guinea and former German New Guinea, there is a large subjective element and in many cases vagueness, but in their own way these accounts reflect approximately enough the actual conditions. At least conditions are so along the coast, for as regards the interior our information is too limited for us to make any decided statement.<sup>4</sup> In general, these coastal communities have very small populations. The Manumbo tribe inhabits twelve villages and its total number of souls is 500; its territory stretches along the coast for a distance of about twenty kilometres and "these 500 persons form a closed whole, independent, having its own language and customs which differ in many particulars from the language and customs of other tribes."<sup>5</sup> And there are numerous tribes such as this, numbering from 400 to 500 members each: on the river Wanigela the Kamali has 400, the Babaka 500, the Bulaa 750, and the Kalo 1,500 members (all these tribes speak

<sup>1</sup> R. Neuhaus, I. 119—120.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Thomson, 192 (we omit the facts illustrating this state of things).

<sup>3</sup> S. H. Ray: *Linguistics in Torres Straits Rep.*, III. 291—415 (passim).

<sup>4</sup> There are those who would argue that the dispersion of dialects is less pronounced inland, cf. *Anthropos*, VIII (1913). 880—881 (for instance, 7,000—8,000 persons are said to speak the Ariawiak language).

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Vormann, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 661.



dialects of the same language).<sup>1</sup> The Masingara tribe has 500 members;<sup>2</sup> the Kubadi tribe occupies four villages.<sup>3</sup> But there are also more populous tribes; the Kuni tribe, which inhabits, with its eleven subdivisions, 82 villages, and is estimated at 1,924 persons, is a considerable tribe.<sup>4</sup> As numerous as the Kuni were the Koita — probably about 2,000 souls in eighteen settlements,<sup>5</sup> and the Biofa which had 1,905 souls in six out of its seven settlements;<sup>6</sup> the Waima were estimated at 1,100 in twelve settlements.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that these tribes, at least some of them, have already decreased in numbers in consequence of contact with the whites, but we think that at the time, from which our estimates date, this influence could not have affected the number of population to any great extent. Of course, not only the population, but even the territory of such a tribe, in view of its settled mode of life and comparatively advanced state of horticulture, is of very inconsiderable size: an area of a few score of square miles or a few thousand acres — that is the whole country of such a community.<sup>8</sup> Man is here more cramped by the strait frontiers of his country than he was in the times when a roving mode of life prevailed, and intercourse between small communities is not marked by its intensity. A festivity which could cause an assembly of 2,000, must be here looked upon as a rare occurrence.<sup>9</sup> Such an isolation appears as a fundamental phenomenon, though in numerous variants, throughout the whole area of New Guinea: the name of the tribe differs, the territory is somewhat greater or smaller, but it is always very small and so is the population occupying it. This is, at most, more numerous by a few hundred persons, but is still small in number and it always uses its

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, XXVIII. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *N. Gui. Rep.* 1893—'94, 55.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Thomson 1892, 79.

<sup>4</sup> V. M. Egidì, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 402.

<sup>5</sup> This population is calculated on the basis of figures given by C. G. Seligmann 1910, 44 (the population of two settlements which may be looked upon as average villages), 41 (the number of villages).

<sup>6</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 513; another tribe there named, the Vee, numbered 1,198 souls in five out of nine villages. Its population could be about 2,000 souls.

<sup>7</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 197.

<sup>8</sup> The Quaipo tribe occupies 30 square miles, the Doura tribe 60 sq. miles, J. P. Thomson 1892, 58, 79; the Turi-turi tribe is settled on 5,000 acres, *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892—'93, 67; the Mawata and Kadawa tribes do not own a larger area, *ib.* 68.

<sup>9</sup> Hellwig, in *N. W. L.*, V (1889). 37.

own separate language or at least its own dialect. It only happens in exceptional cases that any of the languages is spoken by a few thousand persons.

3. We have brought out into relief the action of factors which cause the life of the Melanesian cultivator to be spent in small communities — every village, surrounded by a few thinly populated hamlets, is sometimes already a separate community, a separate tribe. But, besides factors of a more general nature, appearing everywhere and always, in the earlier period of the settled mode of life, there act here and there in the same direction local factors, which notably tend to keep up isolation, even at stages of culture considerably higher than the Melanesian culture. Specially mountain districts, on account of their topographical peculiarities, favour the existence of great isolation, not only social but also linguistic.

Let us take as an example the mountaineers of Assam on the frontier with Burma.

We shall not, however, enter more particularly into details of the various stocks of mountaineers inhabiting those parts, and for purposes of illustration we shall take only some one stock — the Naga.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of the Naga we have to begin with the same phrase, though used by someone else, as we used in referring to Melanesia: "the wonderful multiplicity of their languages is a salient characteristic of the Naga race" (G. M. Godden). "All the tribes in this district ...speak languages which are so different that a member of one tribe speaking his own language is quite unintelligible to a member of the next tribe."<sup>2</sup> Another explorer estimates the number of mutually unintelligible languages used by the Naga at not less and probably more than thirty, a few of them may be reduced to the rank of, perhaps, dialects, but in the majority of cases they are essentially distinct languages.<sup>3</sup> The multiplicity of languages or dialects is especially great among the eastern Naga.

<sup>1</sup> We might just as correctly take, for instance, the Karens of Arakan and Pegu.

<sup>2</sup> Davis (*Assam Census Rep.* 1891, 163), quoted by G. M. Godden, 165—166.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Damant (*J. As. S.*, XII. 228 sqq), quoted by G. M. Godden, 166; W. W. Hunter: *Bengal*, I (1868). 144. Generally speaking, in these mountain districts, languages become mutually unintelligible at a distance of 20—30 miles, S. E. Peal, *J. A. I.*, XXII (1893). 260.

"The greatest confusion exists, there is such a multiplicity of tribes, each speaking a different dialect, and they are so small in numbers, sometimes consisting only of one village, that without visiting each village personally, it is almost impossible to define the limits of each tribe with any approach to accuracy, or even to say precisely how many tribes there are... All tribes, or nearly all, speak languages unintelligible the one to the other. Within 20 miles of country five or six different dialects are often to be found."<sup>1</sup> No doubt, the peculiar conditions of the Naga life strongly favour the growth of dialects. Grouped in small communities of from 100 to 3,000 persons, the Naga have remained isolated on their hill-tops, only deigning to visit their immediate neighbours when a longing for the possession of their heads becomes too strong to be resisted. This isolating influence can be noticed even in a single village. R. B. McCabe relates the fact that the Rengma Naga families, who migrated some seventy years ago to the hills along the Kohani, are now almost unintelligible to other members of the parent stock.<sup>2</sup> And this is not only the case with dialect. So pronounced is this isolating tendency that types of mind as well as features are readily established in such a degree as to distinguish a village from its neighbours.<sup>3</sup> (The recurrent necessity of communication between neighbouring villages speaking dialects or languages totally incomprehensible to one another fostered a high state of development of the sign-language).<sup>4</sup> Among the Angami, a most powerful branch of the Naga stock,<sup>5</sup> it happens (and it is probably repeated elsewhere among the Naga) that a village is divided into sections (khels), often speaking a different dialect, never intermarrying, and knowing nothing of each other, but occasionally fighting with one another.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Godden, 166.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. McCabe, quoted by J. H. Hutton, 9.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Hutton, 9.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Hutton, 291.

<sup>5</sup> A. Fytche, I. 348, estimates the number of the Angami at 60,000; H. H. Risley, 207, at 31,000—32,000. According to J. H. Hutton, 355, the Angami fall roughly into five groups. Among the Angami proper, one of these five groups, there are several dialects, but these are not really more than local divergencies which are to be found in every village, *ib.* 294. The Aos, one of largest Naga branches, are said to number about 30,000. M. Molz, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909), 55. The Kolya Naga are divided into "clans", these clans are returned at about 5,000 souls each, G. Watt, in *J. A. I.*, XVI (1887). 358.

<sup>6</sup> G. Watt, in *R. G. S.* 1887, 39; J. H. Hutton, 109.



3. The slow rate at which new customs pass from one tribe to another. Stretches of more or less intense intertribal hostility.

We have considered the differentiation of languages as a factor which, in the course of the ages, notably counteracted the contracting of more cordial relations between neighbours and restrained them from any kind of mutual drawing near to each other in the way of friendship.

Of course, the use of mutually unintelligible languages at a period when every tribe kept itself isolated and did not experience, as concerned its daily material needs, any necessity for communicating with any of the others, puts between neighbours an almost impassable obstacle and forms the culminating point of the aggregate of subjective tribal peculiarities which, in the primitive period, set each tribe so strongly against every other.

Actually, neighbouring which existed for long ages must have of necessity led to even hereditary enemies, in spite of their mutual hatred, sometimes feeling the necessity for some kind of intercourse, even if it were only in matters connected with their mutual quarrels. This necessity already in very early times created an intertribal sign-language. A language of this kind exists on the Australian continent, at least in its interior;<sup>1</sup> we hear of its "tremendous development" in New Guinea;<sup>2</sup> we know that the American Indians like to make use of it.<sup>3</sup> We have referred to it as existing among the Naga tribes.<sup>4</sup> But that language being extremely inelastic, testified by its very existence to the great rarity of intercourse between the tribes and to the fact that intercourse must have been in connection with only a few simple matters. It would bear still more eloquent witness to those conditions if we took into consideration also the circumstance that the sign-language had come slowly into being, in the course of

<sup>1</sup> J. Frazer 1892, 24—25 (presumes that the young men are taught the sign-language during initiation), 68 (sign-language is unknown on the eastern coast); E. C. Stirling, 111—125; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 55—56; E. Walter Roth 1897, 71—91.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Schellong, in *Z. f. E.*, XXXVII (1905). 605.

<sup>3</sup> C. Garrick Mallery: *Sign-language among the N. Amer. Indians* (Washington, 1881).

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Hutton, 291,



centuries and even of thousands of years — one generation left to the next a larger and larger heritage of this kind as time went on, one probably which had been inherited in an embryonic state from the earliest period of man's history. And similarly slowly, in the course of centuries, through mutually hostile tribes spread the forms of weapons, varieties of adornment, dress, amusements, etc., until finally within the bounds of each geographical district considerable cultural uniformity (acculturation) of the tribes was attained, and that in spite of differing languages and mutual hostility. However, we must notice that there is evidence against our statement of new customs spreading slowly from tribe to tribe. Thus, in Queensland at any time when a certain tribe had learnt a new corroboree, they would take the trouble to go even a long distance in order to pass it on. They first sent messengers to say they had learnt, or perhaps composed, a fresh song and dance and were coming to teach it — probably a number of tribes would congregate from all parts, often from the far interior, sometimes to the number of 500 persons.<sup>1</sup> Songs or dances travel long distances from tribe to tribe — W. H. Wyndham had witnessed the same corroboree at two places, 200—300 miles apart.<sup>2</sup> In the course of perigrination the songs reach tribes which sing them without understanding the meaning of the words.<sup>3</sup> However, the Australian examples can only be applied with great caution as regards the distant past, as to a certain extent we have to do here. Besides, in the above instance there is neither any reference to the space of time such a peregrination requires, nor is the term of tribe defined — perhaps these tribes of Queensland were local sections of the same tribal community, or associated ones. However, we can quote other instances, where new customs spread slowly and with difficulty, at least in certain cases. For instance, the Australian tribes of the basins of the Nogoia and Dawson rivers sometimes met the Cape River tribes, yet they never used the wom-

<sup>1</sup> Tom Petrie, 23.

<sup>2</sup> W. T. Wyndham, 41.

<sup>3</sup> L. E. Threkeld, 49. E. J. Eyre, II. 229, 231; A. Oldfield, 258; C. W. Schürmann, 242. For the mechanism itself of that peregrination, see A. Oldfield 256, 257. In passing we note that in the Gilbert Archipelago each village has its own poet; the young folks learn his songs, and when occasion arises, sing them in public; a song, if it is approved of, spreads from village to village, from island to island, R. Parkinson, in *I. A. E.*, II. 95.

mera, nor did they barb their spears as the others did, although suitable material existed on their territory.<sup>1</sup> In general, we have no way of measuring the length of time necessary for the appearance of similitude or the rate at which it takes place. It doubtless differed greatly in different parts of the globe. Yet we keep a clear sense of the fact that these spaces of time must have been very considerable in some parts, especially if we realise that even within the same stock, and even within the same tribe, intercourse is sometimes very rare. Thus, for instance, in the region of Hudson Bay, certain members of the same tribe, the Nascapsee, (having barely a few hundred souls), do not meet for years, hence the meeting between the older men is quite affecting and tears of joy are profuse;<sup>2</sup> or among the Veddas, amongst whom the various groups have little contact with each other, people meeting by chance are mutually embarrassed by the sight of each other and show distrust of one another.<sup>3</sup> The ceremonial of greeting in Australia shows by its character that also on that continent man in the course of ages rarely met with man: if two people unknown to each other met, custom required them to keep silence for a certain time before gradually engaging in conversation. In general, even a meeting with the nearest relations took place with diffidence and restraint.<sup>4</sup> The facts just cited are of varying value, but all are of a nature to testify to the often rare intercourse even among members of one and the same tribe or among members of tribes friendly to each other. How incomparably much rarer will be the intercourse and more intense the distrust between the members of tribes divided from each other by mutual, bloody feuds, by the intensity of tribal patriotism, or by diversity of language, especially if that diversity consists in the use of languages mutual-

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, II. 473, makes the following observation in this connection: "although an intense family likeness in customs prevails throughout, most tribes have some peculiarities to which they cling with much pertinacity." Even in parts of Australia where intercourse between the tribes is continuous and cordial, the dialects maintain their distinct character, F. J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1904, 12—13.

<sup>2</sup> L. M. Turner, *Can. I. Tr.*, V. 114.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bailey, 281; J. Davy, 118; P. and F. Sarasin, 485.

<sup>4</sup> T. L. Mitchell, II. 68; Ch. Sturt 1833, II. 96. "Both parties at their first meeting sit down at a distance from one another and, keeping their eyes fixed on the ground, preserve a profound silence; after a time one of them commences a chant about himself and from what great family he has sprung: they then approach one another," G. Grey, II. 257. Cf. G. H. Wilkins, 50.

ly incomprehensible! As to this, some, though very slight conception may be given by the following facts. In 1819 Capt. King visited the western part of Tasmania: the natives were terrified at the look of his dog — an animal which, even then, other groups of Tasmanian population had already domesticated ten years before.<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr inserted in his collection of Australian vocabularies names which the aborigines gave to objects (sheep, bullock, horse, gun) brought to Australia by the Whites: in each association of tribes generally an independent name was given,— the name used by neighbours who had earlier become acquainted with the object and had invented their own term for it was never borrowed. The name used by the natives was only conveyed outside of each association of tribes if the Whites played the part of transmitters.<sup>2</sup>

Under conditions such as these, the number of persons taking part in a given gathering afforded for them the greatest opportunity for social intercourse on a large scale. At the lower stages of social evolution such gatherings coincided with the tribe or, as rarely occurred, with an intertribal alliance. In principle, a tribe represents a self-contained world, separate from every other similarly constructed world and thus, it has its own language (sometimes divided within that small community in dialects), it has its own territory and sees to it with jealous care that no man of another tribe sets foot upon it, unless he be a messenger furnished with the proper insignia; it has its holy secrets and traditions, its rituals of daily life. Within the tribe lie all the paths of human life, all its social horizons, all its duties of solidarity. Where the tribe ends, begins the territory of the enemy, towards whom there are no duties and the killing of whom brings honour to the murderer. Where the tribal frontier ends, there the system of moral duties, and social ties breaks off, another world begins, — a strange one, full of distrust, if not even of hatred.

Yet this tribal frontier, as we have already remarked in passing, is not always marked by such mutual hostility and ceaseless bloody feuds. Or rather, it is always so marked, but the intensity of hostile feelings is sometimes moderated. For there are tracks along the tribal frontiers, along which suspicion and distrust do

<sup>1</sup> Bonwick 1870, 83.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 15.



not prevail so greatly as along others. (And thanks to that, in such places the mutual exchange of cultural achievements should take place more easily and more quickly). Such tracks are partly at least connected with the distribution of linguistic units. Such a unit, including several tribes, contains a complex of languages which came from the same parent stock and have retained traces of a common origin in their construction, in their vocabulary, and in the ease with which those using one of these languages acquire another. Usually on the basis of this linguistic affinity there appear, even in Australia, so-called "nations," i. e., associations of several tribes, manifested at the common celebration of the initiation of the young men; again in North America, usually, with very few exceptions, on a similar basis, federations arise which concentrate into one offensive and defensive social unit several thousand or even up to about twenty thousand persons. The influence of this linguistic affinity is so great that, wishing to consider the cultural possibilities available to a tribal community, we should not consider its individual size, that is, its size without relation to any other tribe, but together with others belonging to that same linguistic family, or at least to the same division of that family.

J. W. Powell worked out a map of the distribution of linguistic families in North America.<sup>1</sup> This distribution is the final link in the historic chain which has extended through whole centuries and perhaps through thousands of years, and which consists of the struggle against each other of linguistic units, and of their mutual extermination. There exist in North America linguistic families such as the Algonquian or Athapaskan, the Siouan or Iroquoian, which spread themselves over immense areas and sometimes surrounded other, smaller stocks. The strength of their historical trends of expansion was such that they sent out arms and islets outside their originally compact and probably indigenous territory.<sup>2</sup> From this distribution we get the impression that the history of the families just mentioned was distinguished by great pushfulness; they increased their original territory and advanced victoriously, exterminating or supplanting their rivals. There are, on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> J. W. P o w e l l: *Ind. Ling. Families*.

<sup>2</sup> For the primitive seats of the Algonquian race, and its migrations, also the migrations of the Siouan race, cf. J. M o o n e y 1895, 10—12.



other linguistic stocks, which, by the situation of their territory, their numbers and their whole ethnic environment, give rise to the deduction that, in consequence of historic vicissitudes, they are in the position of being wronged, cramped, scattered and strangled by the victorious newcomers. The Pacific coast from  $35^{\circ}$  to  $55^{\circ}$  North Latitude in North America is specially deserving of attention: it is a real mosaic of little linguistic families, occupying each of them a small area and in some cases including but one language. In general the distribution of North American linguistic stocks permits the supposition that there also, in the more distant past, these stocks varied in population and importance, and, further allows us to presume that the migrations of peoples and alterations in frontiers of linguistic units wove themselves into the weft of the history of American man from the earliest period, continuing all through the succeeding epochs of development.

We should extend this deduction of ours to other parts of the globe also. It must be accepted as a principle that linguistic and, in general, cultural streams, originating at various points of the globe, were always of varied force and intensity. There were some territories which favoured more and some which favoured less the growth of population and a rise of tribal enterprise (and there were even some in which the human groups decreased in numbers). Such territories were *vagina gentium* from which issued those who went forth to occupy or conquer further territories. (We only mention this various pushfulness of linguistic stocks, without going into detail as to the reasons of that phenomenon). So it was in North America. Probably things took the same course in South America and on the Australian continent, although in the present state of our knowledge we are unable to comprehend the distribution of linguistic stocks there so clearly as in North America. We cannot even state whether the mosaic of linguistic stocks in those parts of the globe is greater than in North America, though on the basis of the impression gained from our researches up to the present, this is probably so. Maps of the distribution of linguistic stocks, executed for all the lower culture regions, would enable us to discover stretches of more intense intertribal hostility. These probably for the most part coincide with the frontiers of the stocks, whilst internecine struggles between tribes belonging to

the same linguistic family would be distinguished by a milder character,—would be less intense. We have noted that according to L. H. Morgan the multiplicity of dialects had been among the North American Indians the fruitful source of incessant warfare — the tribes speaking dialects of the same stock language were “much better able to keep the peace than those who speak dialects of different stock languages and who were thus unable to communicate with each other, except through interpreters or by the language of signs.”<sup>1</sup> (Studies of the Indians of the basin of the Amazon lead to the same conclusions:)<sup>2</sup> It suffices, for instance, to glance, at J. W. Powell’s map, to understand that the Eskimo, settled on a narrow strip of the coast of North America, owe this disadvantageous position of theirs to the victorious pressure of the Indians. The Eskimo, numbering some tens of thousands, settled on the immense area of Labrador and Greenland and extending to Alaska, along the coast of North America, were divided into numerous small tribes living at comparative peace with each other,<sup>3</sup> and differing but little in language. It is true that, with H. Rink, we may doubt whether the Eskimo of the extreme East and West are able to understand each other in their mother-tongues as they are separated by a distance of more than 3,000 miles in a straight line,<sup>4</sup> but in any case, this is one of the races which is extremely uniform linguistically. But the Eskimo, so peaceful in general, regard the Indians with the greatest hatred, and the latter look upon them with the greatest scorn. These feelings are the final consequence of exterminatory wars, which continued for centuries along the line of contact of the two races. Wrongs inflicted many centuries ago by the one race and endured by the other, from the time of the first contact of the Indians and the Eskimo with each other, still rankle in their life to-day. Of course along the border line which divided these two races there was a stretch of intense hostility. “The Nascapees, like their friends and allies the Monta-

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 196. Of course, there were exceptions; the worst were the Iroquois who pursued wars of extermination against their kindred tribes, L. H. Morgan 1877, 110.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Ph. Martius 1832, 12.

<sup>3</sup> The Eskimo are distinguished by their extremely peaceful character, though there is not a complete absence of fighting and extermination among them. Cf. Fr. Boas 1901, 6; E. W. Nelson, 327 seq.

<sup>4</sup> H. Rink, in *J. A. I.*, XV (1886). 239.

gnais, hate the Eskimo, whom they never fail to attack when opportunity offers."<sup>1</sup> There was no social intercourse whatever between the Indians and the Eskimo, and there were no legal intermarriages between the two races. "Oh, they are not braves, neither are they clever men! They came out from the nit of one our lice, as their name shows!" says an Eskimo scornfully of the Indians. Even in an ordinary camp, when, through the intervention of the Whites, they found themselves in company, this mutual hatred, which makes the Indian murder the Eskimo at every opportunity, manifests itself.<sup>2</sup> Or let us turn to the prairies of North America. There existed three separate islets of the linguistic Caddoan family. Each of these islets was surrounded by peoples of other linguistic stocks, chiefly by Siouan and Shoshonian families. This territorial distribution of the Caddoan stock testifies to the fact that this stock was broken into some separate portions by its enemies. We should expect there to be round about Caddoan territories an atmosphere of hostility, the effect of age-old wrongs and similarly age-old quarrels. At any rate, so it was with regard to the Pawnee islet. As a matter of fact, as often as "a Pawnee and a Dakota, or a Pawnee and any other Indian of whatever nationality met upon the buffalo ranges, it was a deadly conflict from the instant, without preliminaries and without quarter."<sup>3</sup> Hence in both the cases we have considered, the lines of intense hostility correspond with the lines separating linguistic stocks from one another, and this hostility, we reiterate, dates from centuries ago. The centuries which passed, bringing with them the increase in power of one linguistic stock and simultaneously the shrinking of the territory of another, went to create those hostile feelings. Every wrong, every victorious advance of either side, left behind it dregs of mutual dislike and hatred. And among the stocks which were broken up or driven into districts further on, among the weaker stocks, continually pursued by their more energetic neigh-

<sup>1</sup> H. Y. Hind 1863, II. 101.

<sup>2</sup> E. Petitot 1887, 31, 74, 221; E. W. Nelson, 327; the Eskimo and the Indians on the Hudson Bay Territory do not intermarry, L. M. Turner 1889-'90, 184. And in Alaska, marriages between Tlingits and Eskimos were unknown, except when the Tlingit kidnapped Eskimo women in the course of warlike expeditions, Census XI: *Alaska*, 155.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 196.



bours, this antagonism is also accompanied by the feeling of fear. An interesting instance illustrating this state of mind is given by B. Ross, and deals with the eastern branch of the Tinneh in North America:<sup>1</sup> "The fear of enemies, when in these peaceful times there are none to dread, is a remarkable trait of the timidity which so strongly influences the minds of the eastern Tinneh. It is, I conjecture, a traditional recollection of the days, when the Cree (an Algonquian tribe) made annual forays into the country of the Tinneh, pushing as far as Bear River in search of scalps and plunder, when the Yellow Knives bullied the Slaves and Dog Ribs, and the Beavers warred with the Sickanees.<sup>2</sup> A strange footprint or any unusual sound in the forest is quite sufficient to cause great excitement in the camp." Such stretches, some of greater, others of lesser hostility, exist also in Australia and extend along the frontiers dividing tribes of differing customs. But we have no proof that these frontiers were always frontiers separating linguistic stocks from each other. One of these border-lines stretches for 2,400 miles at a distance of 40 to 50 miles from the sea-coast in Western Australia: tribes not performing the "terrible rite" on their youth during the ceremonies of initiation live on the sea-coast, but tribes which practise on their young men both circumcision and the "terrible rite," and which bear the name of Mining, live inland. "Though the coastal and inland tribes differ but little in language, exchange their young females as wives and keep up a good deal of communication, a feeling of chronic hostility exists between them, and wars are frequent."<sup>3</sup> Whilst on the subject, we should mention that the Australian tribes cannot compare with the Indians as regards warlike spirit. They are more peaceful and relations between tribes which use very different languages are sometimes very close, closer, at any rate, and more cordial than in similar circumstances among the Indians. As far as the Central Australian tribes are concerned "there is no such thing as one tribe being in a constant state of enmity with

<sup>1</sup> B. Ross, 309.

<sup>2</sup> However, the Yellow Knives, Slaves, Dog Ribs, Beavers, and Sekani are tribes of the Athapascan stock, although according to E. Petitot they are of different branches.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 367. A similar hostility exists between the Muliarra tribe, living on the upper Sandford, performing circumcision and the "terrible rite", and the coastal peoples who do not mutilate in this way, *ib.* I. 377, between the Kakarakalla tribe which does not circumcise and its inland neighbours, *ib.* I. 303.



another.”<sup>1</sup> However, “great differences in language and manners have usually prevented tribes from associating in this way,”<sup>2</sup> i. e., by entering into lasting intertribal contact (more of a customary character than a definitely formulated one). In this way so-called “nations” arise — just such a loose organisation arising out of assemblies, intermarriage, etc., as to which A. L. P. Cameron alludes as existing in New South Wales.<sup>3</sup> These ties may be still looser and more indefinite. For instance, in the Boulia district in Queensland, there live close to each other several tribes which speak kindred languages. The whole of this area is known to the Pitta-Pitta aborigines as “o o r o o - e n a m i e - e n a,” i. e. “one-and-the-same country” or a country in which dwell tribes speaking more or less mutually comprehensible languages.<sup>4</sup> Even the simple realization of a linguistic kinship must lead in favourable circumstances to various kinds of intercourse, and in time to cause these “nations” to appear.

It is possible that, in speaking of the force of hostility along the border-line which divides one linguistic stock from another, we gave a somewhat erroneous impression, namely, that the ordinary tribal frontiers extending between tribes which are linguistically akin, are distinguished by a mildness of custom. The contrary is the case. Here, too, distrust between neighbours prevails: in the course of an age-long reckoning of mutually inflicted wrongs, much hostile feeling has accumulated on both sides. Here is an instance from North Guinea: “Some ill-will continually exists between neighbouring tribes. In some sort, a permanent state of war prevails. Hence the men do not leave the village without having with them at least a sling and stones.”<sup>5</sup> Or here are examples from Southern Australia. One deals with various branches of the group which G. Taplin included under the name of Narrinyeri: “These peoples speak one language with slight variation of dialect... although these tribes are related, they are nevertheless extremely jealous and suspicious of each other, and almost con-

<sup>1</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen 1899, 32.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 62.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, 345—347.

<sup>4</sup> Walter E. Roth 1897, 1.

<sup>5</sup> R. Parkinson 1887, 77.

stantly at war.”<sup>1</sup> The language of the Dieri, too, is understood by the four neighbouring tribes with whom “the Dieri keep up ostensibly a friendly intercourse, inviting and being invited to attend each other’s festivals, and mutually bartering; but in secret they entertain a most deadly enmity to each other.”<sup>2</sup> Distrust of a member of a different tribe, even one speaking a comprehensible language, is at this stage general, and hostility and the fighting that result from it, a universal feature. The whole difference consists in the fact that between tribes of the same linguistic family this hostility is not of such an inveterate character as that existing at the contact of tribes belonging to different linguistic families: there exists a greater possibility of occasional intercourse and of the formation of a more lasting alliance, but especially the exchange of acquired experience is much more lively and quicker. But let us remember that hostility is the principle — relations of another kind are rather a departure from this rule. This hostility is the most important rule of the tribal etiquette obtaining at that stage of culture, which requires the greatest possible solidarity within the tribe, but proclaims hostility and the use of guile towards strangers. In consequence of this, the circumstance that even within this atmosphere of mutual hostility, open and concealed, there could appear an apostle proclaiming intertribal peace, should excite the greater surprise. We refer to him not because he and similar dreamers, if even there were a few more of them, could exert any influence on the customs of those surrounding them, but because, in the first place, such a voice was an exceptional phenomenon at that period, hence deserving consideration, and, in the second place since it testifies that mankind, in the person of its preëminent representatives, attains very early to views the spread of which has to be waited for through whole stages of cultural development. “Love peace,” says one such apostle among the Hupa in California,<sup>3</sup> “and eschew war and the shedding of blood. Put away from you all wrath and unseemly jangling and bitterness of speech. Dwell together in the singleness of love.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. A. Meyer, in J. D. Woods, 185; some of the tribes enumerated by H. A. E. Meyer are written of by G. Taplin as Narrinyeri clans, but these tribes were actually independent, as was proved by the studies of A. R. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLVIII (1918).

<sup>2</sup> S. Gason, in J. D. Woods, 157.

<sup>3</sup> St. Powers, 80.

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Let all your hearts be one heart... The forests shall yield you abundance of game and of rich nutty seeds, and acorns. The red-fleshed salmon shall never fail in the river. Ye shall rest in the wigwams in great joy, and your children shall run in and out like the rabbits of fields for number!"

We have fixed two limits of the community at lower stages of culture — the lower being the group, within which the daily life of man is passed at this stage of evolution, the higher being the tribe which manifests its full vitality during solemn gatherings. It is worth while to go into the question of the numerical extent of the largest of the social units at this stage, in other words, the size of the tribe.

## II. SIZE OF THE TRIBE

1. Definition of a tribe. Tribal cohesion among hunting peoples. A settled mode of life and tribal cohesion.

Anxious to discover whether the Fuegians had any object of divine worship, J. Weddell, immediately after his landing at Tierra del Fuego, called them together about him and read a chapter of the Bible to those who assembled. Being aware, however, that they would not understand what he was reading in a language strange to them, he made as he read signs of death, resurrection and supplication to Heaven, in order to ascertain if they had any idea of a future state and if they ever addressed Heaven by a prayer. The Fuegians imitated him: they lowered their voices or raised them according to the intonation of his voice, but above all they looked at him steadfastly in the face with evident signs of astonishment. They were curious to learn what sort of creature the stranger was conversing with; one of them held his ear down to the book, believing that it spoke, another wished to put it into his canoe. With a perseverance worthy of a better cause, J. Weddell repeated the same experiment in another place, of course with the same result. And what was the final conclusion from these unfortunate endeavours? A chapter in his book bears the title: "No signs of any kind of religion," and in that chapter he states that "for the honour of human nature" he would willingly assign to these neglected people "a somewhat higher place in the scale of intellectual estimation," but that he must acknowledge their condition to be that of the lowest.<sup>1</sup>

J. Weddell is, however, more sincere than other earlier travellers. He not only boldly states his opinion, but also tells us in what manner he arrives at an opinion. Other writers were silent

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<sup>1</sup> J. Weddell, 166—167, 179, 156, 192.



as to their procedure and only pronounced a condemnatory sentence, disregarding the material and intellectual gains of primitive man and lowering him almost to the level of the animals.<sup>1</sup> *Sine lege et rege*, those words which Gallus, the mediaeval Polish chronicler, applied to the heathen Borussians, were repeated with many variations, only there was a further link added to that old phrase: *sine fide*. "The different tribes represented by no means communities of rational beings, but resembled far more herds of wild swine, which ran about according to their own liking, being together to-day and scattered to-morrow, till they meet again by accident at some future time... The Californians lived, as though they had been freethinkers and materialists."<sup>2</sup> Early descriptions of primitive custom swarm with such sentences as these. One was satisfied with a superficial impression; thought did not penetrate deeply into a way of life different from and needs or desires other than one's own; everything was measured by the scale of those institutions to which one had been brought up from childhood and one sneered at everything differing from European custom. From such superficial and very prejudiced impressions, equally hurried conclusions were drawn and these were afterwards generalised into laws of historical evolution. That scattering of the primitive peoples, a number of examples of which has been given, led to the view that at the lower stages of culture there is no cohesion whatever among the separate groups, and that in general, the primitive peoples live only by families, nay, that with them even within the family there is no link of sentiment, whilst every family frames according to its own fancy or caprice what we should call law. Like beasts, without huts, law or a home! Any gang or party, which to-day camps together, may break up to-morrow for want of food, and it would depend on chance alone when these individuals would meet again. "Sexual feelings, the instinctive love for children and the customary attachment among brothers and sis-

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<sup>1</sup> H. W. Breton, 196, entertains for the Australian aborigines very little more respect than for the orang-outang. According to H. W. Bates 1873, 366, the Caishans are of a low type, very little removed from the brutes living in the same forests. Cf. also the statements of D. Collins 1804, 360. Even to-day there are explorers who have not renounced views like those just quoted — for instance, the Akka "have apparently no ties of family affection." (Guy Burrows, 37).

<sup>2</sup> J. Baegert, 390; H. H. Bancroft, I. 564—565.

ters, are the only ties that keep them (i. e., the Bushmen) in any sort of union... The Bushman lives without a home, and without property, he must be without the great medium of moral refinement — the social union. A horde commonly consists of the different members of one family only, and no one has any power or distinction among the rest. Every difference is decided by the right of the strongest, a stronger man will sometimes take away the wife of the weaker and compel her to follow him... As little is the son considered as bound to the father, the brother to the brother. Every one leaves his horde and attaches himself to another entirely at his own pleasure.”<sup>1</sup> “Like the beasts of the field (the forest Veddas) live in pairs and, except on some extraordinary occasion never assemble together;... distributed through their country in small septs, or families, they hold little communication even with each other.”<sup>2</sup> The Fuegians, we are informed, lived in families and not in tribes, just as the Californians did.<sup>3</sup> “The family and social relationship of the Australians was one of the darkest features of their history. No marriage bond or law of any kind existed among them.”<sup>4</sup> “The natives about Botany Bay... were found living in that state of nature which must have been common to all men previous to their uniting in society... they are distributed into families.”<sup>5</sup> “The Australians are wholly without any form of government... their only divisions as a people are into families.”<sup>6</sup> The family, based upon paternal authority, in opposition to the rest of the world and hostile to almost every other family — this, it was asserted, was the germ out of which human society grew, and which is even now the only existing social tie at the lowest stage of evolution. “It is impossible (thus Charles Letourneau summarized the once prevailing opinions as well as his own) to detect in Australia anything which would resemble a tribe or a group of consolidated families obeying one leader. Each family is independent and governed by the father. It sel-

<sup>1</sup> H. Lichtenstein, II. 81—82, 317—318.

<sup>2</sup> De Butts, 149; J. Davy, 118; J. Bailey, 281.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Wilkes, I. 124; (the Fuegians); J. Baegert, 390 (the Californians).

<sup>4</sup> J. Stone Parker, in R. Brough Smith, II. 156.

<sup>5</sup> D. Collins 1804, 351.

<sup>6</sup> J. Turnbull, 97, also R. Salvador, 301—303, *passim*; Ch. Wilkes, II. 187 (“they have not, properly speaking, any distribution into tribes.”)

dom consists of more than six to eight persons. It is a natural family like those we observe among animals. No law or judges. To each one is left the care of his own defence and revenge, as he can and will. When necessity commands it, a few families join to depart together on a warlike and murderous expedition. There is no other law than the law of revenge, and revenge is pursued without mercy. No personal property! Each family owns its particular small territory and particular hunting-grounds, within the limits of which it lives and dies. Woe to the starving and imprudent man who trespasses on this narrow boundary! He is felled by his neighbours without pity. Thence endless wars.”<sup>1</sup>

It was only later investigation which showed that there is, indeed, among those apparently independent groups, some tie of a more intimate nature than mere occasional gatherings or transient alliance, and that this tie, as among the natives of Australia, is sometimes of a very complicated nature, requiring many years of laborious research for its detection and comprehension.

This tie is the tribal bond, which consists in obligations to tribal solidarity and in the observance of tribal marriage laws.

We shall not go into any detail as to its real nature, but will limit ourselves rather to specifying its external features.

We will select for this purpose the Kurnai, a tribe which inhabited Gippsland (in the south-eastern corner of Victoria).

The Kurnai, numbering 1,000 to 1,500 souls, occupied an area of about 14,000 sq. miles. They roamed about in small groups, every one within the boundaries of its own territory, at least in the course of every-day life. At first glance, social conditions among the Kurnai appeared to fit in remarkably well with that “animal-like anarchy” theory according to which men lived in fami-

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. Letourneau: *Science et matérialisme*, Paris 1897, 338. There is some connection between these affirmations and the view that humanity was lifted out of a state of primitive “anarchy” by the iron hand of rulers. “The perfect equality among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes must for a long time retard their civilisation. As we see those animals whose instinct compels them to live in society and obey a chief, are most capable of improvement, so is it with the races of mankind. Until some chief arises with power sufficient to secure any acquired advantage such as domesticated animals, it seems scarcely possible that the political state of the country can be improved,” Ch. Darwin, 229. Of the numerous statements of this kind we have quoted only one, but that is the statement of one of the greatest of naturalists.



lies and not in tribes, especially since skirmishes sometimes took place between the local groups, and since, moreover, there were among the Kurnai three dialects, clearly distinct though mutually intelligible. "I can understand the Muk-thang dialect," said one who spoke the Thang-quai dialect, "and I speak it a little; I can understand the Nulit, though I cannot speak it; but I cannot understand the Murring language at all."<sup>1</sup> Yet in spite of this apparent social disconnection, there were links of a comparatively permanent kind. The number of families, inhabiting a certain locality, formed a larger aggregate which had a name of its own and which A. W. Howitt termed a division. Custom forbade marriages between members of the same division, charged them with the duty of avenging the wrongs of each and every member and of mutual defence from the consequences of bloody revenges. There were, within the Kurnai area, nineteen such divisions. A number of divisions formed a higher unit, the clan. These clans were very well realised in the minds of natives. To each such clan, comprising several divisions, they gave some particular name: Men of the West, Men of the East, etc. and although no lasting political organisation of the nature of a permanent tribal government kept the tribe together in one body, and although the more remote clans spoke rather divergent dialects, yet every Kurnai was conscious of mutual solidarity. If questioned about his origin he designated himself as a Kurnai (i. e., a man), thus drawing a very distinct line between himself and his fellow Kurnai on the one hand and any strange tribes on the other; these latter he comprehended under the collective name of Brajerak (i. e., wild men). This consciousness of solidarity had further consequences. Thus, quarrels arising from a Kurnai having killed another Kurnai were settled by ceremonial, legalised fights, whilst to the Brajeraks the principle was applied that blood can only be washed out by blood. In case of conflict within the tribe, the adversaries never attacked each other by surprise attacks; custom required them to meet each other in a collective duel at a place fixed in advance, and the bodies of the killed were collected and not eaten by the victors; on the other hand, to get the best of Brajeraks every trick was

<sup>1</sup> Muk-thang, Nulit and Thang-quai are three Kurnai dialects; the Murring are an alien tribe, A. W. Howitt, in *J. A. I.*, XV (1886). 418.



allowed and portions of their bodies were eaten. In general, it did not matter that differences of dialect distinguished the clans most distant from each other, or that feuds arose between their members, or that the hunting-grounds of certain families were carefully defined. These differences mattered little as against the fact of the tribal consciousness that they were all Kurnai: they spoke essentially the same language; the same corroboree songs and dances enlivened their social gatherings, and, finally, they were bound together by the great ceremony of jerraeil,— of initiation — which embraced all the Kurnai except the remote Kroalungolung (Men of the East), consequently the Easterners slowly became differentiated into an independent tribe. The absence of one tooth, which had been knocked out during that ceremony and was the visible sign of the tribal bond and of a common descent, distinguished the Kurnai from the non-Kurnai.<sup>1</sup>

The Kurnai are one of those Australian tribes, whose social organization is comparatively of the simplest, for they have no totems or marriage classes. Yet their organization is very far from conforming to the examples quoted before. Instead of families, each of which is a law into itself, there is a far larger and more extensive community. The several groups, though roaming over a vast area, are none-the-less conscious that they are all Kurnai and that they are mutually connected by the custom of intermarrying within definite divisions as well as by a common language and tradition. They all believe in a land beyond the grave, to which, of all dead men, only dead Kurnai have access, just as here on earth the Kurnai alone own the area on which they wander. And the consciousness of this unity and solidarity is strengthened during each generation by the tribal festivity, in the course of which the youths undergo the ceremony of initiation and at which, in principle, all ought to be present. In other words, "an Australian tribe may be defined as a larger or smaller aggregate of people who occupy a certain tract of hunting and food ground in common, who speak the same language with dialectical differences, who acknowledge a common relatedness and who deny this

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 224—233 passim; A. W. Howitt 1904, 270—280; A. W. Howitt: *On some Australian ceremonies of initiation*, in *J. A. I.*, XIII (1884). 434—435, and *On the migrations of the Kurnai*, in *J. A. I.*, XV (1886). 418—419.

relatedness to all other surrounding tribes.”<sup>1</sup> According to Baldwin Spencer<sup>2</sup> it is somewhat difficult to say what exactly constitutes an Australian tribe, but with some reservations it may conveniently be defined as a group of individuals speaking a common dialect, differing in its vocabulary from that of all other groups and regarding itself as the owner of a definite tract of country, the boundaries of which are known to it and recognised by the members of other tribes. Now such a tribe in Australia, as elsewhere, is that arena of social intercourse beyond which, during the lowest stage of culture, man in his every-day life scarcely ever does as much as peep. (Those rare cases where two or more neighbouring tribes are confederated cannot be taken into account, — not only because they are so rare, but also because such confederacies mostly exist between petty tribes, which, only when taken together, attain the fighting strength of a larger tribe.) But its value in this character is not always the same, for much depends on the strength of cohesion among the tribesfolk, i.e., the compactness of the tribe as a body, on the degree in which the entirety of the tribe is constantly present in the minds of the tribesmen, and with what force tribal affairs enter into their personal life and hold their attention.

Among the factors which decide the intensity of tribal cohesion at lower stages of social evolution, one of the most important is afforded by the character and distribution of the food-supply.

Thus, among the Indian tribes which lived on the Plains of North America, a tribe was sharply and distinctly differentiated not only externally from its neighbours, but also in the minds of its tribesmen. The tribal organization pulsed with strong vitality and ruled the life of tribesman absolutely, interlacing itself at every step with his intentions and deeds. The bison hunts which took place during the annual migrations of this animal were striking manifestations of this collective spirit: the whole tribe in firm and disciplined order participated directly or indirectly in that great tribal exercise.

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<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt: *Australian group relations*, in *Smiths*. 1883, 799.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin Spencer, in *North. Terr. Bull.*, No. 7, p. 9. A. L. P. Cameron, 345, refers to a tribe as a community of people whose language, laws, institutions, ceremonies and customs are the same and who call themselves by the same name.

On the other hand, among the Kurnai the more or less uniform distribution of game all over the area occupied by the tribe assured great independence for individual groups and thus weakened the strength of the tribal bond so much, that there were even collective duels between them, i.e. battles. A natural sense of unity existed there which was manifested most clearly in the initiation ceremonies of the tribal youths, but there was no all-embracing tribal bond, nor were there guardians of that bond save the loose assembly of elders during the initiation ceremonies, neither, finally, did tribal views and exigencies at every moment break into the individual life of the tribesman.

Without entering here upon a detailed analysis of the factors which have affected the degree of tribal unity, we shall content ourselves by quoting some links from the chain of tribal organizations arranged in diminishing order of cohesion.

The Thompson Indians (Ntlakyapamuk) were comprised under one tribal name and spoke the same tongue with slight differences in dialect. But they were divided into numerous village communities, each ruled over by an hereditary chief. In spite of absence of political unity they seem to have been conscious that they were all of the same tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The Takulli seem to be more differentiated.

They occupy a vast area and consist of several local branches. The language of these branches, while remaining the same, undergoes, however, marked variations. Besides, the Takulli, irrespective of the ethnographic divisions based on language and habitat, are divided into several gentes, the members of which believe themselves bound by the ties of the strictest relationship. But these ties are not sufficient to stop the consequences of local differentiation, and A. G. Morice considers whether distinct individuality as a tribe should not be granted to the Babines (Nataotin).<sup>2</sup>

The Tututni, an Athapaskan tribe in Oregon in the middle of the XIX century, were divided into twelve bands: "each of these bands or villages, acknowledge authority of one or more chiefs, and have their separate territories, but their political distinctions appear to

<sup>1</sup> Hill TOUT, in *Ass. A. Sci.* 1899, 501.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. MORICE 1892-'93, 27-28. The Nataotin are classified as a tribe in F. W. HODGE, II. 34, and as a clan or sept of the Takulli, *ib.*, II. 676.



extend no further than the division of a state into separate counties; migrations, intermarriages, a common language, and common interests uniting them as a whole.”<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to decide how to classify the Takulli: whether as a tribe divided into bands or as a collection of kindred tribelets. Some authorities regard their bands as being so many separate tribes. This confusion found its expression in the definition of the Tututni in the *Handbook of American Indians* as “a tribe or a group of tribes.”<sup>2</sup>

In North-central California, among the Wailaki, the Yuki, and the Pomo, the “tribe” was a small body, evidently containing not much more than a hundred people. There was no distinctive speech, a number of such tribes being normally included in the range of a single dialect. Each was obviously in substance “a village community,” though the term “village” in this connection must be understood as implying a tract of land rather than a settlement as such. As a rule this tribe had not its own name, but was distinguished by the name of the principal settlement or of the chief.<sup>3</sup> Among the Yurok, Karok and Hupa even a settlement cannot be considered as a political unit; if it acted as a body, it did so either because its inhabitants were kinsmen or because it contained a man who was of sufficient wealth to have established personal relations of obligation between himself and individual fellow townsmen not related to him by blood.<sup>4</sup>

And it is worth while to note that at the lowest stages a life spent by the every-day groups of a tribe entirely within a small hunting area, and at the somewhat higher ones, a half-settled (or settled) life, are only too often accompanied by weakness of the tribal organization and by feebleness in the feeling of unity. Of course, here too the amplitude of differentiation is large: from great tribal compactness and solidarity to the increasingly greater isolation of individual parties. Generally, transition to a settled way of life is accompanied by a weakening of tribal cohesion. The former tribe transforms itself into an ethnic unit, bequeaths a common speech and, above all there is a feeling, as a Kurnai would express it, that “we are all Kurnai,” or

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Parrish, 494.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, II. 857.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Kroeber 1925, 831.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Kroeber 1925, 830.



as a Thompson Indian would say: "we are all Ntlakyamapuk." But every settlement within the bounds of that unit leads its own life as an autonomous village community,<sup>1</sup> i.e., as a separate, independent social entity, often indifferent to the fate of its nearest neighbours and sometimes even hostile to them. We see this state of things existing in certain districts of New Guinea, where individual settlements attain the rank of separate communities, and the same conditions were repeated among the settled or half-settled Indian peoples. So that for instance, J. Mooney writes of the Comox tribes, Songish tribes or Haida tribes, etc. instead of using the singular. Sometimes a whole host of celebrations, rites and beliefs binds together with considerable strength these dispersed links of the former tribal unity, but it may occur that even a settlement itself remains in its interior life without any organization whatever, and is just a simple group of neighbours. What is more, a preponderance of an ethnic unit (i.e., a former tribe), which is not accompanied by any sort of cohesion amongst its individual small parties, may be observed at much lower stages of culture, as we have already stated for Californians. We should think that if in the country of the Kurnai there came to exist supplies of foodstuffs of local origin sufficient to admit of a half- or even a quarter-settled life, similar "tribe-settlements" would make their appearance. But on the same Australian continent among the Kamilaroi or Arunta, with their complicated tangle of marriage regulations, social disconnection of that kind would be impossible, in spite of a similar distribution of game, at least until their marriage laws had ceased to hold good — another of the factors which decide the degree of tribal cohesion.

The question arises: what, in the primitive stage, may be the population of a tribe, that is, how many human beings may it contain?<sup>2</sup> (But we must note that desiring to express more or less exactly in our tables the numerical strength of the popu-

<sup>1</sup> Among the Kwakiutl the tribe is called *gyouklut*, i.e., village community, Fr. Boas 1890, 608.

<sup>2</sup> This problem was taken up by A. Sutherland: *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, London 1898, I. 359—366. He investigates the population of communities in connection with the stages of social evolution: the lower stage of savagery, the middle one, etc. On the lower level he puts together the Bushmen, the Negritos, the Veddas and Andaman Islanders, from which group he excludes the Fuegians, Tasman-

lation of tribes, we have often met with great difficulties due to the feeble cohesion of many tribes and to the impossibility, in such cases, of making a correct estimate of their population.)

We shall begin with the races at the lowest stages of evolution and will pass on from them to more highly developed peoples. But we must first of all consider the number (and the density) of population in a given region and the size of tribes inhabiting it.

2. Density of population and size of tribes at the lower stages of culture.

The figures indicating the size of the tribal community at lower stages of culture show, by the very fact that they always oscillate between very narrow limits, that we have here to do with a phenomenon which is by no means an accidental one. The conditions of daily, material life at those stages find their expression in those figures. Conditions fix in advance for each distinctly differentiated district, according to the stage of culture of the peoples inhabiting it, the number of individuals it can support, or, in other words, the density of the population.

It would be superfluous to discuss at large the fact that the density of the population is affected by such circumstances as the amount of available foodstuffs existing in a given district, distribution both as regards place and time, and the manner in which the inhabitants turn these gifts of nature to their uses, transforming them into the means of sustenance. Until these fundamental factors in human existence are considerably altered through the attainment of a higher level of technical knowledge by the race inhabiting a given district, the density of the population of the district will

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ians and Australians, placing them with the Ainu and Hottentots on the middle level of savagery. Clearly, then, he has placed side by side peoples which ought to be treated as belonging to different stages of culture (Hottentots and Australians), whilst separating those nearer each other in level (Australians and Negritos). His estimates of tribal size, too, are misleading: for instance, if A. Sutherland estimates a social unit of the lower savages at 12—80 souls with an average of 40, we must infer that what he has mistaken for a community is a simple group, such as presents itself to the eyes of travellers upon their occasional contact with a primitive people; the population of a community at the middle stage of savagery is said to be 150 — too much for a mere group, too little for a tribe.

not exceed certain limits. These limits are subject to oscillation, being sometimes lowered and sometimes raised, but always tending towards a definite mean level, which is fixed beforehand by the amount of natural gifts available and the technical skill of man. Lower stages of culture are especially marked by the fact that on the one hand technical skill and, as a result, the possibilities for man of obtaining the means of sustenance, remain unchanged for centuries, on the other he has attained a high degree of proficiency in gaining his livelihood with the instruments and technical resources available at a given time. It is obvious that the density of population must affect, too, the size of the tribes which live in a district. The lower the density of population the greater is the average distance between petty aggregates of individuals. In these conditions difficulties of communication increase in proportion to distance.

But that density of population is only one of the determining factors which decide the size of the tribe, and one which acts indirectly. The very circumstance that in each distinctly differentiated region there exist tribes of various sizes, and amongst them some are twice or three times the size of neighbouring tribes, shows that here still other factors come into play. The population of a given region in the primitive period was of relatively steady size and underwent only slight oscillations above or below the mean, the growth or decrease being dependent on the greater or smaller supplies of the so-called gifts of nature. The sizes of tribes were, however, less stable in character and were affected by factors arising out of human activity. We should be tempted to state that the density of population in a region during the lower stages of evolution is a phenomenon of nature and that the size of a tribe is one of history, were it not for the fear that such a statement would express more than is permitted or necessary and would thus tend to suggest a rather confused interpretation of the matter. In any case, the tribe is of necessity marked by a changeable character largely owing to human activity. It happens that, as a result of wars and other events (the Kwakiutl are a case in point), "the number and arrangement of tribes and gentes have undergone considerable changes. Such events as the formation of a new tribe, or the entering of a small tribe into another as a



new gens seem to have occurred rather frequently.”<sup>1</sup> “All evidence proves that the present system of tribes and classes is of recent growth and has undergone considerable changes.”<sup>2</sup>

A careful examination of ethnographical material often yields evidence of such instability in tribal relations. For instance, we shall examine the case of the splitting up of a tribe into two distinct new bodies after the introduction of the horse. We cannot, it is true, know how much actual truth lies in the description nor to what extent the author has allowed his subjective views to enter into it. But since it affords an excellent depiction of the possibilities which may affect the fate of tribes, we have thought it well to quote it here in spite of the prudent reservations made above.

Before the introduction of the horse, the Snakes would wander about their country in small groups, gathering roots and other plant products and hunting the limited game living there. At times, they were near to death from starvation and exhaustion; during winter and spring, they were emaciated to the last degree, and the aged and weak probably died off due to insufficient nutrition. In salmon-time they would congregate from all parts of their country and then, with plentiful food, they would rapidly put on flesh. That season brought to light a tribal solidarity which during the rest of the year was exceedingly frail. Then it happened that certain groups of the tribe acquired horses. It soon appeared that those who gained their subsistence on horseback and those who did not could in no manner live together in the same camp, for their mode of gaining a livelihood was too different. The possessors of horses could chase the buffaloes more successfully and generally go farther afield; they kept together in greater numbers and were even forced so to do, amongst other reasons, by the necessity of guarding their horses against forcible seizure on the part of their neighbours. The once homogeneous tribe was split up into two divisions: into Shoshones (keeping to the old mode of life) and the horse-riding Bonacks.<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, we cannot list or make special search for such exceptional factors. For we should consider only those which exist and exert their influence continually at a given stage of lower

<sup>1</sup> F. Boas 1890, 608.

<sup>2</sup> F. Boas: *Kwakiutl*, 333. (Cf. 332—334).

<sup>3</sup> N. J. Wyeth, in H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 207—208.



culture, at every time and place. In the search for such factors we must always bear this in mind: that the tribe is held together by its internal cohesion, and thus in the first instance by the possibilities of more or less frequent intercourse among its members. This is an indispensable condition of tribal solidarity and unity.

We have already considered this matter and have even given a few examples of various degrees of social cohesion. It is evident that this cohesion depends on the intensity of mutual intercourse, i.e., on the distances from each other at which the divisions of the tribe live.

When a division gets too far away from the tribal centre and the maintenance of more animated intercourse with it becomes difficult, it will sooner or later separate itself as an independent body, i.e., as a new tribe. The Kroatungolung clan of the Kurnai tribe, for instance, was in a position of this kind: it did not attend the initiation ceremonies of the young men — that greatest of tribal solemnities and the strongest tribal bond, — it inhabited a remote region and even the delivering to it of a message-stick by which the tribesmen were convoked to that celebration necessarily gave rise to much difficulty. In general, at the lower stages of culture a tribe usually inhabits such an area that the tribal gatherings, whether for solemnities, celebrations or hunting-beats, or the repulse of an enemy or the attacking of one, are not too difficult of execution on account of the distance at which component parts of the tribal community live from each other. And again not only the distance itself, measured as so many kilometres or miles, decided in this matter. The character and formation of the surface of the land, — mountainous or flat, dry or marshy, wooded or bare of trees — had its influence, i.e., made the distances between the divisions of the tribe effectively greater or less, and so determined the size of the area occupied by the tribe and the number of its members. The distribution of the means of subsistence must also exert an influence upon the cohesion of the tribe. There is no doubt that the distribution of game and edible plants, being always the same in the same season over the whole tribal area, causes a greater dispersion of the tribesmen than takes place in the case where annually at a fixed season the whole tribe closely follows the migration of the game. In the

first-mentioned case, tribal divisions meet each other more rarely and are characterized by considerable independence; and if the gifts of nature are such that a half-settled life is possible, they tend to form separate communities. Then the settled way of life at the primary stages of agriculture is even more favourable to such an assumption of independence: a region may come to have more inhabitants, its population may become denser while tribal communities do not keep pace with this progress as regards the number of their members and even less as regards the extent of tribal lands.

Finally there come into play factors which have undoubtedly great influence, although they are extremely difficult to analyse, such as the nature of tribal structure, the character of the race, its greater or lesser energy or initiative, its warlike tendencies, etc. Then come the traditions and experiences of past centuries which bring it about that two adjoining tribes of which the circumstances and the past have been different, differ greatly from each other in spite of being neighbours and inhabiting the same region: the one flowing with blood from past wars is small, the other, more fortunate, is naturally, as compared with the first mentioned, large in numbers; or again, one is full of warlike spirit and the desire for armed expeditions, or is closely bound together by religious and social practices and maintains itself in a compact body, while the other has fallen apart into small groups. But we will not go on enumerating the various situations resulting from factors of this kind. We need only remark that such factors existed and exerted their influence. But in the first place we should recall the fact that tribal communities, at the lower stages of culture, are small in size. So-called chance has here a wide field for action: for instance, the presence of a strong individuality, who in the character of initiator of warlike expeditions or ceremonial celebrations has been able in the past to create greater solidarity among the tribesmen; or unfortunate accidents, such as the drowning of a whole expedition (as among the Winnebago or the Sewee in N. America); or famines and other disasters. Such factors function and have functioned in the course of the centuries, endowing tribes with a greater or lesser homogeneity and cohesion of custom and a larger or smaller population.

All these circumstances bring it about that the sizes of tribes at the same stage of culture are not uniform in a given region, and still less are they uniform in separate regions. But, as we shall see, these fluctuations in North America do not exceed certain limits; an Indian tribe inhabiting the Plains might be twice or several times as large as a tribe among the Tlingits in Alaska, nay even on the Plains, the Osages might similarly outnumber the Otos, but in any case the largest population among these tribes usually never exceeded a few thousand individuals. But whatever variations there were in the size of the tribes, the population of the region in which they lived (of course presuming that we do not go outside the stages of culture which we have under consideration) remained comparatively the same. In the course of centuries, until both the fertility of nature and the technical skill of man changed greatly, that population and, further, its density varied within very narrow limits: its variations were in the fullest meaning of the phrase oscillations above or below a fixed level. It was only with the transition to agriculture, even to the most primitive agriculture, and the establishment of a settled way of life that stability of population in a given district, — that evidence of the modest basis of human existence — was disturbed. The population of a district, slowly but continually improving its methods of cultivation, attains the ability steadily to increase in number. In accordance with this, ethnic units increase in size and, though they, too, often fall apart into independent village communities, yet in the uniformity of their language and customs there is inherent a strong possibility of their later union into a larger entity.

In the light of these considerations we can reach a fundamental conclusion, namely: that depending on the region, every distinctly differentiated stage of lower culture has its own characteristic principles of population, as also relatively stable limits within which the population of a tribal community is contained.

Of course, these principles cannot be deduced if we start from abstract arguments. Only scrupulous consideration of all the facts can provide the proper support for a theoretical work, intended to disclose the laws according to which population increases (or remains stationary) in numbers at any given period of its social development.



3. Size of tribes at the lowest stages of culture: Bushmen, Andaman Islanders, Fuegians, Australian natives.

The Veddas, the Bushmen, the Pigmies of Africa and Negrito tribes are remainders of decimated and destroyed races, hemmed in on all sides by more highly civilized peoples, diverted from the path of their normal evolution, sometimes cast out into the most inhospitable wildernesses. Their former social organization was broken up. Such unfavourable circumstances are always accompanied by the loosening of the social tie and it would need very systematic studies to detect amid these ruins of the former order the vestiges of the ancient, comparatively stronger, and more elaborate tribal organization. As a case in point we can name the Bushmen, who have often been put forward as an example when "primitive anarchy" has been talked about; yet, in the light of more serious researches it appears that their present-day broken-up social conditions are to a considerable extent of comparatively quite recent origin.<sup>1</sup> And generally, in regard to some of the races just mentioned, we lack, to tell the truth, any evidence of an absolutely reliable kind as regards their internal, social structure.

About some other savage races too, the established facts are exceedingly rare.

There are some estimates of the number of Andaman Islanders. About the year 1858, the Jarawa tribe, which inhabited Little Andaman and the southern part of Great Andaman, and was probably divided into several groups speaking distinct dialects, is said to have numbered 1,000 to 1,500 souls;<sup>2</sup> another tribe, the Bojig-ngi-ji (Aka-Bea), was estimated at 1,000 to 1,200 souls,<sup>3</sup> (the Jarawa and Aka-Bea were the most powerful Andaman tribes); the other nine

<sup>1</sup> The earlier and more reliable writers mention Bushman villages with a population of from 100 to 150 souls, cf. J. Barrow, I. 232, 233; G. W. Stow, 165, 182. Kraals with such a numerous population no longer exist. H. Schinz, 388, estimates the Ai-San tribe at 300—400 souls (the hordes, or perhaps tribes in the Kalahari, are said to number, on an average, 300—400 souls, *ib.* 396—397). Other authors usually refer to small groups, for example: G. A. Farini, 252—253 (one group he refers to consisted of half a dozen persons, another of somewhat over a dozen), or H. François, 234 (writes of groups of 50—60 persons). In general, the every-day groups are small: S. S. Dornan, in *J. A. I.*, XLVII (1917). 47, seldom saw more than some four families together (22 persons), even in a camp at permanent springs.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Man, XXV.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Man, 30; A. R. Brown, 25.

tribes were much smaller and were estimated jointly at 3,750 souls in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

In Tierra del Fuego, the Yakgan numbered in 1884 about 1,000 souls, the Ona about 500; the Alacaluf and other tribes, settled between them and Chiloe, did not exceed 1,500.<sup>2</sup> These figures date from after the great epidemic, which reduced the population of Tierra del Fuego to half its former numbers. Earlier authors estimated the Ona at 2,000 and the Alacaluf at 3,000 souls.<sup>3</sup> According to S. K. Lothrop, the Ona about 1840—'50 may have been 3,600 in number, the Yakgan 2,800—3,000, the Alacaluf 3,500—4,000, and the Haush 300 souls.<sup>4</sup> All these numbers are probably greatly exaggerated.

As to the size of the tribal community in Tasmania, we can only determine it in an indirect manner. Thus, if we may believe the statement that four tribes existed there<sup>5</sup> and if we take the somewhat improbable highest figure given for the native population of the whole island, namely, 8,000 souls, we get an average of 2,000 souls per tribe. But these figures are too high. The population of Tasmania was, in fact, much smaller. According to J. Milligan<sup>6</sup> it is not probable that the total aboriginal population did exceed, if at all, 2,000: hence estimates which fixed it at 5,000 and upwards when the colony was first settled are therefore obviously in error; the number of "tribes" and "sub-tribes" was then about 20, and they each mustered, including men, women and children, 50—250 individuals. This statement of Milligan's is rather vague. The population of Tasmania seems to have numbered about 4,000 souls and the Port Davey tribe, destroyed by smallpox, was estimated at 1,000 souls.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. R. Brown, 15—18. According to that writer the total population of the Andaman Islands numbered 5,650 in 1858: M. V. Portman's earlier estimate of the population is much larger: viz., 8,000 souls.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Bridges, 223—224.

<sup>3</sup> J. Deniker and P. Hyadès, 10, 12, 389; R. Fitzroy, II. 132, about 1830, estimated the Alacaluf together with the Pecheray at 600 adults, the Ona at 600 besides children, the Yakgans (the Key-Uhne) at 500 adults.

<sup>4</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 25: cf. Ch. W. Furlong, 230.

<sup>5</sup> A. Oldfield, 222.

<sup>6</sup> J. Milligan, quoted by R. Brough Smyth, II. 410 (and J. Barnard, 602).

<sup>7</sup> A. Oldfield, 221.

But both Tierra del Fuego and (still more) the Andaman Archipelago, as well as Tasmania are small areas when compared with Australia.

In Australia alone, owing to its vast area, savage mankind had a sufficiently extensive field for the development of all its peculiar tendencies in connection with the size of tribes. The size of the Australian tribes will therefore furnish us with the most appropriate scale by which to gauge the size of the primitive tribal community in unhindered evolution. For this reason we have, in the course of our researches, laid the greatest possible stress on the assembling of as many data as possible concerning the population of the Australian tribes. It need, however, scarcely be mentioned that these figures are far from the desirable exactitude. For it must be remembered that before the scientific investigation of aboriginal customs and manners began, destructive influences radiating from the first settlements of European colonization had already undermined them to a considerable extent, at least in the regions lying comparatively near those centres. Smallpox epidemics and syphilis were propagated inward from the shore and decimated the natives even in regions where no white man had as yet been seen. Ch. Sturt first explored the regions of the Murrumbidgee River and Lower Murray River. This explorer, pushing through unknown countries, could not refrain from stating that on the Darling River, for example, the tribes did not bear any proportion to the size or number of their habitations — it was evident that their population had been thinned.<sup>1</sup> He found the aborigines there as well as on the Lachlan River and Darling River stricken with loathsome skin diseases. At the mouth of the Darling River, "it appeared that a violent cutaneous disease raged throughout the tribe, that was sweeping them off in great numbers;" near the mouth of the Lachlan "the most loathsome of diseases prevailed throughout the tribes, nor were the youngest infants exempt from them... Syphilis raged among them with fearful violence, many had lost their noses and all the glandular parts were considerably affected;" elsewhere, near Lake Alexandrina, "leprosy of the most loathsome description, the most violent cutaneous eruptions and

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. Sturt 1833, I. 105.



glandular affections absolutely raged through the whole of them.”<sup>1</sup> Another observer states that throughout the Port Phillip district, “old and young, even the children at the breast were affected with the venereal disease”...helpless infants were brought “into the world literally rotten with this disease.”<sup>2</sup> (However, according to P. Beveridge,<sup>3</sup> for long before the advent of the white man venereal disease was in Australia one of the vilest scourges the natives had to bear; the trepang-hunting Malays and Chinese probably first introduced it on the northern coast, centuries before.) Smallpox wrought still greater havoc. Smallpox epidemics made their appearance among the natives immediately after the coming of the Whites. A. Phillip, in his report of 1790, related that it was not possible to determine the number of natives who were carried off by smallpox. “It must be great...one-half of those who inhabit this part of the country died and as the natives always retired from where the disorder appeared, and which some must have carried with them, it must have been spread to a considerable distance as well inland as along the coast. We have seen the traces of it wherever we have been.”<sup>4</sup> Henceforth the smallpox made ravages among the natives: the infection, originally coming from the east, passed along from one tribe to another and did not die out until the year 1845 or still later. In many parts of the Australian continent white men, settling there for the first time, remarked among the natives visible traces of the former ravages of this epidemic and heard tales about it having sometimes halved the population: it had been at times so violent that those who remained alive could not perform the usual funeral rites for the dead, but were compelled to bury them at once to get them out of the way, to lay the corpses in heaps in hollows among the rocks or upon eminences on various promontories on the coast.<sup>5</sup> Thus, at least in numerous localities,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Sturt 1835, I. 93; II. 124—125, 148; also, I. 105; II. 96., cf. also E. J. Eyre, II. 380 sqq. Venereal diseases, once introduced, propagated themselves quickly, owing to the sexual customs of the natives.

<sup>2</sup> W. Westgarth, 708.

<sup>3</sup> P. Beveridge 1883, 22. Already the myths of the natives speak of ulcers which affected the sexual parts, E. Eylmann, 441—443.

<sup>4</sup> A. Phillip, in *Au. H. Rec.* I (1914). 159.

<sup>5</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 379; G. Taplin, in J. D. Woods, 45; R. Brough Smyth, I. 255—256 passim; several correspondents quoted by E. M. Curr, I. 252, 290, 396; II. 136, 182, etc.

observers had to do with tribes which had already lost a great part of their original numbers. This decimation of the native population before it could come into contact with the incoming Whites, is a very serious hindrance to the correct estimation of the size of many of the tribes. To this are added the lacks of information whatever as to the number of souls in the tribes. Europeans in North America often met with strong resistance from the native population; apart from this, the Indians, in the struggle for colonial territory, were sought for as allies by the Spaniards, French and English, and this circumstance forced the settlers to acquaint themselves with the fighting strength of tribes. There was no such resistance in the Australian continent. Moreover, the Australian tribe was scattered into numerous petty local groups and this dispersion rendered it more difficult to obtain exact information as to the number of its members. Even the informants themselves had not always clearly grasped the social relations of the aborigines,<sup>1</sup> and, in many cases, it needed many years of close observation to differentiate between a tribe and its neighbours. For a tribe is not a category fixed once and forever, it is rather in a liquid state, slowly but perpetually changing: local fractions, farther distant from the centre, may grow in numbers and transform themselves into independent tribes. It then needs a profound knowledge of tribal relations to deal with a fraction of this kind in the proper way.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, petty tribes akin to each other, who were on friendly terms and whose language and laws were somewhat but not altogether similar, jointly celebrated the initiation of the youths and this sufficed for the whole of these tribes to be regarded as a social unit of a higher kind, a "nation" — an unfortunate expression which implies more than really exists. (Some-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the complaints of A. L. P. Cameron, 344—345, on the lack of good information: "mistakes are likely to occur as to whether the information refers to a tribe or to a clan of a tribe," and also those of J. Dawson 1881, 3—4, on the impossibility of ascertaining the number of individuals in the different tribes, as a result of the great dispersion of their population.

<sup>2</sup> It may even happen that some border fraction considers itself as belonging to two tribes at once, A. B. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). The difficulties encountered here are well typified by the following: G. Taplin, a missionary well acquainted with the conditions described by him, wrote a special monograph about the Narrinyeri tribe (1874), A. B. Brown, in *J. A. I.* XLVIII. (1918), established that Taplin had included five different tribes under that name.

times that connection may be an inheritance from a former tribal community, which once existed there but was dissolved, as its fractions became independent tribes.) Under such conditions it can hardly be expected that the information collected should be very exact, especially if we take into account that only occasionally is there to be had information about the same tribe given by two or more persons who observed the facts independently of each other. In short, tabulating numerical estimates of the population of Australian tribes we are conscious of relying on information which is deficient in many respects, though we have selected such figures which to a certain extent could be believed to represent, in the majority of cases, a state of things still not much affected by the adverse influences proceeding from the advent of the Whites. But anyhow, though this or that figure may be suspected of not being absolutely accurate, yet the whole (Table I. covers 123 tribes) gives a clear idea of the limits within which the population of the Australian tribal community oscillated, and therefore also of those narrow bounds within which human life at this stage of culture is passed.

Table I.

Size of Australian tribes					
70 tribes numbering less than 500 souls each					
37	„	„	500 to 1,000	„	„
12	„	„	1,000 „ 2,500	„	„
4	„	„	2,500 or more	„	„

The above figures give an average of about 550 souls per tribe, but this estimate is probably too large. In the first place, the average has been swelled by four tribes each numbering 2,500 or more souls. Now these tribes are rather “nations”, i. e., aggregates of several kindred and neighbouring tribes (even among the tribes of 1,000 — 2,500 souls there are some such “nations”). Further, the observers have taken into account large tribes rather than small ones (thus in our table, among the tribes of New South Wales, only large tribes are registered, while there is almost no information at all about the petty ones). If we strike out the category containing tribes with 2,500 souls or more, the average drops to 400 souls. In any case we may consider 300 — 600 souls as the



typical population of an Australian tribe.<sup>1</sup> However, we can ascertain the size of Australian tribes in still other ways. Supposing that the total aboriginal population of what is now South Australia amounted to 12,000 souls<sup>2</sup> and taking the number of tribes marked on the map of A. W. Howitt,<sup>3</sup> we get some 480 souls per tribe. In the same way, in Victoria, where at the time the colony was founded the aborigines numbered 7,500,<sup>4</sup> we obtain 220 souls per tribe. But it must be taken into account that Howitt probably does not note all the tribes on his maps, and the above estimates of population of South Australia and Victoria are not very reliable. Thus the figures are of very little value, yet they are valuable in so far as they furnish an approximate scale for estimating the population of the tribes: these would appear to oscillate between a few hundred and several hundred.<sup>5</sup> In reality, the size of a tribe seems to have oscillated between 80—100 souls as the lower limit and about 2,000 souls as the upper one, its numbers being dependent to a great extent upon the natural fertility of the district, its topographical character, etc. But these local fluctuations do not change the general character of the Australian tribal community: as a rule its average size was quite small. The population of a tenement-house in Paris would, on the Australian continent, be an independent tribe, speak a language of its own, perhaps differentiated into dialects, possess its own customs, manners and traditions and, above all, be conscious of its difference and independence. Perhaps such a population would even form a powerful tribe in some districts. In such narrow channels does human life run at this stage of evolution!

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Appendix I. where the names of the tribes are given as well as the authorities on the basis of which their numbers have been estimated. Strictly speaking, our table ought to have more and narrower divisions, but then we should have more difficulty in tabulating the tribes in the proper category than in the present table, which gives wider limits to place a given people.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Woods, VII—X passim.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, map on page 72.

<sup>4</sup> E. Stone Parker, 14. Other estimates are lower, R. Brough Smyth, II. XIX, 31—35. Only according to P. Just (quoted by G. E. Jung, 219) Victoria numbered 22,500 natives, but we do not know the basis of this exaggerated estimate.

<sup>5</sup> Carl Lumholtz 1892, 219—220, calculates the size of an average Queensland tribe at 200—250 souls; one of these tribes, dwelling near Herbert Vale, occupied an area of 1,200 square miles. According to Knut Dahl, 16, none of thirteen tribes of Arnhem Land and Dampier Land could possibly comprise more than a few hundred individuals at most. But these estimates refer to later times, when by the influences of our civilization the numbers of the natives were probably somewhat reduced in those districts.

4. Size of tribes in North America. Lack of exact and elaborated data regarding the size of tribes in South America. Size of Peruvian tribes.

At the lower stage of barbarism and still more at its middle stage (to use Morgan's classification, although in a restricted sense) tribes increase in size. Or, rather, the upper limit of the population of tribes rises, for there are always backward tribes, or such which have been almost exterminated, the numbers in which do not exceed the lowest limits at the stage of savagery. This is a fairly common occurrence at all higher stages of evolution, right upward to civilization. Close by populous, powerful tribes there always exist small ones. These petty tribes are often remnants of once powerful ones which were almost wiped out. Sometimes they live together with another tribe, but they obstinately retain their language and their ancient customs. Thus, at the beginning of the XVII century, out of the Wicocomoco tribe in Virginia there were but a few (namely, three) men living, who still kept up their "kingdom," retained their ancient customs and lived separately from all other Indians and from the English.<sup>1</sup> Three tribes (among them the Mandan and Hidatsa), much reduced in numbers, although they lived in the same village and were next-door neighbours to each other for more than a hundred years, were on terms of peace and intimacy and to a great extent intermarried: each nevertheless spoke a totally different language and showed no perceptible inclination to coalesce.<sup>2</sup> But the appearance of very small tribes at higher stages of evolution is counterbalanced by the existence of large ones and, of course, the average size of the tribe also increases. Thus the difference between the Australian continent with its savage aborigines and the North American one with a native population representing various stages of a relatively higher culture, becomes distinctly perceptible when the size of the

<sup>1</sup> R. Beverley 1707, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Matthews 1877, 17. Cf. the tenacity of the Tanoan immigrants among the Hopi, F. S. Dellenbough, 23—24. This tenacious clinging to the ancestral language is to be observed in Australia too: in several localities in the basin of the Murray River a lad after initiation goes away for a time to some allied tribe in order to learn their customs, but he is not allowed to learn their language for it is his duty to perpetuate the speech of his own tribe, R. H. Matthews 1904, 321—322, and in *Z. f. E.*, XXXVII (1907). 878.

tribes on these two continents is compared. The upper limit of two or three thousand souls, which even the largest Australian native communities (namely, the "nations") do not exceed, corresponds in North America rather to the average size of the tribe. According to L. M. Morgan, the Indian tribes number on an average less than 2,000 persons.<sup>1</sup> This figure probably refers to the XIX century, but we obtained very similar figures from our own reckoning of the former numbers of the tribal population.<sup>2</sup>

Let us now consider in detail the North American tribal communities from this same point of view.

It scarcely needs mention that North America was far from homogeneous in this respect. Over its vast area, tribal numbers varied greatly, even if the Eskimo territories, with their exceptional climatic conditions, are entirely left out. Every distinctly differentiated region had its appropriate tribal average. For instance, in Virginia and Carolina sometimes the inhabitants of each village formed a separate social unit, fully conscious of its distinct, independent existence; on the Pacific side it was the same among the Tlingit, Tsimshan or Wakashan tribes. On the contrary, near the Great Lakes and on the Plains, tribes were larger. In Table II we do not, however, take into account this effect of the territorial environment on the size of the tribal population of each district in North America. Moreover, these differences in the absolute size of tribes are insignificant, when compared with the differences to be found among civilized nations as regards their comparative numbers. The only question is whether such and such a tribal community there numbered several hundred or several thousand. In any case the Indian tribal community, though considerably larger than the Australian tribe, was comparatively small. "By the term

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<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan 1877, 114.

<sup>2</sup> By a very perfunctory calculation based upon the figures for several hundred tribes (Appendix II), we calculated the average size of a tribe to be some 2,000 souls. A. L. Kroeber, in *Anthropos*, VIII (1913), 396, has made similar calculations for California where tribes were particularly small. Each language or dialect was there spoken on an average by a thousand persons (occupying a territory of about 35 miles in diameter), naturally, if we accept A. L. Kroeber's estimate of the native population as 150,000. This is the lowest figure of California population possessing a scientific basis. C. K. Merriam's (*Am. A.*, NS., VI. 1907) estimate accepts that this population in the year 1800, i. e., in comparatively recent times, numbered 260,000; of course, each language would then be spoken by about 1,700 persons.



nation," wrote Joutel in 1687, "we must by no means understand a people occupying a whole given region. Such a people consists of a few villages, scattered over an area of fifteen, twenty or at the most thirty leagues. These villages constitute a separate nation, distinguished more by its language than by its customs, for these latter are everywhere the same."<sup>1</sup> Thus it was on the lower Mississippi, and the same conditions are noted in Virginia by the student, if he goes back to the writers of the XVI and the beginning of the XVII century who have left detailed descriptions of the tribes in that region: about 1585, the Indian villages in Virginia usually contained but ten to twelve houses, some twenty, the largest Harriot had seen was but of thirty houses. A tribe consisted of one village, sometimes of two or three, exceptionally of six to eight villages or more. The largest tribe numbered eighteen villages and could muster 700—800 fighting men at most (that means that this tribe consisted of 3,500 to 4,000 souls).<sup>2</sup> In South Carolina every one of the villages contained about fifty to sixty warriors; yet many of these villages were the seats of as many distinct tribes.<sup>3</sup> It is in the light of such figures that we ought to interpret the references to "populous nations" or "great tribes," so often found in various early authors, e.g. when Father A. Douai<sup>4</sup> tells us that whilst ascending the Mississippi in the year 1687, he remarked 110 "populous nations" on his route. A "populous nation" numbered at most a few thousand souls. Of course, relations as to the great numbers of the population characteristic of our civilization were received with decided distrust by the Indians. Le Beau about 1738 tried to make the Indians (the Hurons and Iroquois) marvel by telling them of the power of Louis XV. They listened in amazement. He demonstrated to them what the armed force of this king (600,000 armed men) was by applying the methods in use amongst them of counting by tens and hundreds. But

<sup>1</sup> H. Joutel, 228.

<sup>2</sup> Harriot in Hakluyt, VIII. 374—375. Similar data are given about the year 1609 by H. Spelman, in J. Smith, CVI. J. Smith 1612, 66, saw two to fifty huts together or separated by little groves of trees, *ib.* 65; he never met more than 600—700 men at once. A kindred impression is left by the figures concerning the fighting strength of the Virginian tribes, as given by J. Smith and W. Strachey and quoted in Appendix II, under the appropriate tribes.

<sup>3</sup> W. J. Rivers 1856, 38.

<sup>4</sup> A. Douai, in B. F. French, IV. 226.

when he had got to a thousand and went on counting they said: "You have lied! Don't you see that that number is greater than the number of leaves on the trees in our woods!"<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, however, we have not at our disposal for all regions of N. America references reaching equally far back into the past. In most cases our knowledge only begins with later times, when the coming of the Whites had already exerted its adverse influences on the natives. These influences proceeded less from the Whites' numerical superiority (there was little of such superiority before the second half of the XVIII century) than from the epidemic diseases, which, in North America as in Australia, were brought to the natives by the new-comers and swept off the aboriginal population. This began at the first contact of our civilization with the Indian race. As far back as about the year 1586, the English had only just commenced to have intercourse with those natives who dwelt near the Atlantic shore; within a few days after their departure from an Indian town the natives would begin to die very fast and the Indians "were persuaded that it was the work of our God by our means and that we by Him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons and not come near them."<sup>2</sup> The epidemic of fever in 1617 and that of smallpox in 1632—'33 ravaged the Indian tribes of New England — "these peoples were sorely smitten by the hand of God," as D. Gookin says.<sup>3</sup> In the writings of those Frenchmen who have left us descriptions of their journies in the Mississippi Valley, pictures that are indeed gruesome may be found. Thus, at the end of 1720 Charlevoix found a village of the Ouyapes (Quapaws) in the greatest desolation: the smallpox had ravaged it — the burying-place appeared like a forest of poles and posts newly set up; the whole night he heard weeping coming from the men as well as from the women.<sup>4</sup> The Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley were also swept off by epidemics at the end of the XVII century: "what is certain," wrote (in 1704) de la Vente in his letter,<sup>5</sup> "is that our people, in the six years in which they have been descending the river know certainly

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<sup>1</sup> Le Beau, I. 208—209.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, VIII. 380—381.

<sup>3</sup> D. Gookin, 148.

<sup>4</sup> Charlevoix, VI. 164; cf. Father Membre, in B. F. French, IV. 174.

<sup>5</sup> De la Vente, in XV *Am. CR.*, I. 36 (according to J. R. Swanton's translation).

that the number (of Indians) has diminished a third; so true is it that it seems God wished to make them give place to others." In the beginning of the XIX century epidemics visited the basin of the Columbia river, especially its lower part; about 1801—'02 smallpox destroyed a great number of Indians,<sup>1</sup> not for the first time, for it had already ravaged that region before (in 1782—'83),<sup>2</sup> although the relations with the Whites even during the first quarter of the XIX century were rare and infrequent. In 1829, just before white settling began to assume larger proportions, a form of intermittent fever broke out and raged for three years: it carried off nearly two-thirds of the population, the population of entire villages was cut off by this terrible pestilence. Many tribes were totally swept away or reduced to a few scattered and powerless individuals. Villages were burnt in order to arrest the infection which would arise from the pile of dead bodies that were left unburied.<sup>3</sup> Especially the epidemics of smallpox made great ravages — not only in British Columbia but almost everywhere. For instance, according to A. G. Morice smallpox swept off during 1771—'96 nine-tenths of the eastern Tinné.<sup>4</sup> At the time of these epidemics many Indians to save themselves from the horror of disease committed suicide: among the Cree, Ross Cox saw 200—300 bodies of men, women and children suspended from trees near an adjoining village, the surviving inhabitants of which did not exceed forty persons.<sup>5</sup> In nearly every region of North America such epidemics raged — at some time or other "the angel of death seems to have preceded rather than followed the white men, the aborigines decreased steadily and in many instances rapidly from the time of his first appearance."<sup>6</sup> The "angel of death" often visited the Indians also at later times and on many occasions brought severe epidemics with him. We

<sup>1</sup> Lewis and Clark, IV. 50—51 (cf. a note in R. G. Thwaites, XXI. 333); *Ore. Hist. Qu.*, I. 297, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis and Clark, IV. 240—241. G. Vancouver, I. 242, 256, reported traces of this epidemic in the vicinity of Port Discovery.

<sup>3</sup> P. J. de Smet 1847, 22—23; J. Dunn 1844, 117. H. Hale, 215, states that in 1823(?) this disease carried off four-fifths of the Upper Chinook tribes in a single summer; the living could not bury the dead; below the Cascades the population which before was estimated at upwards of 10,000 did not exceed 500 in about 1840.

<sup>4</sup> A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 254.

<sup>5</sup> Ross Cox 1832, 151.

<sup>6</sup> J. R. Swanton 1911, 39.



are chiefly concerned with the populations of the tribes at the times when they first came into contact with the Whites and for that reason will not dwell longer on these epidemics. But three epidemics of smallpox must, however, be mentioned since they hindered our calculations of the population for that period.<sup>1</sup> One we have already referred to — the epidemic of 1782—'83 in British Columbia which had come from the east and swept over the northern Plains and the whole of central Canada; the second one raged in 1801 over the whole of the Plains (and Louisiana) from the Gulf to Dakota; and a third one, in 1837—'38, swept the northern Plains from Saskatchewan to Red River and even farther. It is, however, not out the question that epidemics of European origin broke out earlier (in the Mississippi basin and especially in Florida before the first white incomers reported them) in the XVI century, when the Spaniards came to Florida and attempted to reach the interior.<sup>2</sup> It is just circumstances of this kind which render it most difficult to estimate the actual size of the tribes of the North American continent at the time when they first came into contact with the Whites. For the purpose, therefore, of drawing up a table of them we have endeavoured to go back as far as possible into the past, citing for each tribe all the figures we were able to collect — both dependable and of doubtful value — and, except in the case of a few districts which only came into permanent contact with our civilisation in the XIX century, usually we have not taken into consideration those tribes regarding which the earliest figures date from the first half of that century. We should add that such a tabulation of many figures for one and the same tribe, has proved indispensable from yet another point of view: even the best authorities too frequently err and it is only in the light of a comparison of the figures collected relating to a tribe that we can draw relatively trustworthy conclusions. (It is perhaps superfluous, but we add that our table does not cover all the Indian tribes; we have included only those for which we possess relatively reliable data, enabling us to make the more exact estimate

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<sup>1</sup> A detailed review of the epidemics which raged in various districts of North America and which decimated the Indians can be found in J. Mooney 1928, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Spinden, *Smiths*. 1929, 465; smallpox visited some tribes in Texas before 1675, Bosque 298, and probably the Florida Indians about 1585, J. R. Swanton 1922, 336.

of the actual or probable population as close as possible.) We have collected in this way material in respect of 503 tribes. (Table II.)<sup>1</sup>

Table II.

Size of North American tribes				
186 tribes numbering less than 500 souls				
125	„	„	500—1,000	„
120	„	„	1,000—2,500	„
44	„	„	2,500—5,000	„
21	„	„	5,000—10,000	„
7	„	„	over 10,000	„

In other words, the size of the tribal community has increased as compared with the population of the Australian tribe. It is true that tribes existed also in North America all the members of which could have resided in a large tenement-house in Paris, but there were also others there corresponding in number to the inhabitants of a small French provincial town. And that is not the limit. There were to be found on the American continent communities including several tribes: these were so-called confederations. We have also endeavoured to collect statistical data<sup>2</sup> regarding them. Among them there were:

19 confederations numbering less than 5,000 souls				
7	„	„	5,000—10,000	„
7	„	„	over 10,000	„

Still, we must make one reservation with regard to Table II in which figures covering the North American tribes are given, or rather, we must repeat a reservation already made, namely that each region distinctive in character set there its mark on the size of the tribe. In other words, tribes of differing size did not inhabit in similar proportions to each other all parts of the North American continent. On the contrary, the size of the tribe differed in every region: the Pueblo tribes, the tribes in the region of the Great Lakes, in Florida, in districts between Florida and the Mississippi, were relatively larger. In Virginia, on the Lower Columbia and on the Pacific they were much smaller. In order to compare these dif-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, in which are detailed all the tribes included in this table, as also the authorities from whom we derived estimates of their population. We also give there a general characteristic of our statistical material.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

ferences let us examine two regions, which we only select because each forms a compact whole and also because the numbers of the tribal population in them are not subject to so much doubt as are those of the tribes in many other regions of North America. The districts chosen are: the northern Plains and the region inhabited by the Tlingit and Athabascans (Kutchins). It should be borne in mind that the Tlingit tribes had a higher material culture than the Indians of the Plains.

The numbers in the tribes inhabiting these regions were respectively as follows (Table III):

Table III.  
Comparative size of Indian tribes on the  
Plains and in Alaska

Population	Tribes on the Plains	Alaskan tribes
Tribes less than 500 souls	1 tribe	9 tribes
„ 500— 1,000 „	1 „	8 „
„ 1,000— 2,500 „	4 tribes	7 „
„ 2,500— 5,000 „	9 „	—
„ 5,000—10,000 „	2 „	—
Confederations over 10,000 „	3 „	—
Average size of a tribe	3,000 souls	ca. 700 souls

2. The North American continent has furnished us with a measure which enables us to fix the size of the tribal community at the stages which L. H. Morgan would designate as the lower and the middle status of barbarism. The tabulations already given should really suffice. Although we should like to support our arguments by evidence derived from other continents where the population is more or less on the same level of culture (and in the first place from South America with its host of peoples which, except for a few centres of higher culture, were as a rule almost on the same social level as the N. American Indians), yet we are deterred from doing so. The actual material regarding, in particular, the peoples of the densely wooded land of the Amazon basin, is so uncertain, so meagre in respect to the figures with which we are specially concerned and what is more, so little systematized that it is impossible to make use of it without exposing oneself to the reproach of using figures of doubt-



ful accuracy. There was nobody there to do for the swarm<sup>1</sup> of peoples in South America what was done for the North American Indians: nobody there sifted the evidence critically or identified the names of the tribes met with in records in the course of 2-3 centuries; nobody differentiated between the collective names covering several tribes and the actual tribal names, or gave their real character to names which belonged to merely local divisions of a tribe. (It is another question whether the existing materials could have allowed of this being properly done for many regions of South America, as they are much lower in quality than those available to the student of North America.)<sup>2</sup> Yet such a systematic arrangement of the material is a fundamental condition of any dependable estimate of the numbers of tribal population. Besides, the figures for the tribal populations are unsatisfactory in many respects. Among other things, it rarely occurs that there is a numerical estimate of the same tribe in two or three independent authorities. And yet, in spite of all these difficulties, we shall give a table dealing with 98 tribes settled in the basins of the Orinoco, Amazon, Paraguay and La Plata. Of course, we give the data with the greatest possible reserve and we are so doubtful as to the value of the material that we have not inserted any appendix with a list of the tribes dealt with and an enumeration of the sources from which the figures were taken, as in the case of North American Indians. Some of the figures on which Table IV is based are derived from memoirs written in the XVII century (Father Grillet 1674), some in the XVIII (J. Gumilla 1758, M. Dobrizhoffer 1783, J. F. Aguirre 1793, reports of missionaries), some from the first half of the XIX (F. Azara 1809, C. F. Ph. Martius 1823—'32, d'Orbigny 1839), others

<sup>1</sup> The number of natives in Brazil alone, before the European invasion, is estimated at one million (K. F. Ph. Martius 1867, I. 53, citing this estimate of Varnhagen, considers it, however, to be a low one and rather inclines to accept Father Damazo's estimate of 1,500,000). This population was divided into numerous tribes. The host of petty tribes, hordes and small bands sometimes composed of one or a couple of families and yet having a separate name, was especially great north of the Amazon (K. F. Ph. Martius 1832, 10). Santa-Anna Nery 1901, 338—363, reckons in the Amazon State 373 tribes, the names of which had come to be known since 1768; C. R. Markham, in *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895), made a list of the tribes settled in the Amazon Valley: there were 905 names, of which 280 were synonyms or names of tribal sub-divisions.

<sup>2</sup> Besides we must take into account that in the Amazonia the name of the gens and tribe was constantly subject to change, for they frequently took that of the cacique whom they allowed to lead them in war or on important expeditions, G. Church, 11. When the cacique died, the name was changed.

yet from much later times, when no doubt the peoples themselves had been much reduced in population; actually, in Table IV, all peoples numbering less than five hundred souls are doubtless, with a few exceptions, disappearing remnants, unless they were, perhaps, once divisions and bands of a larger tribe. Then also, when arranging the table itself we were quite at the mercy of chance sometimes we had no figures at all for relatively large tribes; then as regards some estimates we were in a quandary, as the data undoubtedly covered an ethnic unit which was probably split up into many tribal communities. And if, in spite of all, we have included figures originating at dates so far apart, and so uncertain in themselves, and if, further, we give this table, we have done so because we were desirous of seizing the general trend which must always be perceptible in a host of figures of a similar character. Although the individual figures are not very dependable and some of them even excite the greatest suspicion, yet the aggregate of them is so far informatory that we can approximately fix on their basis the size of the community as existing in those regions of South America referred to. It is true that such descriptions as the following, dating from the year 1703 and dealing with the middle basin of the river Paraguay might give us a better idea of conditions there: "most of these peoples have 3 or 4 villages each and 300—400 warriors; and although they are neighbours they use a separate language, do not understand each other and have no other intercourse save that occasioned by war."<sup>1</sup> Or again, another author writes in the year 1732 that "the Guarani nation is divided into thirty peoples, numbering, it is reckoned, 138,000 persons."<sup>2</sup> But, unfortunately, these are the only descriptions of the kind known to us.<sup>3</sup> Hence we have to be content with the very uncertain data of Table IV, given on the next page.

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. geogr., phys. and hist.* (1767), VI. 28. We could add to the above a description of tribal conditions in the basin of the Orinoco. Namely, J. G u m i l l a, II. 226—227, refers about 1758 to the tribes settled there that one had about 1,000 souls, another 3,000, a third 4,000, two others, whose numbers had already been reduced, about 3,000 jointly.

<sup>2</sup> Father C h o m e. in *Lettres édifiantes*, II. 108.

<sup>3</sup> We have already referred to the small value of the figures for tribes numbering under 500 members. With a few exceptions they have been taken from later writers, such as H. A. Coudreau, Koch-Grünberg, etc., which confirms our supposition that we have probably to do here with peoples that were dying out, or with local divisions of tribes reduced in numbers.

Table IV.

Size of tribes in some regions of South America

21 tribes with less than 500 souls			
17	„	500— 1,000	„
26	„	1,000— 2,500	„
16	„	2,500— 5,000	„
10	„	5,000—10,000	„
8	„	over 10,000	„

Taken generally, the size of the tribal community among the Indians of the Amazon, Orinoco and Paraguay basins is within limits approximately the same as that in North America. It is possible that in South America the upper limit of tribal numbers is somewhat higher than in North America. But we will not discuss the comparative distribution of Northern and Southern American tribal communities into different categories, for in order to take up that question we should be obliged to have at our disposal more dependable material than we actually have regarding the natives of South America.

3. But at a few points on the American continent the tilling of the soil reached a higher stage of culture than among the peoples already considered here. Naturally, their material culture was on a higher plane. Amongst other things, the numbers of the tribesmen increased. Of such regions the Inca state is an example in point.

Garcilaso de la Vega and Cieza de Leon relate that the Incas found in Peru peoples of very low culture unacquainted with agriculture. The studies of H. Cunow have shown the inaccuracy of this assertion. These tribes practised agriculture: the number of tribesmen in every one was comparatively large. About 1571—'72, when, as the result of harsh treatment by the Spaniards, the population had greatly shrunk and in some localities had been reduced by half, some of the tribes forming the Inca state, had still 5,612—7,000 taxpayers (i. e., men between the ages of eighteen and fifty, or fifty-five years). Basing himself on these figures H. Cunow states that before the Spanish conquest many tribes must have numbered 50,000—60,000 members. (It is true that we do not know the size of the tribal population in the period before the subjugation of the tribes by the Incas, but we must remember that many of them had been, when the Spaniards came, barely



a century under Inca rule.) In other words, in the opinion of the author just quoted, the Peruvian tribes would be approximately of the same size as the Germanic tribes at the time of Tacitus.<sup>1</sup>

5. Size of tribes in similar environments. Population of tribes in the period when states were arising. Gallic and Germanic tribes: exaggerated estimates of their sizes.

We have dealt with the size of the tribe, i.e. society at the stages of culture which we usually term savagery and barbarism. For this purpose we have mostly selected Australia and North America. We might have added to the figures already given at least as concerns the stage of barbarism, a few more proofs, but we have disregarded them as they are not exact enough or fail to meet the conditions of spontaneous development unhindered by external factors.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the figures given, although they sometimes leave much to be desired as regards exactitude, show that the size of the tribal community at the stages of primitive culture which we have been considering is not accidental: in other words it does not exceed fairly definite limits at a given stage and thus proves that it is not determined by chance, but by some evolutionary urge. We might follow this up to higher stages of social evolution, at least in certain cases. To support our

<sup>1</sup> H. C u n o w, 22—25 passim.

<sup>2</sup> As an example we would cite the numbers of the population in the Maori tribes of New Zealand if it had been ascertained how many tribes there were and their approximate size when they first came into contact with Europeans. Unfortunately we have no such data to go upon. We will content ourselves with the figures given by A. S. T h o m s o n 1859, I. 90—93 passim, when the population of the island had decreased by nearly 50<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>: some tribes had been almost completely annihilated and there remained only a few remnants of them. Among the seventeen tribes (of course, excluding the broken-up tribes) there were:

3	tribes with	500—1,000	souls
3	„ „	1,000—2,500	„
10	„ „	2,500—5,000	„
1	„ „	5,400	„

As the result of uniform natural surroundings all over New Zealand, the size of the tribes varies but slightly. The alterations necessary in the above list if it were to be made to represent the primitive size of the tribes covered by it, would probably not be great: we should have to increase the population of the larger tribes by 10<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> to 20<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and that of the smaller ones by 30<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> — 50<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Supposing the original population about 100,000—120,000 and 22—27 tribes, we should get an average of about 3,800 — 5,000 souls per tribe, whilst the above list yields an average figure of 3,000 souls.

thesis we will take mountain tribes in Morocco and among the Kabyles of Algeria, in the valleys on the frontier of Afghanistan, in Hercegovinia and Montenegro. But when considering these figures we should remember that the Algerian Kabyles have been greatly cramped in their social development by the French authorities, the tribes are small and not always joined in confederations (this term is used by French writers); but in our table we only take confederations into account since they and not the "tribes" seem to correspond in Algeria to the tribes of other regions. With these reservations the figures are as follows (Table V).

Table V.  
Size of tribes among hill-peoples.

	15 Moroccan tribes <sup>1</sup>	11 Afghan tribes <sup>2</sup>	14 Algerian confederations <sup>3</sup>	Monte- negrans tribes in 1754 <sup>4</sup>	Montene- gran and Hercegovin- ian tribes in the XIX century <sup>4</sup>
Less than 1,000 warriors	1	1	1	—	—
1,000—2,500	5	2	4	—	—
2,500—5,000	4	4	4	—	—
5,000—10,000	2	2	6	—	—
10,000—15,000	—	—	—	—	—
15,000—20,000	3	1	—	—	—
Over 20,000	—	1	—	—	—
Average size of a tribe	5,530	10,760 (or 6,360, exclud- ing the Waziris)	3,703	3,300	4,000

<sup>1</sup> M. Quefenfeldt, in *Z. f. E.*, XX (1888). 113, 128—130 passim. The fact that we have taken two tribes (the joint numbers of which were estimated by Quefenfeldt at 30,000) as equal in number to each other, has affected the number of tribes in the category of tribes numbering from 15,000 to 20,000.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Markham, in *R. G. S.*, I (1879) 49—57, passim. The Waziri tribe, 44,000 souls, is divided into four great branches.

<sup>3</sup> Hanoteau and Letourneux, I. 238—300 passim. These authors give the total number of souls in Algerian confederations. Wishing to preserve the uniformity of Table V. we assume one warrior to three individuals. We refer in that table only to the confederations. Many tribes were outside them. The total of confederated and unconfederated tribes was 103: 20 tribes had less than 1,000 souls apiece, 26 had 1,000—2,000, 19 had 2,000—3,000, 18 had 3,000—4,000, 8 had 4,000—5,000, finally 12 had more than 5,000.

<sup>4</sup> F. S. Krauss, 36, 18.

We shall not draw more general conclusions from this table but we once more emphasize the fact that in similar conditions of environment and at relatively equal stages of culture, tribal population varies within narrow bounds — any variations beyond these limits tend rather to pass the higher one.

The culture of the mountain tribes referred to in Table V. is considerably higher than that of those peoples which have been the subject of our studies. Australian savagery and the stages of culture peculiar to the natives of North America are the stages with which, in principle, our work is alone concerned. Let us, however, look a little farther and glance at the times when, usually by means of conquest, so-called states began to arise. In the XIX century Africa would be a favourable region for such a study. It was by conquest that states had then arisen there: having been created by energetic and unscrupulous rulers, they would grow in population and territory, but after a few generations, when the energetic founders of dynasties would be followed by indolent descendants they would fall apart as quickly as they arose. A state of this kind is an enforced union of many tribes, which were independent communities before. For instance, the Marutse-Mambundu state included 83 tribes.<sup>1</sup> It would be of interest to determine the population of those tribes collected at various points in Africa into states which arose in one generation and shortly afterwards disappeared. Yet in view of the insufficient statistical material at our disposal such a computation for Africa would at present be impossible. At any rate the attempts which we have made in this direction incline us to scepticism as to the possibility of our accomplishing this task. We have, however, gone so far as to supplement our deductions hitherto made by a loose collection of figures which deal with periods immediately preceding the appearance of mediaeval states in Europe. (We should remember too that in the ethnic environment in which and from which the state arises, there always exist, apart from powerful tribes, smaller tribes, sometimes very small ones, being either on a lower cultural level or remnants of larger tribes).<sup>2</sup> The tribes of Gaul at the time of

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<sup>1</sup> E. Holub 1879, 3—4.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that small tribes may live side by side with large ones, is shown by the situation existing in the Philippine Archipelago. About 1890, among 45 heathen



Caesar, the Germans during the great migrations, the Polish tribes on the eve of the formation of the Polish state, represent exactly that stage of culture which immediately precedes civilization.

Relatively, the most dependable figures are those dealing with Gaul, thanks to Caesar's *De bello Gallico*. It is true that some if not most of them arouse suspicion by reason of their size, but in any case, even if we decrease them considerably, we get figures which considerably exceed the limits of the largest tribal community in North America.

Among the most powerful tribes of which Caesar writes, the Helvetians occupy an honourable place. Besides isolated hamlets, they had 20 towns and 400 villages. Yet the fact that this people could pass a resolution to burn their settlements, destroy their crops and move to a new place, shows that they were still at a relatively not too high level of material culture — a circumstance which bids us treat the figures given by Caesar with great reserve. Caesar's campaign against this migrating people forms the subject of the first book of the *Gallic War*. After his final victory, Caesar found in the camp of the migrants a list of population, from which it was evident that there were 263,000 Helvetians and that every one of the other four peoples allied with them numbered from 14,000 to 36,000:<sup>1</sup> from the figures given by Caesar, it would appear that he re-settled only 110,000 of the revolted Helvetians and their allies; it follows 260,000 must have been killed or missing owing to the hostilities which, however, if we are to believe Caesar, were neither protracted nor bloody.<sup>2</sup> All this permits us to doubt the trustworthiness of Caesar's figures. Among the Belgian peoples, the most powerful were the Bellovaci, said to have numbered up to 100,000 warriors; two other peoples — the Nervi and Suesioni — each had 50,000, seven (or eight) others which are mentioned could muster from 9,000 to 25,000 warriors (half of these tribes would have 10,000 war-

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tribes eighteen had less than 5,000 members, nine had from 5,000 to 10,000, seven from 10,000 to 20,000, seven from 20,000 to 40,000, four had from 40,000 to 100,000. But among 12 tribes which had been converted to Christianity, three had under 5,000 members, one had about 13,000—18,000, two 40,000—100,000, and six over 100,000 members (up to over a million), F. Blumentritt, in *Bijdr. Neder. Ind.*, XXXIX (1890). 122—123.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar: *De Bello Gallico*, I. §§ 2, 3, 5, 29,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Beloch, 451—452.

riors each).<sup>1</sup> Diodorus estimated the smaller Gallic tribes at 50,000 and the larger at 200,000 souls each.<sup>2</sup> That Caesar's figures are exaggerated, can be deduced from J. Beloch's computations, from which it appears that if the Bellovaci had really been so numerous as stated, then the population of the present-day department of the Oise, more or less having the same area as the region occupied by the Bellovaci, would to-day not exceed that noted at the time of the Roman strategist.<sup>3</sup> At the most, the largest tribe of Gaul could not have exceeded in numbers the population of Bordeaux or perhaps Lille in 1931, and if such size of tribal community existed at that period of history, it must have existed in exceptional cases, but as a rule the larger tribes did not exceed the population of an ordinary French provincial town.

The trustworthiness of material regarding the Germanic tribes is even less certain. Four Germanic tribes, mentioned by Caesar, had a total of 40,000 warriors:<sup>4</sup> i. e. every tribe had on an average 30,000--50,000 souls. The confederation of the Suevi was said to have sent out a hundred thousand warriors one year, who would be replaced in the next year by a hundred thousand men who had stayed at home in order to till the soil, then the previous year's warriors would take their place at home and a year later again take up military service in turn.<sup>5</sup> On this basis, A. Meitzen estimates their population at a million souls. But we must remember that the Suevi included many tribes,<sup>6</sup> each of which had its own name independently of the collective name which served to designate the whole confederation. The Vandals and Alans were said to have had at the beginning 50,000 armed men: then, by a union with other peoples, they increased to 80,000 (about the year 455 A. D.);<sup>7</sup> the Burgundians, after the conquest of their future abodes in modern France, were said to have

<sup>1</sup> C a e s a r, *l. c.*, II, § 4. At another place, *l. c.*, VII, § 75, he estimates how many warriors the tribes allied against him could muster. These figures are not proportional to the figures for their whole armed force formerly given, and hence arouse suspicion as to the dependability of earlier estimates, amongst others as to the fighting strength of the Bellovaci.

<sup>2</sup> D i o d o r u s, V. 34.

<sup>3</sup> J. B e l o c h, 454.

<sup>4</sup> C a e s a r, *l. c.*, II, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> C a e s a r, *l. c.*, IV, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> T a c i t u s: *Germania*, § 38.

<sup>7</sup> P r o c o p i u s: ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμῶν, *logos* III, c. V, 18—22.

had 40,000—50,000 warriors; 330,000 Ostrogoths occupied Italy and about 500,000 Visigoths overran Gaul.<sup>1</sup> These are no doubt greatly exaggerated figures: the movement of like armies as those of the Ostrogoths or of the Visigoths at the beginning of the XIX century and even at the present time would give rise to considerable difficulty in feeding such a host of people. Among historians, too, there are some who treat these figures left by chroniclers with proper reserve. "The barbarians who attacked the Empire were not many in number. The Goths who vanquished Valens in the famous battle of Adrianople were scarcely 10,000. The Vandals who conquered Africa numbered only 80,000, including men, women and children (i. e., there were not more than 20,000 warriors). The Ostrogoths under Theodoric stayed for a short time in Padua (Pavia), still a very small town at the end of the V century; and since the time of the battle of Campus Mauriacus the 'innumerable' hordes of Attila have diminished to a few thousand horsemen".<sup>2</sup> Thus have the huge masses spoken of by the writers of olden times shrunk in the light of historical criticism to a modest few score thousand. But even so, the ten thousand Goths, who fought at Adrianople, and twenty thousand Vandals were at those times a very considerable force. The population of Italy and Gaul<sup>3</sup> was small and far from dense, and every district there was left entirely to its own resources: in case of famine or foreign invasion it could expect no help. In those conditions a compact conglomeration of ten or twenty thousand fierce warriors was such a power that the local population was in every case unable to defend itself, the more so as the trained legions of the former Roman Empire no longer stood behind them. Fustel de Coulanges is quite right when he represents the invasion of France by the Germanic peoples as a slow infiltration of comparatively small bodies. Only the people of the steppes, who had at their disposal horses not only as means of locomotion but also as a source of food, could move in large bodies — and besides, "where Attila's

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<sup>1</sup> Lamprecht: *Deutsche Geschichte* (2nd Ed.), I. 279, 236.

<sup>2</sup> F. Lot 1927, 267.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of Augustus, Italy is said to have had about 6,000,000, and Gaul about 5,000,000. The average density of population in Gaul was 7.6 persons per sq. klm., J. Beloch, 507, 460.



horse had trod, grass did not grow.”<sup>1</sup> We have no information that there was any such destruction wrought in the country through which the Germanic peoples passed.

We have come to the threshold of civilization.

But the work of many ages was still necessary before the improvement of technical skill and arts rendered possible the appearance of the immense communities existing to-day. Their former numbers, at the time when states were arising, were very small. The Polish state at the time of Boleslas I (992—1025) had not more than five hundred thousand inhabitants; Warsaw at the present time contains within its walls more native Polish population than the whole state at that time. But we must bear in mind that even that few hundred thousand was probably the highest limit which the population of Poland might have reached in the X century. By present-day standards it is an insignificant population, but at that time it was a fairly considerable one. The Holy Roman Empire at that time had a population which was probably much smaller than the present population of London. And when we go back to antiquity, we see that populations were relatively small as compared with those of our own times. Egypt had an area of not quite 28,000 sq. km., i. e., its area was then a little larger than that of the province of Champagne in France. It is true that the population was dense: at the time of Tiberius, Egypt had a population of about 5,000,000<sup>2</sup> — a very considerable one for those days. Even the powerful Roman Empire had not in the days of Augustus on its whole territory more than a bare 40,000,000 inhabitants<sup>3</sup> — a large number even now but one which would not give it in present-day Europe the tremendous historical importance it had at that time.

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<sup>1</sup> An idea of the numbers of the steppe peoples may be derived from those of one of the largest of them at the present time, — the Turcomans. In the middle of the XIX century they numbered 196,500 tents (five persons on an average to a tent). They were separated into nine tribes, hostile one to another: there were three tribes with less than 10,000 tents, three having 10,000 to 12,000 tents, three having 40,000 to 60,000 tents. *Globus*, VII. 190. The confederation of the Suevi might be something in the nature of the Turcoman, but it had not their facility of movement. The size of the Turcoman nation was about the year 1850 probably the same as in the distant past, for the conditions of existence have there remained unchanged.

<sup>2</sup> J. Beloch, 259.

<sup>3</sup> J. Beloch, 507.

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But in order that even primitive states, based on the compulsory union of many tribes, might make their appearance, not centuries but thousands of years were needed. Peoples which are still at the stage of savagery, at least those which until they came into contact with our civilization were not cramped in their social life, have communities equalling the population of a single tenement-house in a large European city. At such a stage as that of North American Indians, this highest limit is raised to the population of an average county town and it is only just before civilization that it rises to the population of a Havre or Nantes (in 1931). As we have noted, this increase in the numbers of the tribal community required a very long time for its attainment. The problem now arises how the primitive population increased; in other words, what principles govern the growth of the population at the lower stages of culture.

We shall now proceed to consider this problem. We shall not, however, take the whole extent of this matter into consideration. We will limit ourselves to the lowest stages of culture only, as those with which we are solely concerned in our present contribution to the history of human evolution. But we must first of all take into account the dying-out of primitive peoples owing to contact with the white civilization.

### III. DYING-OUT RACES AND THEIR BIRTH-RATES

The victorious advance of our civilization swept and sweeps away primitive peoples mercilessly, partly by force of arms, partly by epidemics, but mostly by a far-reaching social break-down. The means of subsistence available theretofore shrink and gradually dwindle away, the social bonds are loosened, the former customs and tenets of morality which formerly maintained the cohesion of tribal communities decay and cease to exert their influence. In short, all the supports of their former mode of life are undermined and sometimes even entirely broken up. Just as cancer does for the body, so impotence begins to devour that complicated aggregate of psychic stimuli, without which there are no prospects of a primitive community holding out in the difficult struggle for existence.

1. Dying-out of primitive peoples. Greater power of resistance shown by agricultural peoples than by hunting races.

We have in this work set ourselves the task of determining the size of the tribal community at the lower stages of social evolution, as also of ascertaining how the increase in population proceeds under such conditions. Naturally, we should consider peoples who have not been diverted from their normal ways of life in consequence of contact with representatives of much higher cultures. The situation becomes quite different, once such contact commences to destroy the ancient supports of primitive society and to change the tribe into a loose aggregate of demoralised survivors. The figures then secured, whether of size of the tribe or of the rate of increase, cease to have any value whatsoever from the point of view of the aims of this work. They can serve to cha-



racterize the advance of decay but can never be a means of presenting social evolution in its spontaneous rise through the various lower stages of culture.

However, we cannot altogether ignore such periods of decay or at least their opening phases and the corresponding data.

This is because, in many cases, these are the only data available and all refer to the period of decline: it is of course well, if they cover the beginning of this decline. We must refer to them as to the only existing evidence or as to evidence of an auxiliary nature. For that reason, we must linger a while on such periods, at least on those matters directly connected with our argumentation and which can throw some light on the questions interesting us.

Amongst hunting peoples, or those who cultivate the soil without, however, having attained any higher degree of proficiency, such decline goes hand in hand with depopulation. Every generation sees the tribe grow smaller and smaller. We have already considered some factors of this decrease but we shall not analyse this question to its full extent. We shall limit ourselves to considering the case of only one of these factors (but one which explains a great deal), in connection with the disaster of dying-out of primitive peoples due to the insufficient number of children raised — the progeny which are to succeed their parents fail to cover the losses caused by mortality. Either the women bear fewer children, or the number of births per woman increases but insufficiently to counterbalance the results of the enhanced death-rate. The apathy which affects the whole tribe reacts in various ways adversely on the vitality of the infants. It is this apathy which causes primitive man, in his unequal struggle with newcomers of a higher culture, to drop his hands, powerless, and to sink in sluggish indifference. He loses the creative energy of his forefathers and ceases to feel the fulness of life which they felt. Amid the former ways of life, which had centuries of existence and experience behind them, he had provided, sometimes perhaps, by severe effort for his morrow: he would starve when drought came (and indeed any kind of failure of natural resources), but he was on the whole, full of confidence in the favourable results of his daily industry and he believed in the future of his petty community. All his activities, whether directed towards the satisfaction of daily

needs or concerned with tribal affairs, were replete with the elements of what we may call joyful creative work. After the influx of the Whites (or in general the representatives of a much higher culture), he found himself in a situation in which sooner or later he had to part with the hope that by his own effort he could secure for himself and those about him a prosperity such as was possible in their conditions of existence. And with this hope lost, the belief that his tribe had before it ages of existence passed away. The psychic stimuli which had governed his activities disappeared: stimuli which maybe drew force from delusions, but from stimulating, socially creative delusions. Threatened on every side by waves of higher culture, he had to take refuge in the depths of the most inaccessible forests, and there lead a life such as cast-aways lead (as happened in Ceylon and Malacca owing to the pressure exerted by Hindu and by Malay cultures); or he was decimated (as in the case of his contact with European culture) by epidemics, demoralized by alcohol, and finally deprived of his inheritance by the new-comers — and always without the least hope that things would ever improve. In both cases the representatives of the primitive culture well felt the fact that their enemy excelled them in technical skill, in weapons, and finally, in numbers. Overwhelmed by the adverse influences proceeding from a higher culture, devastated by arms and by diseases, thrown out of their old paths of life they necessarily lost the elements in it which formerly made for joy. Life lost its former charm for them, and offered no new, creative, favourable motives for action.

And this overwhelming action of higher culture, manifesting itself, among other ways, in the inhibition of the increase of the population, acts the quicker the greater the abyss between the future victors and the future vanquished. We can clearly observe, among other places in Siberia, the lack of resistance shown by the hunting tribes and some pastoral tribes as compared with the greater endurance of settled peoples.

Thus, neither the race to which the tribe belongs nor the locality it inhabits, nor even the climate, decides to any great extent the intensity and nature of the increase of the population among the natives of Siberia; the fundamental factors which decide as to the nature of such increase, are undoubtedly the economic situation and, in

general, the conditions of life.<sup>1</sup> All the native races living there in culturally backward regions, i. e., in northern and central Siberia, or on the rivers of the East, and on the eastern coast, are at a low level of culture, and lead an unsettled life as hunters, or a nomad one as breeders of reindeer, or, finally, a half-settled one as fishermen and hunters of sea-game. Amongst them most of the hunting and fishing peoples are more or less rapidly dying out. The breeders of reindeer are in a better situation if they have sufficiently large herds of reindeer (70—100 head to a family); they do not experience the famine which often affects even the settled native population in northern Siberia, and except in time of epidemics, they increase in number, though very slightly. On the other hand, the peoples which have reached a higher stage of culture, as they are breeders of cattle, show a decided increase, although a lesser one than their kindred, who have taken up agriculture. This dependence upon the source of maintenance appears most strikingly amongst those peoples the different branches of which lead a different mode of life, such as, for instance, the Voguls and the Tunguses. The Voguls, living from hunting, have remained stationary in numbers for the last fifty years, or have even decreased, according to the localities they stayed in, but on the other hand their countrymen who lead a settled life show a decided increase in numbers. In the same way the Tunguses, who lead a settled or semi-settled life as cattle-breeders and farmers, increase fairly greatly in numbers, but branches of them which are occupied in the breeding of reindeer or in hunting, are not distinguished for vitality and it is only in a few localities that they show an increase in numbers.<sup>2</sup> We might have taken native America instead of Siberia: the degree of resistance of the peoples there to the adverse influences proceeding from the Whites which condemned Indians to extinction, corresponds, undoubtedly, to the mode of life led by one or other of these peoples: the hunting tribes were more susceptible to the decline than the agricultural peoples. This is comprehensible: the invasion by newcomers with a higher, settled culture, restrained freedom of movement — that movement, necessarily over a comparatively extensive area, which is inherent in the nomad-hunting mode of life and

<sup>1</sup> S. Patkanoff, 56.

<sup>2</sup> S. Patkanoff, 56—58, 10—11, 31—40 *passim*.



is an indispensable condition of success in providing food-supplies. On the other hand, as more and more settlers came, game became thinned down, driven away or totally exterminated. Even where the most friendly and kindly relations exist between the new-coming settlers and the native hunters, the latter are condemned to want, as is the case with the fishing peoples on the eastern coast of Siberia where the sea game, as the result of extensive destruction by European fishing boats, has been decimated. Wherever the farmer-settler has appeared, there is no future for a people who live by hunting, especially if the new-comers (or their herds) quickly increase in number. The native becomes possessed by doubt as to the future of his race, and then by reluctance to leave progeny. "No country, no good it have piccaninies," says the Australian for that reason. And it is just that aspect of social break-down which in the course of time makes its appearance among primitive peoples subjected to the invasion of their country by civilized new-comers.

2. Moral depression of dying-out peoples. Effects of this depression among hunting Tasmanians, nomad Chukchee and settled peoples of Melanesia.

Let us get an idea of the consequences of social break-down among primitive peoples as regards the number of progeny, by examining some primitive peoples at different stages of culture, beginning with savage hunters and ending with barbarian farmers.

The Tasmanians among peoples at the lowest stage of culture give the most striking example of this.

The white new-comers, by settling in Tasmania, had the worst possible effect on the sources of the food-supply of the islanders. A life and death struggle began. The black men were mercilessly destroyed by force of arms, not to mention other consequences of the presence of the settlers, — consequences which finally tended in the same direction. The Tasmanians bravely resisted the Whites, till, having been reduced to hundreds from thousands, they submitted. The remnants that remained were presented with sheep and received annuities. In a word, in comparison to the uncertain life of a hunter, these remnants were surrounded with plenty and

secured as to their morrow. And yet they kept dying out! In order to understand the inevitability of their dying-out, we must take into consideration the breaking up of their inner life by the changed conditions of existence. For many centuries the Tasmanians had lived on their island, sometimes exposed to famine (when, probably, they saved themselves by devouring children) and always subject to various anxieties, but for the most part their life was a happy one. Those migrations of theirs, when moving from one forest clearing to another, from one forest fastness to another, doubtless gave rise to a host of impressions of the most various kinds and to many pleasant thrills. Their hunts together, their assemblies and corroborees, their initiation ceremonies, and many other events, broke the monotony of their lives, awoke their imagination, touched the strings of their sentiment and gave a charm to life. But the white settlers came, and after years of struggle they transported the little groups which remained to Flinders Island. They were surrounded with the outward semblance of material well-being,<sup>1</sup> but they were deprived of their former abundance and vitality of impressions and emotions. The Tasmanians, restricted to a small area, had parted with all that had made up the life of their forbears for ages. A more and more dominant home-sickness began to afflict them. Sometimes they would assemble on an eminence from which, in favourable weather, they could see the indistinct outline of their native island, and they would gaze at it helplessly. "When a poor gin, with eager look and pointing finger, asked a gentleman if he saw the white, snowy crest of the towering Ben Lomond, then just looming in the distance, the tears rolled down her swarthy checks, as she exclaimed: that-me-country!"<sup>2</sup> Life lost its charm for them. We do not know whether they got rid of their progeny by artificial abortion, and in general, whether they did not want to have children, or, perhaps, could not — they "were treated with uniform kindness" — nevertheless "the births have been few, and the deaths numerous."<sup>3</sup> But this took place because life had lost for them its former attrac-

<sup>1</sup> According to J. Backhouse (in *Abor. Pr. S.* 1839, VI. 188) the life of the Tasmanians of Flinders Id. could almost be termed idyllic.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bonwick 1884, 212—213.

<sup>3</sup> However, the unhealthy position of their settlement, partly due to a scarcity of pure water, contributed to reduce their number, J. Fenton, 375.

tion: in the individuality of the primitive man there came to exist, as the result of the changes which had taken place in his environment, a conviction that it was not worth while further to perpetuate his race, which was condemned to destruction. This conviction might be accompanied, as the further result of homesickness, by physiological inability of the men to make the women mothers. Robinson, the very man who induced the last of the Tasmanians to surrender to the Whites, makes an interesting observation.<sup>1</sup> "It is my opinion that the inhabitants of this island suffer much from mental irritation. Various circumstances produce this effect; and though the deaths of the Aborigines at Flinders Island may be ascribed to other causes, as catarrh, inflammation, etc., still it will be found that mental irritation accelerated, if not the disease, the sufferings of the patient, and, in too many cases, has proved fatal. When the Aborigine is first affected, either from cold, or otherwise, he immediately desponds, refuses natural sustenance, and gives himself up to grief: mental irritation follows, and at length he dies in a state of delirium. And I think I am borne out in my opinion by the sudden dissolution of the wife after the death of the husband, although at the time she may be in apparent health; and that of the husband after the decease of the wife." This "irritation" must necessarily in the conditions of exile merge into apathy, and, with that, the enfeeblement of physiological power, or at least of the desire to leave progeny behind. According to Dr. Barnes, more than half died, not from any positive disease, but from "home-sickness" — "a disease of the stomach" which comes entirely from a desire to return to their own country.<sup>2</sup>

Let us pass from Tasmania to the north-eastern region of Siberia, — to the Chukchee.

The Chukchee are divided into two branches: a nomad one breeding reindeer, and a settled one, living on the coast by fishing. Both branches have greatly decreased in number. Smallpox, in the middle eighties of the last century, decimated the breeders (for instance those roving in the tundra to the east of the river Kolyma fell at once to a quarter of their former number); whilst the fishermen in the period 1850—1910, on account of fre-

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<sup>1</sup> J. B o n w i c k 1870, 90; and 1884, 212.

<sup>2</sup> J. F e n t o n, 375.



quent famines (the consequence of the extermination of sea-game in the Behring Sea by fishing-industries), dropped in numbers to a third.<sup>1</sup> The Chukchee<sup>2</sup> lost their vital energy, and hence their former zest for life, which gave them the will, and hence the power, to struggle with the harsh Arctic environment. To-day many of them abstain from marrying, or, in case of marriage, from having children.<sup>3</sup> If this is actually the case, we might presume that the intensity of sexual instinct has been weakened. This same apathy is evident in them whenever there is a necessity for showing energy,—for making an effort. They have dropped a large part of their former pursuits, which were indispensable for obtaining the necessary food, and patiently submitted to regular periods of famine, since they hold that their tribe is doomed to destruction. For instance, they have ceased to a large extent to hunt reindeer, and to capture moulting birds, as these activities require too much exertion. They live solely by fishing and every spring they suffer from a scarcity of food, often becoming real famine. The consciousness that they are condemned to extinction is always present in their minds. An old man said to V. Bogoraz: "The spirits, it seems, take care that the people of this country shall not multiply. In olden times war was sent down to ward off increase. In spite of the abundant variety of sea-game famine would come and carry off the surplus. At present, with the fulsome supply of American food the disease comes down and—the result is exactly the same!"<sup>4</sup>

The Tasmanians are, or rather were hunting people of the lowest stage; the Chukchee are partly hunters of a higher stage and partly breeders of reindeer. We shall now turn to a still higher level of culture — to primitive, but settled peoples, engaged in till-

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<sup>1</sup> S. Patkanoff, 45.

<sup>2</sup> V. Bogoraz, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Yet, according to that same author, Bogoraz, 35, the Chukchee have more children than their neighbours; 10% of their families have no less than five living children. It is true that the mortality is enormous: in three families there were 33 children of which 18 died. A. E. Nordenskjöld, 449, remarks upon the large number of children in a settlement which he visited. S. Patkanoff, at a somewhat earlier period, states, on the contrary, that the Chukchee have, compared to their neighbours, fewer children.

<sup>4</sup> V. Bogoraz, 36. Among the neighbouring Yukaghir, on the Lower Kolyma, the number of unmarried persons is also disproportionately large, *ib.*, 36

ing the soil and growing fruit. We allude to the Melanesians of Eddystone Island and of the Fiji Archipelago.

On Eddystone Island<sup>1</sup> there are practically absent all the factors to which some writers ascribe the decrease of the population of Melanesia. At any rate, W.H.R. Rivers could not discover them on that island. And yet there too the diminution of population is striking. This decrease is chiefly caused by the falling of the birth-rate. The reduction in the number of progeny is connected with the sluggish apathy which has taken possession of the natives. Everyone who has been on Eddystone Island cannot have failed to notice how great is the people's lack of interest in life, and to what extent the zest has gone out of their lives. Rivers thinks that this lack of interest is largely due to the abolition by the British Government of head-hunting. For this bloody custom formed there the centre of a social and religious institution, which took a prevailing part in the lives of the natives, and concentrated within itself all the stimuli exciting them to activity in any direction. The heads that were hunted were necessary for the purpose of propitiating the ancestral ghosts on such occasions as building a new house for the chief, or making a new canoe; they were also offered in sacrifice at the funeral of a chief. Head-hunting was not only necessary for the due performance of the religious rites of the people but it also stood in the closest relations to pursuits of an economic kind. The head-hunting expedition, indeed, only lasted a few weeks, and actual fighting often only a few hours, but this was only the culminating point of a process that would last several years. Thus, there was a rule that new canoes should be made for an expedition to obtain heads; the manufacturing of those meant work which roused the greatest possible interest for months, and even probably for years. The process of canoe-building was accompanied throughout by numerous rites and feasts which not only excited the liveliest interest and kept minds agog, but also acted as very strong stimuli to various activities of horticulture and pig-breeding. It was necessary to prepare a store of food for the expected feasts. And when the day fixed for the expedition approached, other rites

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<sup>1</sup> W.H.R. Rivers 1922, 102—104.

and feasts were held. And these rites and feasts were yet more frequent and on a larger scale after the return of a successful hunting-party. By stopping the practice of head-hunting the new rulers, brought up in the atmosphere of a different kind of culture, were abolishing an institution which had its roots in the religious life of the people and the branches of which had grown into every domain of its culture, — into every moment of its life. The natives were deprived of that which, for the most part, gave them the urge to work and lent charm to their lives. Their religion was undermined and nothing was given them in exchange. The natives have responded to that by becoming indifferent — they live and work lazily, and, finally, they are indifferent as to the future of their race. They have ceased to increase sufficiently to prevent the diminution of the population of the island. They are acquainted with the means of producing abortion; they also use measures which they believe prevent conception, and there is no doubt that these means play an immense part in the lowering of the birth-rate. They say: "Why should we bring children into the world only to work for the white man?" The measures which were used in exceptional cases before the coming of the Europeans, chiefly to dispose of the fruit of illegitimate love, have become the instrument of racial suicide...

The state of things in the Fiji Archipelago apparently appears to be rather different.

We have numerous data regarding these islands owing to the report of a special commission.<sup>1</sup>

The findings contained in that report are not perhaps always accurate as a whole, but we shall refer to them without reservations since, although not always happily expressed, yet they are always much to the point in fundamentals. Often, too, they merely quote the explanations furnished by the natives themselves. The Fijians attribute their depopulation to the early seduction and sexual immorality of the young girls; to the decay of the former practice of marital abstinence during the suckling of children by their mothers; to physical weakness of the women due to their having children in too rapid succession, and to the action of epidemics

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the decrease of the (Fiji) native population, Suva 1896.*



brought in by Europeans.<sup>1</sup> We shall not of course undertake an analysis of all these factors, but shall content ourselves with considering only these bearing directly on the purposes of this book. It will extend the rather sketchy remarks quoted by us on the decrease of the Eddystone islanders.

The population of the Fiji Archipelago has been decreasing steadily year by year from the time it came into contact with the Whites.

"The Fijian of to-day lives in an atmosphere of mortality. He is not tenacious of life, and his dread of death is a mere physical fear. If he becomes ill of any save the most ordinary malady, he probably makes no struggle for life. Instances are known where a Fijian, ill of some chronic malady, has fixed the date of his death two or three weeks before its occurrence and died on the appointed day."<sup>2</sup> This indifference to death is one of the symptoms of that sluggish apathy which can be observed at every step amongst the natives; they are indifferent to their own welfare, improvident and negligent of the health of their children. This improvidence and indifference is said to date from about the year 1880, when they were freed from war. Savage warfare was waged with weapons too primitive to be over-destructive to human life, but the natives had always to be prepared for war and this circumstance made every individual wary, energetic and ambitious for the predominance of his own clan. To-day, this stimulus is lacking. In addition, thanks to European implements for house-building and agriculture, human labour has become more productive and the production of food entails less labour. In this manner, still another stimulus has passed away and left the Fijian sunk in his indolence, or rather in both indolence and improvidence.<sup>3</sup> He has become reconciled to death and accepted it as the unavoidable fate of his race. The decrease of population is not due to sterility but to infantile mortality.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A severe epidemic, called *lila* by the natives, was raging in 1800; the last epidemic before the Inquiry was that of measles in 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Fiji Report*, 70. And the same depression is observed among the Marquesan islanders. "The Marquesan beholds with dismay the approaching extinction of his race. The thought of death sits down with him to meat, and rises with him from his bed; he lives and breathes under a shadow of mortality awful to support; and he is so inured to the apprehension that he views the reality with relief," R. L. Stevenson: *In the South Seas*, quoted by S. H. Roberts, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiji Report*, 72—75 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Fiji Report*, 125.

This infantile mortality appears as an ever-present and material sign and reminder to the natives that they are doomed to die out. The average annual birth-rate during 1881—'91 was 38.48<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub>; this is a very high rate, but the death-rate for the same period was still higher, viz. 41.82<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub>.<sup>1</sup> This high death-rate was due to the excessively great infantile mortality. On the average, during the first seven years of the above decade, 45.1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the infants died within a year of their birth; in 1890, this mortality fell to 40<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> (of which figure 17<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> were children dying under one month of life), but in 1891 it rose to 58<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> (23<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> under one month).<sup>2</sup> The number of still-born children was 5.32<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of all infants born in 1890 and 6.13<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in 1891, this rate being far in excess of that in Europe.<sup>3</sup> The high still-birth rate coinciding with a high rate of infantile mortality is evidence that such mortality is due less to neglect by parents of the children than to actual congenital weakness of the offspring.<sup>4</sup> It would be of interest to examine the causes of weakness. It was said by natives to have chiefly been caused by the changes which took place in the connubial life of the natives. The life of women in the Fiji Archipelago had been a hard one in the past. A strong and healthy girl would, after a few years of married life, become "a broken-down old hag." A local saying expresses the qualities of a good wife thus: a yalewa dau tei, dau qoli, dau cakacaka (a woman who always plants, always fishes and always works).<sup>5</sup> Being over-worked the woman could neither give attention to nor the nutriment necessary for rearing the child. She felt the birth of every new child as a new burden, piled up on the numerous duties already weighing down heavily on her. Although she could under other conditions, give birth to five or six children, she was unwilling to bear more than two or three.<sup>6</sup> In many cases, infanticide or artificial abortion was resorted to and the number of children thus kept down to the desired level. At the time of the com-

<sup>1</sup> *Fiji Report*, 68, 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Fiji Report*, IV. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiji Report*, IV. 108—109. Approximately at the same time still-births were 2.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the total births in Hungary, 2.8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in Denmark, 3.8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in Germany, 3.6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in Italy, 4.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in Belgium and Holland.

<sup>4</sup> *Fiji Report*, IV. 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Fiji Report*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Fiji Report*, 39.

mission, infanticide had disappeared as a practice but induced abortion had become common. "Whereas in former times the practice of abortion was limited to a few midwives, to whom women desirous of undergoing the operation would resort, some of the secrets of trade are now common property among the women."<sup>1</sup> (Out of 448 mothers of families, 55 have been subject to miscarriages and abortions.)<sup>2</sup> The woman, overworked as she was, usually breast-fed a child until all its teeth came and in any case from one to three years, sometimes, albeit rarely, even longer. She had no artificial food for her children who would therefore be suckled until old enough to digest solid vegetable food. During the whole period of suckling, a mother would refrain from cohabitation partly due to the fear of impoverishing her milk and partly of again becoming pregnant before her child was weaned: the fathers lived in the men's house.<sup>3</sup> Owing to contact with the Whites these relations underwent a great change. The former abstinence ceased to be respected; the woman becomes pregnant more frequently and that often at times when the last child is still unweaned and in many cases even cannot yet be weaned. The mother is physiologically incapable of nourishing the foetus within her and the child at her breast as well: the symptoms of defective nutrition become evident very soon after a new conception has taken place: unless the child is weaned without delay, it will become too weak to undergo the strain of a change in diet.<sup>4</sup> "There is no doubt that the women now bear children at shorter intervals than was the case in former times and that they have to endure this added functional strain under less favourable circumstances than attended the women of by-gone generations; of course, many women go on bearing weakly children which fail to survive a year from their birth and many of these deaths are the outcome of constitutional atony on the maternal side."<sup>5</sup> "The feeling of the most

<sup>1</sup> *Fiji Report*, 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Fiji Report*, 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiji Report*, 144—146.

<sup>4</sup> *Fiji Report*, 146. The Fijians have a special word *dabe* which expresses the idea of the starvation of an unweaned child caused by the mother's new conception (*Fiji Report*, 147). Cf. L. de Vaux in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, II. (1883). 330, that in New Caledonia the women are too overworked in every respect and as a result cannot furnish sufficient nourishment to their babies.

<sup>5</sup> *Fiji Report*, 71.



intelligent natives is that cohabitation should be abstained for a whole year after the birth of a child. Women have shown themselves to lack the stamina necessary for bearing healthy children in rapid succession. Whether this proceeds from inherent physical incapacity, or from improper, or insufficient food, or from a combination of these conditions, will always be a matter for conjecture. Nearly one-half of the children die within a year of their birth. In many cases the death is caused by a second conception having taken place; but even when the child has not been dabe'd its death makes room for a second conception, thus swelling the birth-rate but impoverishing the physical strength of the mother and of her subsequent offspring. The opinion of natives, that the decay of the separation of parents is a grave cause of infant mortality, would seem to be founded upon sound truth... The reproductive powers of the Fijian woman of to-day are being forced, while her body is no better prepared by a more generous diet to meet the strain than when she was allowed to follow the less exacting course of nature for which, only, her body as at present nourished is fitted."<sup>1</sup>

3. Influence of social breakdown and moral depression upon fertility of women.

We have considered some peoples, namely those, on whom there is more detailed information. But this racial suicide is more general. "A curiously tranquil despair seemed to come to the minds of the natives (in Polynesia and Melanesia) when tapu and all that is signified as 'the life force' and 'the basis of human welfare' went... From the snow-summits of Dutch New Guinea to the gulches of the Marqueses, in the minds of Melanesians and Polynesians alike, the psychological despair is found, and the natives just die by wasting away or take the more rapid path of ewa-poisoning. Usually, that curious disease of the mind, which found expression by wasting of the body, sets in a stuporose condition which has defied analysis by Western doctors but which is a kind of delusional melancholy. This death-disease, as potent as it is intangible, is the dramatic protest of the islander against civili-

<sup>1</sup> *Fiji Report*, 147; cf. 125, 126, 146.

sation and against the sudden dislocation of his pristine methods of life — and yet, by its very nature, the protest avails naught.”<sup>1</sup> But the above examples, too, suffice to make clear the state of depression and apathy into which, owing to the inroads of the Whites, peoples of lower culture fell, or at least, some of them. It is true that the descriptions of that condition which we have cited vary greatly at the first glance. But we consider their variance to be rather apparent than real; if we had more detailed material to hand, it would probably be evident that actually the variations were much smaller — every investigator looked at the matter from a different point of view, i. e., drew attention to one factor and neglected others. It would seem that the features common to all these peoples (except the Tasmanians, who differed more from the average), and probably many others which die out, may be summed up as follows:

1. On contact with our civilization, primitive peoples are affected by a whole host of disastrous influences. There are epidemics carried in by the Whites (we have already had occasion in this work to mention their intensity) as also other diseases which, although slower in action, still strike at the very root of the tribal health. The harmful environment created by the inroad acts upon the race: the drunkenness of the men and the immorality of the women ruins the vitality of the tribe, which is transformed into a collection of demoralized wrecks. But chiefly there is the action of mortality, which affects children in the early years of their life (and sometimes perhaps the lessened fecundity of the women). Especially among settled peoples, deriving their food-supply partly or wholly from agriculture, the fact that the losses caused to the tribe by child mortality are not covered by correspondingly numerous births, is probably the chief reason of the decline of the race. This mortality among young children is caused by the deplorable situation in which these peoples find themselves after coming into contact with the Whites.

2. The former way of life, with its customs and demands, kept the mind of a man alert, gave him an object in life and compelled him to engage in various, sometimes very strenuous deeds. Deprived of his former motives the native grows lazy and tries to avoid any effort whatever. He is conscious that his race is condemned to

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<sup>1</sup> S. H. Roberts, 74—75.

die out, or at least to degenerate. This want of faith in the future of his race entails further consequences: the native neglects to perpetuate his kind. The women, particularly, do not want the trouble, perhaps not so much of giving birth to children as of caring for them; they bring about abortion, or prevent pregnancy, and the licence among girls, which is now so prevalent, favours their neglect of maternal duties in the future. Before marriage they meet pregnancy by causing abortion, and when finally they marry they do not alter the ways they have become accustomed to. Practices which were comparatively rare in the former life of the race are now in general use. In short, as R. L. Stevenson said, "a change in habit is bloodier than a bombardment."

3. The loosening of the former customs, such as marital abstinence during the wife's suckling of an infant, causes the woman to become pregnant more often than before, and her pregnancy begins perhaps even before the former child is weaned or can be weaned. The organism of the primitive woman is not strong enough to be able to undertake this double effort. As a result of pregnancy, the child which is being suckled is "starved."<sup>1</sup> Probably the next child, still in its mother's womb, is also affected by her overstraining and is in consequence weak. For all these reasons, mortality among infants is very great. Finally, in spite of a greater number of births, the number of living children, even if and when infanticide is rare, does not fill the breach made by the still greater mortality among them.

4. In some extreme cases parents not only do not want to have children, but even if they want to, they cannot. In other words, it is possible that even the genitive force of the people becomes weakened. We have already expressed the supposition that the Tasmanians when on Flinders Island, did not increase in numbers partly because many of them were incapable of having children. This supposition of ours is a very risky one, for we know nothing precise with respect to such an intimate side of their life as is the matter of conception, abortion, etc. Of course, the question arises whether this cause has not perhaps been active in other places. For here and there we meet with references to a considerable number of barren women in one or other of the vanishing

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<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Pima "the unborn was sacrificed because it was believed to be prejudicial to the welfare of the nursing child", Fr. Russell, 186.



primitive races. But we do not know if we have here to do with an artificial barrenness, which exists because the women do not wish to have children (and hence make use of various means to that end) or whether that barrenness is caused by the disastrous effects of social breakdown, which for one reason or another, has deprived the women of the capability of being mothers, or whether, finally, it has been caused by the "tranquil despair" which has come over the men, and which has resulted in their incapacity.<sup>1</sup> We raise these points in the full consciousness that, in the present state of our knowledge of primitive life, no answer can be given to them. However, we can refer to the case of the natives of Lower California as evidence how social breakdown is accompanied by a fall both in the fertility of the women and in the vitality of the children (of course, in so far as the facts have not been exaggerated by the person who gives them). And thus says J. Baegert about the year 1773: "It is certain that many of their women are barren, and that a great number of them bear not more than one child. Only a few out of one or two hundred bring forth eight or ten times, and if such is really the case, it happens very seldom that one or two of the children arrive at a mature age. I baptised, in succession, seven children of a young woman, yet I had to bury them all before one of them had reached its third year, and when I was about to leave the country, I recommended the woman to dig a grave for the eighth child, with which she was frequent at the time."<sup>2</sup>

5. As the final result of these influences the birth-rate which is inherent in primitive society unhampered by our civilization should undergo change. But it is not easy to sum up these innumerable-branched influences in any general formula. However, on the whole we have the impression, as the result of our studies, that, if a woman is not by nature barren, the number of children she gives birth to is now, in dying-out primitive communities, probably larger than before the disastrous effects of the white invasions became apparent. But the number of living children is smaller. Of course, this is not so always or everywhere although it is undoubtedly so in the majority of cases.

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<sup>1</sup> Fijian native women, almost barren when wedded to a native husband, are prolific when married to a European, *Fiji Report*, 124.

<sup>2</sup> J. Baegert, 368.

#### IV. WAR AT LOWER STAGES OF CULTURE AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

At the stages of lower culture the population, absolutely during the period of Australian savagery, and with certain reservations during the lower stages of Indian barbarism, does not increase its numbers beyond certain fairly stable limits.

It is quite another question whether the factors which have such a result are uniform at all these stages of culture.

At the lowest stages an important rôle in the maintenance of this standard of population is played by infanticide. On the other hand, among American Indians or Melanesians, war appears as a factor restraining an increase of population: barbarous tribes, just because they have to a considerable extent given up child-killing, so extensively practised during savagery, increase in numbers at a greater rate and in consequence of this they develop a pushfulness, unknown amongst savage races, in seeking out for themselves new territories where their surplus population may find a home — a surplus which, on such territories, will differentiate itself sooner or later into new, independent tribes. Hence war is, at this stage, waged with quite a different degree of intensity from that with which it is conducted at the stage of savagery: savagery is characterized in general by a relatively pacific disposition, at least among the representatives of that stage of culture at present in existence.

1. Inter-tribal feuds among the North American Indians. Mutual extermination in Polynesia and Melanesia.

1. The history of the North American Indians furnishes us with striking evidence of this warlike disposition: the history of every one of these peoples is a series of almost incessant struggles

with neighbouring tribes. It will suffice to take as an example the Iroquois. The Iroquois confederacy, at the time of its greatest power, barely numbered some ten thousand souls. It was continually in a state of war with all the surrounding peoples, terrorizing not only its immediate neighbours, but also tribes settled farther off. The Iroquois went to war at a distance of 200—300 leagues from their country, “over inaccessible rocks and through vast forests,” leaving in their villages, for whole years at a time, only their women and little children; but the few scalps that they brought back were the trophies with which they considered their labours happily rewarded.<sup>1</sup> They broke up the Huron confederacy, they exterminated the Erie, they ravaged the Illinois — peoples which were equal or even superior to them in numbers. The Iroquois always won owing to the use of European weapons, but undermined their own existence by these victories. A missionary says that their victories weakened them as much as they weakened the conquered. They tried to save themselves by incorporating the remnants of the conquered into their confederacy: in 1660, “if any one should compute the number of pure-blooded Iroquois, he would have difficulty in finding (amongst 2,200 warriors) more than 1,200 of them in all the Five Nations, since these are, for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes they have conquered, who, utter foreigners although they are, form without doubt the largest and best part of the Iroquois.”<sup>2</sup> Somewhat earlier (1656—’57) another missionary states that the victories caused almost as much loss to the Iroquois as to their enemies, and “they have depopulated their own villages to such an extent that they now contain more foreigners than natives of the country: the Onondaga (one of the tribes of the Iroquoian Confederacy) counts seven different nations who came to settle in it, and there are as many as eleven in the Seneca.”<sup>3</sup> In general, other Indian tribes were inferior to the Iroquois not so much because of the

<sup>1</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XLIII. 265 (P. le Jeune).

<sup>2</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XLIII. 265 (P. le Jeune). Here are a few facts from that series of mutual extirpations, particulars of which have been preserved to a considerable extent in the *Jesuit Relations*. In 1651 the Neutral Nation having fallen upon the Iroquois, 200 of the enemy were captured; so as to avenge themselves for this defeat the latter soon started on a new expedition, *ib.*, XXXVI. 119. In 1652 the Iroquois captured 500—600 of the Atrakwaye but lost 130 warriors in this expedition, *ib.*, XXXVII. 111.



warlike energy of the latter as because their own deeds were not fortunate enough to secure such an honourable place in the records of the missionaries. For instance, "the peoples of the Neutral Nation were always at war with those of the Nation of Fire."<sup>1</sup> In 1641 they took from the Nation of Fire a hundred prisoners, and in 1642, having returned there for war with an army of 2,000 men, they again brought away more than 170.<sup>2</sup> In 1643 they went, to the number of 2,000, and attacked a village strongly defended by 900 warriors; they carried it, killed many on the spot and took 800 captives — men, women and children, after having burned 70 of the best warriors, they put out the eyes and girdled the mouths of all the old men, whom they afterwards abandoned to their own guidance.<sup>3</sup> Such were the losses of peoples numbering about 1,500—2,500 warriors. Or let us take the Pawnee. That tribe was in a state of war with almost all its neighbours: if a Pawnee and a Dakota, or a Pawnee and any other Indian of whatever tribe met upon the buffalo ranges, it was "a deadly conflict from the instant without preliminaries and without quarter."<sup>4</sup> We do not know the past of this tribe, but here are some facts from these constant struggles in the XIX century. In 1832 the Skidi band (the Skidi were one of the divisions of the Pawnee) suffered a severe defeat from the Comanche; in 1847 a Dakota war-party attacked a Pawnee settlement and succeeded in killing 83 of the Pawnees; in 1854 a party composed of 113 Pawnees was surrounded and killed almost to a man; in 1873 a hunting party of the Pawnee was attacked by Dakota warriors and 86 men perished. These are losses rather too serious for a tribe numbering altogether a few thousand. But they were not the only losses, for some tribesmen perished, when engaged either in the chase or in tilling isolated corn patches — losses of this kind, trifling when taken singly, have in the aggregate borne heavily on the tribe.<sup>5</sup>

We shall now turn to the Pacific coast of North America.

Not all the peoples there were equally warlike. The Chinook method of warfare was by murder — overpowering individuals

<sup>1</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XXVII. 25 (H. Lalemant).

<sup>2</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XXI. 195 (H. Lalemant).

<sup>3</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, XXVII. 25—27 (H. Lalemant).

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 196.

<sup>5</sup> G. B. Grinnell 1893, 307—309; J. B. Dunbar, 255.

by numbers, or killing them by stealth and unawares, but the Chimakum and the Makah had a different method of fighting.<sup>1</sup> Especially the peoples who lived more to the north and had fire-arms as early as the middle of the XIX century, almost exterminated by their warlike expeditions the Samish and other coastal tribes.<sup>2</sup> In one of these expeditions on Vancouver Island, the Clayoquot, numbering not more than 300 warriors, fell upon the Kyuquots, who either equalled them in number or were fewer, and brought home 35 heads and 13 slaves.<sup>3</sup> Yet we should remember that earlier, before the European invasion, fighting between the tribes had probably not such a bloody character. It even occurred that when two bands, one of Iroquois, the other of Montagnais had met for battle that the leaders said: let us spare the blood of our followers and let us settle the matter with bare hands!<sup>4</sup> The absence of the horse made it impossible to put through surprise attacks upon distant tribes, whilst fighting with native weapons was more wearying than bloody: a battle in which 300—400 warriors took part on each side and which lasted for a whole day, ended in the death of two or three warriors and as many were wounded.<sup>5</sup> The use of fire-arms changed these conflicts into absolute massacres whenever one of the sides did not possess such arms. The Iroquois devastated the territories of their enemies and massacred the population only due to the use of the new weapons, just as in the third decade of the XIX century the Blackfeet decimated the Flatheads who had nothing to defend themselves but their arrows and bravery.<sup>6</sup> This does not mean, however, that very bloody contests did not take place before the coming of the Whites. It even happened that whole tribes were exterminated. Amongst others, a tribe numbering 2,400 persons was almost exterminated in the XVI century in South America,

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<sup>1</sup> G. Gibbs 1877, 191.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Fitzhugh, 615, 617 *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Sproat, 195. See J. R. Jewitt 1816, 155—156, for a description of these bloody practices and the massacre of the inhabitants of a conquered settlement.

<sup>4</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, I. 269 (Jouvency). The same Montagnais, however, together with two other tribes had gone on the warpath against the Iroquois about 1605—1607 and killed one hundred of them, Lescarbot, II. 87.

<sup>5</sup> H. M. Brackenridge 1814, 70.

<sup>6</sup> Ross Cox 1831, 237—238.

in a struggle which arose from a quarrel between it and its neighbours as to which was to have the skulls of killed enemies.<sup>1</sup> And the lower valley of the Mississippi could furnish in this connection some interesting examples. French reports of the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century (and thus covering the first contacts of the natives with the white new-comers) contain frequent references to such exterminations. The Mugulasha tribe found refuge with the Bayougoula in 1700 and were massacred to a man by their hosts;<sup>2</sup> soon after, the Taensa had retired among the Bayougoula and in 1706 massacred their hosts.<sup>3</sup> The Tioux were, about 1718—1730, "the feeble remnants of the nation, which has been one of the strongest in the country, but the people of which were very quarrelsome;" they were destroyed by the Chichasaw and in 1731 killed off to a man by the Quapaw.<sup>4</sup> Such exterminations, perhaps to a lesser degree, had taken place in the past, before the coming of the French, and the existence in these regions of small broken-up tribes which were said to have been very powerful in the past (e.g., the Tioux and the Grigra) gives evidence that this must have been so. Here, the Chicasaw have acted in the manner of the Iroquois: they "have not only cut off a great many nations who were adjoining to them, but have even carried their fury as far as New Mexico, nearly 600 miles from the place of their residence to root out a nation that had removed at that distance from them, in a firm expectation that their enemies would not come so far in search of them."<sup>5</sup>

In any case, war between tribes was the rule among the Indians. "They are early possessed with a notion that war ought to be the chief business of their lives, that there is nothing more desirous than the reputation of being a great warrior, and that the scalps of their enemies or a number of prisoners are alone to be esteemed valuable... it is not to be wondered at that the younger

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<sup>1</sup> De la Marche, in M. Ternaux-Compans: *Recueil de documents* (Paris 1840), 286, note.

<sup>2</sup> Iberville, in Fr. Margry, IV. 429; *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 156 (J. Gravier).

<sup>3</sup> B. de Lozières, 246—247.

<sup>4</sup> Du Pratz, II. 223; Charlevoix 1872, VI. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Du Pratz, II. 132.



Indians are continually restless and uneasy if their ardour is repressed and they are kept in a state of inactivity."<sup>1</sup> These incessant wars exhausted them, and their manner of warfare was peculiarly destructive. "Among Indians, wars are carried on by small detachments, and in detail and for a long time. Among civilized nations they operate like amputation; a limb is cut off, and the remainder of the body lives; but with savages they resemble a slow and wasting disease, which gradually undermines the vital principle, and destroys the whole system."<sup>2</sup> And here we must seek the explanation of the fact that the number of men as compared to women was sometimes as two or three to four, and the tribes were at times without sufficient men for the chase.<sup>3</sup>

2. We shall now consider other parts of the world: Polynesia and Melanesia.

The clash of weapons resounded in Polynesia as loudly as among the Indians. The island of Rotuma (which had in 1850 about 4,000 and in 1891 only 2,219 inhabitants), although an island of very small area was inhabited by seven tribes (or sections); there was very little intercourse between these tribes, and often they were at war.<sup>4</sup> During Parker's four-year stay on that island, forty men were lost in battle, that is 1%—1.8% of the whole population. And there had been yet bloodier times; for instance, the fighting is said to have continued for several days: the slaughter was enormous, nearly all the young men were killed and many villages wholly depopulated (e. g., in Malepa alone, over a hundred are said to have fallen).<sup>5</sup> The missionaires have left us relations of such bloody warfare among the islanders of the Cook Archipelago. J. Williams, a missionary, visited Hervey's Island in 1823; he expected to find a considerable population, but owing to their frequent and exterminatory wars the natives had reduced themselves to about sixty in numbers; some six or seven years later the only survivors were five men, three women and a few children.<sup>6</sup> On Raratonga (about 6,000—7,000 souls) their wars were sanguinary:

<sup>1</sup> J. Carver, 299.

<sup>2</sup> de Witt Clinton, 87.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Hunter, 204.

<sup>4</sup> W. Allen, in *Au. A. A. Sci.*, V (1895), 571, 575.

<sup>5</sup> J. S. Gardiner, in *J. A. I.*, XXVII (1898). 496—497, 400, 474.

<sup>6</sup> J. Williams, 5.

in the one which raged just prior to the first visit of the missionaries, "fourscore and ten were slain on the side of the conquerors, and five score on that of the conquered,"<sup>1</sup> i. e., the losses were about 3% of the population. In a fleet of eighty canoes the warriors of Atiu came upon Mauke Island: they killed the people indiscriminately, set fire to the houses which contained the sick and, having seized those who attempted to escape, tossed them upon fires kindled for that purpose.<sup>2</sup> The islanders in some places kept an account of the number of battles they had fought. For instance, on the island of Aborima after a battle the islanders would deposit a stone of a peculiar form in a basket which was very carefully fastened for that purpose to the ridge-pole of a sacred house. The basket was let down, and the stones were counted when J. Williams was there — the number was 197.<sup>3</sup>

Warfare in Melanesia had a different character although it was merciless and highly wasteful of human lives.

But the Papuans have "no brave or chivalrous instincts."<sup>4</sup>

For instance, "The Papuan squabbles, but he does not often fight: he will not fight when the chances for and against him are equal. His passions are not aroused until he sees a chance of gratifying them at little or no risk to his own person. He fights in the dark; he takes a sleeping village by surprise, he makes a few captures and slips away with his stolen prize."<sup>5</sup>

In New Guinea, wars among the neighbouring tribes continually take place. The cause is often to be found in the death of an individual: the superstition that nobody dies a natural death but as result of charms, causes the relatives of the deceased to revenge themselves on the village of the suspected person. One murder leads to another and so on indefinitely. A few examples can be given of such feuds: R. Neuhauss refers to the death of a tribesman which resulted in the killing of thirteen men; the village of Lewang, counting 36 inhabitants, lost 24 of them during one attack. During the years of 1905—'09 the warriors of the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Williams, 5, 55.

<sup>2</sup> J. Williams, 73.

<sup>3</sup> J. Williams, 197, 126.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Romilly 1889 (sub-heading of a chapter).

<sup>5</sup> Ch. W. Abel, 134 (cf. *ib.* 135—141).

Lae-Womba tribe murdered at least 150 persons amongst the Kai, Lae and Labo tribes — in one expedition the Lae lost 70 persons.<sup>1</sup>

In the Admiralty Archipelago one of the local peoples, namely the Moanus, was continually at war with its neighbours, hence, in spite of conditions which would seem to favour its increase, it was numerically weak. It did not lack reasons for attacking, but it also organized expeditions without any reason, and its object was by no means territorial conquest. All it wanted was to murder its adversaries and take their heads.<sup>2</sup> In the western districts of New Pomerania (New Britain) wars restrained the growth of the population: one tribe would make surprise attacks on another. R. Parkinson<sup>3</sup> tells, for instance, of the massacre of all the inhabitants of a village; a hundred persons perished there at the most but this was a very considerable number for those regions.

It may be that in the above we have chosen the more striking instances of primitive warlike practices but this would not change at all the fundamental tendency, which is true for this period of culture: war is there the great occupation of the men, giving its peculiar charm to their life.

2. Head-hunting in Malaysia. Similar customs in Melanesia and in other parts of the globe.

And where battles are rarer, there is introduced another kind of warfare, a warfare of raids, perhaps bloodier still, which consists in hunting for human heads: this prevails especially within the sphere of Malay and Indonesian influence, also in Melanesia, though examples of it are not lacking in other parts of the world.

Among the Paivans (Formosa) a warrior would strive in vain to win the favour of a girl until he possessed a skull or two as trophies of his valour. The human head was also considered as

<sup>1</sup> R. Neuhauss, I. 132 (the Labo tribe numbered 500 souls, *ib.* 135, the other tribes probably were also not very large). J. Chalmers 1887, 91—118, refers to another series of such feuds in British New Guinea, in which several neighbouring tribes were involved numbering together at the utmost 1,500 souls: the natives gave an alarming total for the numbers killed, but according to J. Chalmers, 98, only eighty-seven were killed, i.e., about 6% of the population of the warring villages.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 400; W. H. R. Rivers 1914, II. 553.

<sup>3</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 207—208.



the most effective offering to the gods at seed time and harvest. Every year a counting of hunted heads took place, and the village possessing the largest number of them was awarded a handsome prize.<sup>1</sup> Among the Dyaks a young man cannot marry until he can produce heads procured by himself and sometimes two years expire before a young man can be married, or, in other words, before he can procure a skull.<sup>2</sup> He cannot marry, if his family has taken much fewer heads than the girl's family: he then musters a few friends and will not return until the number is complete. Again, a Dyak warrior may take away any inferior man's wife at pleasure — a chief who has twenty heads in his possession will do the same with another who may have only ten heads.<sup>3</sup> Head-hunting in Sarawak is an old established custom of their forefathers, and they consider it their duty to maintain it: "our Dyaks were eternally requesting to be allowed to go for heads, and their urgent entreaties often bore resemblance to children crying after sugar plums."<sup>4</sup> Here the youth hunts heads because that is the way to get the hand of a girl; and they also hunt heads when they wish to avenge themselves for the death of some of their relations — one Dyak, having lost two grandsons, soothed his grief by hunting for and taking thirty-five heads. They hunt too, believing that the persons whose heads they have taken in this world will in the next become their servants. When two men quarrel, they ask each other: "How many heads has your father or grandfather got?". If one mentions a lower number, he is told: "Well, then, you have no occasion to be so proud."<sup>5</sup> "The white men read books but we hunt for heads instead."<sup>6</sup> On the island of Ceram in some villages there were two or three times as many human skulls in the huts as there were people in the village — men, women and children taken together. Such customs of course create a deadly enmity between each and every tribe: the whole interior of the eastern

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, in *R. G. S.* 1889, 227; cf. the customs of the Chinwans on the same island, W. Joest in *A. G. Vrh.*, XIV (1882). 61, and those of the Alfurus on the Island of Ceram, *ib.* 68.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, quoted by H. Ling Roth 1896, II. 165; see there facts collected from different sources, II. 140—183.

<sup>3</sup> Brooke, quoted by H. Ling Roth 1896, II. 166 (note).

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Brooke, I. 142, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Sp. St. John, II. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Sp. St. John, I. 79.

half of Ceram, where head-hunting prevailed, was one unchanging scene of endless, bloody strife.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the intensity of this bloody custom was not uniform even in the same district. For instance, about 1880 among the Tunbunwha (a Dyak tribe) head-hunting occurred, but could hardly be spoken of as a regular custom; in their inter-tribal fights, the heads of the slain were usually carried off as trophies, and there were head-dances around them sometimes, but the skulls were not usually kept. Towards the west coast, head-hunting was much more of an institution and there were still head-houses garnished with the trophies of former victims. It was towards the south-west (towards Bulungan) that head-hunting flourished in full vigour; in former times the country round the Sibuco river used to be well populated, but so constant were the attacks of head-hunters that chiefly owing to them the district has become depopulated.<sup>2</sup> The mountains of Indo-China, too, yield nothing to the islands in the craving for that bloody chase. For instance, among the Naga, "the girls ceaselessly mock the youths until the latter have taken some heads: a youth may give his sweetheart as many proofs of love as he likes, but the latter will not look at him until he shows her a head" — every love in one village results in the loss of someone's life in another.<sup>3</sup> It is no wonder that, as a result of head-hunting, the Naga district welters in blood: it is reckoned that, in the course of forty years, in an area of twenty square miles, about 12,000 persons perished in this manner.<sup>4</sup>

Let us take a few instances from the area of New Guinea.

On the island of Kiwai, the people at various stages of the building of a men's house kill some enemies and smear certain parts

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Bickmore, 205—206. See D. D. Daly, in *R. G. S.*, X (1888). 14. (the tribes keep accounts of how many heads they have taken and seek to make the bloody balance even).

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Pryer, in *R. G. S.*, V (1883). 95. The intensity of this custom near Kina Balu (Sarawak) is well demonstrated by the fact that one of the local head-hunters, the most famous in the district for that matter, had taken the heads of some twenty of his enemies and his famous collection of human skulls came to over fifty crania, J. Whitehead, 69—70.

<sup>3</sup> M. Molz, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 66.

<sup>4</sup> M. Molz, *l. c.*, 66: hunting flourished in spite of everything, even under English rule: on May 3rd, 1908, two heads were taken, on May 5th five, and so on. According to S. E. Peal, 260, the deaths due to head-hunting are a small percentage only, about 45—50 per sq. mile (i. e. about 30,000 in the explored area of 640 sq. miles). He does not state, however, what period of time is covered by that figure. He counted over 300 skulls in one of 320 morongs.

of the house with their blood: "Put post — kill bushman; make on-top-house — kill bushman; put grass (thatch) — kill bushman!" Each totem clan has a division of the men's house assigned to itself, and skulls captured by the members are hung up on the post in that division.<sup>1</sup> How many victims perish on such occasions is evidenced by the following facts: the Wabuda in 1892 made an attack on a neighbouring tribe and killed eight or nine men, they attacked still another tribe and killed some sixteen of its members: the reason for these attacks was that the Wabuda wanted human heads to decorate canoes or for a new club-house.<sup>2</sup> In the village of Maipua, to the northwest of Port Moresby, 250 human skulls were arranged along the dividing partition of a large house.<sup>3</sup> Head-hunting, however, did not seem to be the universal custom in New Guinea, nor was it even current everywhere in Melanesia. We can encounter the practice on Saint-Aignan Island (Louisiade Archipelago). This island had approximately 3,000 inhabitants in about thirty settlements, some of which were perpetually at war with each other and had no intercourse with one another. The islanders were expert head-hunters and adorned the front-verandas of their houses with the skulls and right arms of their victims, some houses boasting an ornamentation of three or four native skulls.<sup>4</sup> But head-hunting flourished especially in the more westerly districts of the Solomon Archipelago. Head-hunters in canoes sailed along the coasts sometimes for months. They moved along Isabel Island to its south-eastern extremity, thence they went on to Malanta and Guadalcanar Islands.<sup>5</sup> Head-hunting accompanied the finishing of a chief's dwelling-house or of a men's house, or the launching of a new canoe; when a chief died, or when a son was born to him, an expedition started to procure heads.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes a chief, out of revenge or hatred, murdered somebody and took his head. The more heads he could show the more he was respected and feared, hence he was ready at every

<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Landtman, 16, 17—18, 164.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Mac Gregor, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892—'93, 22.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Thomson, 86.

<sup>4</sup> J. P. Thomson, 19.

<sup>5</sup> R. H. Codrington, 345.

<sup>6</sup> R. H. Codrington, 297, 401, 257; W. H. R. Rivers 1914, II. 259; G. Brown, 158 (*Shortland Islands*), 204.



opportunity and on any pretext, to deprive someone of life and head.<sup>1</sup> The securing of the heads and skulls of enemies was the chief object of warfare.<sup>2</sup> The possession of heads was a sign of success and power: they were set out on stages as on Florida Id., and hung up under the eaves of the canoe-houses as in San Cristoval.<sup>3</sup>

Neither Africa<sup>4</sup> nor America<sup>5</sup> are free from head-hunting. It is true that there this custom only appears in certain regions and not always is the head required — instead of the head the scalp may be taken while among the African cannibals, the whole man is procured to be eaten: for instance, in the basin of the Welle-Mobangi, the Ba-ali hunt men for cannibalistic purposes, and Captain Vangele saw houses there surrounded by a border of skulls for a distance of at least 28 yards.<sup>6</sup> We will not multiply instances to illustrate this type of man-hunting, as they would chiefly differ from those already given in that they would relate to other peoples. It will suffice to remark that this custom, wherever it took root more firmly, whether in the form of head-hunting or scalping or any other way of man-hunting, influences more unfavourably the increase of the population than do, in other places, the bloodiest but infrequent wars waged on a large scale, and is the starting-point of an endless series of mutual retaliation. What is more, head-hunting is sometimes connected with many of the most important moments in the personal life of the tribesman and in the life of the tribe. A youth, when he is about to take his place among the men, is bound, in some places, to show his bravery by this means, in others to hunt for heads if he wants the favour of a girl. A head-hunt is an event fraught with nervous thrills and the victorious return gives rise to solemn festivities, to dances

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, 345.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers 1914, II. 259.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Codrington, 345.

<sup>4</sup> For instance among the A-mambwe, H. H. Johnston, in *R. G. S.*, XII (1890). 736; or among the Kagoro and neighbouring tribes a man may not marry until he has taken a head; heads are also hunted for the purpose of adorning graves with them: and so that the victims should serve the deceased in the afterworld, cf. A. J. N. Tremearne 1912, 97, 179--180, 185.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, the Aht (Nootka) do not take the scalp of an enemy but cut off his head. These heads are *spolia optima* — the Clayoquot brought 35 heads from one of their expeditions, G. M. Sproat, 187, 195. But the custom in America has somewhat different features than in Malaysia.

<sup>6</sup> *R. G. S.*, XI (1889). 328—329.

and amusements. As regards the emotional side of a man's life these are considered his finest moments. Head-hunting is still more closely interwoven with tribal life when it is dictated by religious beliefs. The murdered men whose heads are kept in a slayer's house will, in the other world, be the latter's slaves. Again, in order to secure a large harvest, pieces of human flesh should be scattered about the field, while the head of the victim is placed among the trophies. Such is the custom in Malaysia. We referred to the series of murders which accompany the building of a men's house on Kiwai Island. These murders are not only intended as acts of bravery, but they also proceed from deeply-rooted beliefs. Thus, the "medicines" used in the building of the men's house have made it "too hot." It must be cooled down to its normal state by human blood. The men's house, too, is considered not fit for use until somebody has been murdered for it, and meanwhile the people remain in a state of suspense waiting for an opportunity to secure the requisite blood. The men may, it is true, sleep and live in their new building, but nobody must make any noise indoors before blood has been shed. The bravest of the warriors, or at least some of them, go out to kill some enemies and bring home their heads. They will knock these heads against the great post, staining it with blood. This knocking of an enemy's head against a post is supposed to be the first noise in the new men's house, and it is only afterwards that the people may split cocoanuts, throw down fire-wood, etc. Also, until somebody has been killed no man should come into contact with any part of the building: it is particularly dangerous to rest one's head against a post.<sup>1</sup> Superstitions akin to these undoubtedly accompany the construction of a large boat, the erection of a canoe-house, the building a chief's house, etc. Head-hunting and, in general, all armed expeditions act as a narcotic, exciting directly or through the accompanying ceremonies not only those taking part in the expedition but also the whole population.<sup>2</sup> As a result of these events, the native is exhilarated, life displays its charms to him, and encourages him to exercise his faculties to the full. Here we would quote R. Parkinson, who absolutely

<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Landtman, 18.

<sup>2</sup> See description of such expeditions, Gunnar Landtman, 162.

glorifies war and its results in primitive society. "War excites the natives, it sharpens their wits, it develops their physical powers. Without war and skirmishes a primitive people becomes lazy both mentally and physically, and in the course of time disappears from the face of the earth. We see this frequently on little islands in the Pacific Ocean, where nature secures for the population abundant means of maintenance, without any particular physical effort. On all these islands, where neither war nor work causes tension of the mental and physical forces, the population slowly dies out, in spite of being of an apparently strong build."<sup>1</sup>

3. Australian superstition that death is caused by charms. Effects of this belief on the growth of population.

In calling attention to the results of war at the stages of evolution above dealt with and to the victims, either in open fight or in the way of head-hunting, we do not wish to give to understand that such bloodshed was unknown during the period of savagery. It is true that fighting in Australia was less bloody: a fight sometimes lasted for three or four hours, taking place usually at dawn or about sunset, as the softened light did not so much affect eyesight and the spears were more easily seen and avoided; there were many injured on each side and sometimes seriously wounded, but it rarely happened that more than one or two were killed though hundreds might be engaged. Generally "the fighting of the natives is not, usually, a very serious matter."<sup>2</sup> But this slight degree of bloodiness was only for open fights. It was a different matter when a stealthily-moving band succeeded in coming unseen upon a sleeping enemy; then every man was put to death.<sup>3</sup> The Australian was less warlike than the Indians and other races to whom we have referred. But he was

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<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 125.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 223. In South Australia the fights were nearly always witnessed by the women and children, the women excited the men to fight and carried their weapons. The fight seldom lasted more than three or four hours and there were few killed outright, but the wounded were often numerous and death from the wounds inflicted frequently occurred, J. D. Woods, XIX.

<sup>3</sup> F. J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 198.



always anxious to steal upon an enemy.<sup>1</sup> "Every tribe dreads a night attack from another tribe."<sup>2</sup> A motive, amongst others, was the superstition that every death resulting from illness, happening to someone in the prime of life, was caused by a magic spell, cast upon the deceased either by a personal enemy or by a member of another tribe. "Amongst the whole of the tribes of Australia," writes E. M. Curr, "the cause, not of fights, but of bloodshed, was, nine times out of ten, the belief that the deaths of persons, no matter from what apparent cause other than old age, were attributable to the spells and incantations of some of their enemies, their enemies including all Blacks not their intimate friends and neighbours. This was an ever active and fundamental idea of the aboriginal mind, their hatred and fear of an enchanter were infinitely greater than of a man who had slain one of their tribe in fair fight with his spear. With the death of women and young children the Blacks did not generally much concern themselves; but for every adult man who died from any cause save old age, a corresponding victim was anxiously desired, though fortunately not always sought by force of arms, from the supposed offending tribe... This belief in the taking of life by incantations, in its immediate and collateral consequences, was the bone of the race. It systematized murder throughout the continent, rendered the friendship of the tribes at large impossible, and was the great factor of savagery and degradation."<sup>3</sup> A comprehensible desire for revenge required the punishment of the culprit, especially if death had taken away an authoritative person or a general favourite: medicine-men were called in to point out the direction in which the culprit lived (occasionally the dying man himself named the culprit).<sup>4</sup> "If there be any hesitation, on the part of some relative,

<sup>1</sup> H. Basedow 1904, 13. Cf. statements that the wooded districts of south-eastern Australia are favourable to such stealthy attacks, but the deserts of central Australia hinder them, F. J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 199.

<sup>2</sup> J. T. H. Mitchell, in *Au. A. J.*, VIII (1906), No. 5, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr: *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria* 1883, 309—310. "No doubt by this means they keep the fighting strength of the tribes fairly equal", J. G. Withnell, 31.

<sup>4</sup> See for methods of divination: W. Ridley, 159; W. E. Stanbridge, 299; A. L. P. Cameron, 362; A. W. Howitt, in *J. A. I.*, XIII (1884). 191; G. Taplin, 16—17; J. Parker, in R. Brough Smyth, II. 155; R. Brough Smyth, I. 110; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 282; E. J. Eyre, 347—349; J. F. Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 476 (the dying man will whisper in the ear of a medicine-man the name of the man whose magic is killing him); E. M. Curr, II. 51 (S. Gason), III. 28; W. W. Froggatt, 654; J. Ph. Gell, 99; J. G. Withnell, 31—32; D. Bunce, VII.

to undertake this holiest office of revenge, the ladies loudly remind him of his duty. He is, so to say, boycotted by his woman-kind. His wives will have nothing to say to him, the old women scold him, and as for the single girls they will not even glance at him.”<sup>1</sup> An expedition sets forth which has to avenge the death of the tribesman by the killing of one of the members of the tribe indicated by the medicine-man.<sup>2</sup> There are authors who regard this custom as one of the important reasons for the slow increase of the population on the Australian continent.<sup>3</sup> In short, theoretically, the death of any person resulted in the death of somebody else.<sup>4</sup> But on the Australian continent, as well as elsewhere, theory is sometimes more exacting than reality. (It must be also taken into account that “it is not true the Australians impute all natural deaths to the boollia of inimical tribes”: in most cases of persons visibly wasting away before death, they do not entertain the notion — “it is chiefly in cases of sudden death, or when the body of the deceased is fat and in good condition, that this belief prevails, and it only in such contingencies that it becomes an imperative duty to have revenge.”<sup>5</sup>) At least, among friendly tribes, matters of this kind would end in a bloodless duel and reconciliation.<sup>6</sup> But unfortunately, we are unable to express in figures the relation of that severe theory to milder practices — we only state the fact that in principle, the natural death of anyone had to be followed by the murder of someone else belonging to another tribe. As regards Australia, we have only one mention made: that in the Goulburn district annually one native out of twenty died as a result of inter-tribal warfare. This

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Calvert, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Descriptions of similar expeditions: J. F. Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 477—483, also 1904, 556—568; S. Gason in E. M. Curr, II. 51—53; le Souef, in R. Brough Smyth, II. 289; G. Grey, II. 238; G. Taplin, 21; A. Oldfield, 245; C. W. Schürmann, in J. D. Woods, 25; Basset Smith, in *J. A. I.*, XXIII (1894), 327; J. E. Eyre, II. 349, 353; E. M. Curr, III. 27, 28; Tom Petrie, 32.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, le Souef in R. Brough Smyth, II. 289, places this custom on an equal footing with infanticide as explaining the paucity of the population of Australia, and D. Bunce, VII, assumes that it “may account for their limited population.”

<sup>4</sup> J. F. Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 48, 476, identify this theory with practice, i.e. consider that every death meant the killing of another individual.

<sup>5</sup> A. Oldfield, 245.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. F. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 216—217, and also a description by E. J. Eyre, II. 219, 221—222, of how tribes, meeting for the initiation of young men, began by settling by means of duels some accounts of that kind.

ratio was equivalent to 5% of the whole population.<sup>1</sup> Probably, acts arising out of the custom of bloody feud explain in a great measure this enormous war-mortality, which is suspect just because of its intensity.<sup>2</sup> It should be added that the custom of punishment for somebody's natural death by bloody revenge exists elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Even a nation so far advanced in culture as the Cherokee "had no conception of anyone dying a natural death." They universally ascribed the death of those who perished by disease to the intervention of evil spirits or of witches and conjurors who had connection with evil spirits. If anyone who was dying by disease charged his death to have been procured through witchcraft or spirits by any other person, he consigned that person to inevitable death.<sup>4</sup> Such a superstition only loses its theoretical basis as social progress develops. Actually the practice of killing a man of another tribe in the case of the natural death of a tribesman remains in force, but receives a new interpretation,<sup>5</sup> and sometimes appears in the form of head-hunting (this last custom, however, probably arose independently of the motives here considered by us, namely as the need of proof of a young man's bravery).

At any rate, if in such cases we may base our conclusions on a subjective impression (since in the present state of ethnographical material it is impossible to express the factors involved by any exact figures), war and head-hunting, so prevalent in the

<sup>1</sup> Robinson quoted by W. Westgarth, 706.

<sup>2</sup> Out of 21 native tribes numbering 421 souls together there occurred 25 deaths within the period of 2½ years, ten of which resulted from collisions amongst aborigines, one with Europeans, the remaining fourteen being due to natural causes, W. Westgarth, 706. The total annual death-rate would come to about 24.0‰: native warfare would cause an annual death-rate of about 9.5‰ — this figure would be much lower than that given in the text. The death-rate was therefore not excessive, but it would appear that enormous infantile mortality had not been taken into account.

<sup>3</sup> It exists, then, with the same results, in certain parts of New Guinea, H. H. Romilly, 52; R. Neuhauss, I. 131—132 (cf. M. Krieger, 199). It may be met with in South America, M. Dobrizhoffer, II. 290; A. Wallace 1853, 500; W. H. Brett 1868, 357 (There, in Guiana, too, a sorcerer discovered, by his incantations, the guilty man, or at any rate indicated the quarter where he lived. The nearest relative of the deceased man was charged to avenge him: the avenger became a *karaima*, i.e., possessed by the destroying spirit. He had to live apart and submit to many privations, until he accomplished the deed of blood).

<sup>4</sup> J. Haywood, quoted by J. Mooney 1885—'86, 322.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, in Mallicolo after the death of a tribesman one of his relatives kills a representative of a neighbouring tribe so that the dead man may have a companion in the life beyond the grave, Hagen and Pineau, in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, VI (1887). 326.



stage of barbarism, and contributing so much in restraining the growth of the population of a given region, act to a very much smaller extent during the lowest stages of culture. At these stages of culture quite different factors come into play — factors which, indeed, continue to exert their influence at the higher stages of social evolution, but which appear with weaker and weaker effect the higher the stage of culture. These factors are on the one hand the smaller number of children which the women bring into the world, but on the other hand perhaps the population is not so much affected by the lesser fertility of the women as by the enormous artificial and natural mortality of infants, as the result of which very few of them live to grow up. With the aim of getting a general idea of the laws governing the growth of population at the lowest stages of culture, let us take the Australian continent as a starting point since it presents us with the greatest opportunities for examining the conditions inherent at those stages of culture.

## V. FERTILITY OF WOMEN AMONG HUNTING RACES

1. The Australian race and its customs. Early marriage. Infanticide, its extent, its reasons. The small number of children raised.

1. A girl, on the Australian continent, was married off at a very early age: not infrequently at the age of ten or even earlier, and in the best case about the age of fourteen. At an early age she became a mother. We have collected data about twenty-five native women giving the age at which they had their first child. Amongst them<sup>1</sup>

4	or	16.0 %	were under the age of 12 years						
7	„	28.0 %	„ at „ „ „	12	„				
3	„	12.0 %	„ „ „ „ „	13	„				
4	„	16.0 %	„ „ „ „ „	14	„				
1	„	4.0 %	between „ „ „	14-16	„				
2	„	8.0 %	about „ „ „	16	„				
4	„	16.0 %	over „ „ „	16	„				

In other words, an Australian woman, on an average, becomes a mother at about the age of fourteen. The early marriage of the woman and sometimes early motherhood have avenged themselves, as they have brought swifter senility upon her. The numerous and onerous duties which were imposed upon her exerted their influence in the same direction. "A woman grows old at a very early age... By the time she is 25 or, at most, 30, she is completely *passée*, and at 40 is a veritable hag. To what age she attains it is difficult to say, but there are probably few, who live beyond the age of 50."<sup>2</sup> Another author has left

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> F. J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 196. The same is stated by E. J. Eyre, II. 322; when a wife is 35—40 years of age, her husband frequently casts her off or gives her to younger men in exchange for their sisters or near relatives. (The older men sometimes take possession of all the younger women, the youths must do with those whom the older men have rejected — of course, according to the marriage laws).

a still more severe statement, one, however, evoked by the far reaching social decay noticed. "As a rule longevity is not a feature which pertains to these people. Old age seems to set in ere 35 years have been attained; in fact, long before these few years have been passed they are quite grey and bald... Few of the women reach even those years, being mostly worn out by drudgery and disease together before they are well past their teens."<sup>1</sup> And this occurs not only in Australia. Even at higher stages of primitive culture, the women reach doddering old age early: among the Kangiljult it is seldom that a woman is not old at the age of 25;<sup>2</sup> among the Chinook a woman at the age of 35 becomes an old hag.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless racial factors act here, factors which cause the women of certain races to ripen earlier, and also to grow old earlier. But we must not forget that where for example, a Brazil-Indian woman or a Negress has had as many as four children before reaching the age of 20, women must grow old earlier. As regards Australia, it is probably rare for a woman to bear many children after thirty,<sup>4</sup> although in some parts of the continent it is just the children born in the years of declining fertility, i.e., after the mother is thirty, who are allowed to live.<sup>5</sup> For among some Australian tribes custom opposed the raising of children born of an over-young mother: the natives considered that as a rule the first child was weak (in western Victoria, it was held that the second son of a chief is generally superior to his elder brother).<sup>6</sup> In some measure, the experience of ages has acted here, showing that the children of very young mothers are frail and weak, the more so when the mothers are girls given in marriage to men much older than themselves, sometimes even to old men.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Beveridge 1889, 50. Cf. A. F. Calvert, 30.

<sup>2</sup> L. Zagoskin, I. 48.

<sup>3</sup> A. Ross 1839, 93.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bonwick 1870, 85. (Very few women have children after thirty-five years of age, the majority are probably barren before thirty, J. Frazer 1892, 3.)

<sup>5</sup> Here are some references: a woman rears no children until well on in life, most of the women who have children seem to be 28–40 years of age, E. M. Curr, II. 19 (among the Ominee). Girls are married among the Birria at the age of 14–16 years, but they are not allowed to rear children until they get to be about 30 years, *ib.*, II. 378.

<sup>6</sup> J. Dawson 1881, 6.

<sup>7</sup> In original records we often read of the killing of the first child (as a motive is given the youth of the mother and the weakness of the child): R. Brough Smyth, I. XXI; S. Gason, in E. M. Curr, II. 46; A. W. Howitt 1904, 750; E. Palmer, 280; W. G. Stretton, 231; E. M. Curr, II. 119, 182–183 (according to a former



Some writers refer to the killing of the first-born child as something sanctified by custom.<sup>1</sup> In some parts the natives killed not only first-born children but even from two to four of the earlier offspring;<sup>2</sup> in consequence of this, only an older mother would begin to raise children.<sup>3</sup> And perhaps too, another factor was the unwillingness of young mothers to undertake so early the cares of bringing up children. Of course, if our assertion as to the very premature senility of Australian women is correct, that same late age at which a woman begins to bring up children in some districts, has been a cause of the still greater limitation of the number of children reared. In any case, in all probability, the period of fertility lasted a shorter time on the Australian continent than in our civilization. Unfortunately, figures which would have made a more exact expression of this matter possible are lacking. Only in one instance have we found any figure relating to this subject: between the birth of the eldest and the youngest child there must have been an interval of about sixteen years.<sup>4</sup> It is evident that one figure proves nothing and therefore we do not consider the problem touched upon here as being solved.

On the other hand, infanticide and its natural effect in the direction of restraining the growth of the population are well-attested facts as far as Australia is concerned.

Of course, speaking of infanticide, we must distinguish between its earlier intensity (before the adverse influences proceeding from our civilization began to act), and the later intensity, when the European invasion had completely transformed the ancient conditions of native life, decimated the natives, and by its further action increased child-mortality. E. J. Eyre generally found children to be numerous among tribes which had never had in-

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custom they smothered such children). R. Oberländer, 279, also referred to such a custom but with reservations which totally change the character of that murder, for it is said to be done when a girl was betrothed to one man but was married to another. In some districts the first child was eaten, for so superstition decreed, J. Moore Davis in R. Brough Smyth, II. 311.

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, references which tend in a different direction, perhaps because they deal with other tribes and perhaps the above statement does not obtain so absolutely as would appear: sometimes the first-born child is killed but sometimes it is left alive, *J. A. I.* XXIV (1895). 177; P. Foelsche, *ib.*, 192.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Woods, XV; J. Frazer 1892, 3; E. J. Eyre, II. 324.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, III. 164.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 378.

tercourse with Europeans: "the increase of numbers in aboriginal tribes is checked in proportion to the frequency, or the extent of their communications with Europeans."<sup>1</sup> Infanticide then increased. For instance, the natives in the neighbourhood of Melbourne killed all infants immediately after birth, saying in their faulty English: "no country, no good it have piccaninies," i.e., it was no use bringing up children for they would not have a foot of land of their own or, since — as said in another region — they would grow up to be "wild dogs" (warrigal).<sup>2</sup> It is worthwhile remarking the almost general custom of murdering children of mixed blood: in one tribe in New South Wales they were all murdered after a resolution to that effect taken by the tribe.<sup>3</sup> (Perhaps ideas of racial beauty-type played some role in this question; thus if an infant was found to be of a too light tan colour by the natives, it would be coated with ashes at the first opportunity.<sup>4</sup> J. Drudge, however, mentions the practice of murdering all infants of a lighter hue.)<sup>5</sup> But infanticide itself existed in Australia "from time immemorial," it was there "a very ancient custom."<sup>6</sup> References as to its existence come from all parts of the Australian continent. There are but a few regions which can boast that in them its intensity was weaker or that it did not exist at all — and it is, moreover, a question whether in those cases that absence does not show that observers failed to see many things.<sup>7</sup> (It should be borne in mind that the

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 378.

<sup>2</sup> A Colonial Magistrate, 19; R. Oberländer, 278; Cf. as to the increase of induced miscarriages and child-murder as a result of the invasion of the Whites, E. M. Curr, II. 182—183, 197, 330, 376, 474; III. 96, 352; E. Walter Roth 1897, 183; H. E. A. Meyer, 186; W. Westgarth, 710; J. G. Gribble, 117.

<sup>3</sup> J. Frazer 1892, 3 (as out of fear that when they grew up they would be too powerful for the tribe); cf. also J. Moore Davis in R. Brough Smyth, II. 311 (boys of mixed blood were invariably destroyed but girls left alive); W. Westgarth, 709; Fr. H. Wells (always killed and occasionally eaten by the tribe) in *Au. A. A. S.*, V. 515; J. B. Gribble, 117; R. Dawson 1831, 324; H. Bingham, in *Au. Rec.*, XXI (1924). 745.

<sup>4</sup> T. A. Parkhouse, 643.

<sup>5</sup> J. Drudge, cited by W. Westgarth, 710.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. M. Curr, I. 342, 396; II. 37, 322, 342, 408, 427; III. 45, 164; E. M. Curr: *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria*, 263.

<sup>7</sup> In the collection of materials made by E. M. Curr, we find that in relation to almost every tribe there is reference to the existence of child-murder. Out of 106 references collected regarding infanticide in Australia, there are only seven which speak of this bloody custom as altogether unknown in the region described: E. Walter Roth, XVII. 60 (in the neighbourhood of Port Leschenhault); E. M. Curr, I. 298 (the tribe of Nickol Bay, but A. R. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). 169, found there infanticide coupled with the eating of children); *ib.*, III. 18 (the Kumbokaburra tribe),

natives scrupulously concealed such acts from the knowledge of the Whites;<sup>1</sup> sometimes they denied the existence of this custom because they did not murder the children, but left them behind in a forsaken camp and there they were "afflicted with magic."<sup>2</sup>

The intensity of infanticide was sometimes very great. Horrible tales are told about it. R. Oberländer was shown a woman who had murdered ten children;<sup>3</sup> Dieri old women admitted to S. Gason of having disposed in this manner of two to four of their offspring: in this way, about 30% of the new-born infants perished at the hands of their mothers in the Lake Eyre district.<sup>4</sup> Among the Narrinyeri "more than a half of the children born fall victims to this atrocious custom"—G. Taplin knew several women who had murdered two or three of their new-born children: horrified by this custom, he exaggerated its influence when he declared that if "the Europeans had waited a few more years they would have found the country without inhabitants."<sup>5</sup> W. H. Willshire says of the parts of Central Australia known to him, that at least 60% of the women committed infanticide. He tells of one woman that she had five children, three of whom she murdered immediately after birth, and she explained in her broken English: "me bin keepem one boy and one girl, no good keepem mob, him to much wantem tuckout!" Therefore the women of the bush daily murder their children and do not wish to raise more than two.<sup>6</sup> Let us reconstitute the psychology of the murderesses. When Ph. Chauncey asked one woman how she could dare to do such a deed, the mother replied pointing to the bag on her back that there was

*ib.*, III. 252 (on the river Marauwa); *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895). 180 (in the neighbourhood of Down Stations); Lambie, quoted by W. Westgarth, 710 (Maneroo); J. B. Gribble, 117 (the Wiradjuri) and one (E. M. Curr, II. 197) where the aborigines deny infanticide, but where cases of child-disappearance took place. Sometimes, infanticide was rarely committed, B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen 1899, 51; H. Basedow 1925, 21.

<sup>1</sup> G. Taplin, in *J. D. Woods*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 748 (among the Mining), 750 (among the Kurnai and in the neighbourhood of Maryborough), L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 190 (the Kurnai).

<sup>3</sup> R. Oberländer, 278.

<sup>4</sup> S. Gason, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 46.

<sup>5</sup> G. Taplin, in *J. D. Woods*, 13 (in another place this same author writes of the murdering of one-third of all the infants).

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Willshire, 16; methods of infanticide, *ib.*, 17, 39. Here are some examples of the intensity of that custom: in one of the tribes described by J. Mathew 1910, 166, a woman murdered all her children; in another, *Au. A. J.*, 1897, 81, all the children of one woman were eaten; E. E. Ylmann, 261, writes of a woman who murdered three children by pouring boiling water into their mouths; in still other places



only room for one child, and she could not possibly carry another. "Soon after the child was born she scratched a hole in the sand behind her hut and having given it a 'little' knock on the head, laid it in the hole and kept on crying, the child crying too, till she could bear it no longer, and she went out and gave it another 'little' knock which killed it, and then she cried for several days."<sup>1</sup> But here is another type, — a young married woman. A. Souef tells of her that she had dashed her infant's brains out against a tree. Asked why she had done so, the mother replied coolly: "Oh! too much cry that fellow!" On Souef's telling her that was no reason for killing her infant, she said, pointing to a child of two years of age: "Oh! too much young fellow Jimmy, no good two fellow pickanninny!"<sup>2</sup> In general, the motives for killing infants and even older children were various. Thus, frail and malformed children were murdered:<sup>3</sup> this custom was very prevalent not only among the Australians, but also at considerably higher stages of culture (e.g., it was only Peter the Great who abolished it in Russia, where it had existed in a milder form).<sup>4</sup> It is worthwhile noting that in the earlier stages of culture all deviation from an average type of physical build is often looked upon as making the person abnormal.<sup>5</sup> First-born children were murdered, amongst other reasons, just because they were frail. A twin was killed (and sometimes both), because the mother could not suckle it;<sup>6</sup> the murder of twins was caused also by various

some women lightly confessed to having killed several children, E. M. Curr, III. 164. (cf. also K. Lumholtz 1892, 300, 318). R. Brough Smyth, I. 51—53, states that infanticide was, in Victoria, an almost universal practice. It may be that such a great prevalence of that custom as we find in the above accounts, was already a result of the white invasion. In any case in the more hospitable parts it was not general, *An Ethnologist*, in *Au. A. J.*, X (1908), No. 4, p. 58.

<sup>1</sup> In R. Brough Smyth, II. 273.

<sup>2</sup> In R. Brough Smyth, II. 290.

<sup>3</sup> R. Salvado, 310; H. E. A. Meyer, 185; E. M. Curr, II. 266; S. Gason, in *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895). 168; R. Brough Smyth, I. XXI; J. Dawson 1881, 39, 40; G. Grey, II. 251; E. Eylmann, 435; G. Taplin, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Petri, I. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Russell, 185, relates that the Pima kill by starvation not only deformed children but so strong was their feeling against the abnormal that they also tried to murder a grown-up man because he had six toes.

<sup>6</sup> For the infanticide of twins in Australia: B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen 1899, 52, also 1904, 609 (both killed); C. E. Jung, 382 (one killed); G. Taplin, 9, 11 (one or both killed); R. Oberländer, 279 (one smothered); R. H. Mathews 1904, 219 (one killed); E. Eylmann, 261; K. Langloh Parker, 51—52; Singleton and Tolmer, in G. Taplin 1879, 61 (both twins murdered and eaten); H. Basedow

superstitions, for instance, it was thought that the first of them was an incarnation of an evil spirit.<sup>1</sup> When a mother died while suckling a child, the infant was buried with her,<sup>2</sup> and death often also awaited the babe when its father, who as a hunter maintained the family, departed this life.<sup>3</sup> Cases have occurred where a child was killed because, requiring its mother's care, it deprived the father of his wife's labours.<sup>4</sup> Yet another motive acted here: "there were a few debased creatures who invariably destroyed their children because they feared to get prematurely old and unacceptable to their husbands."<sup>5</sup> Sometimes an infant was murdered and cooked for its elder brother or sister to eat, in order to make him or her strong by feeding on the muscle of the baby.<sup>6</sup> Of course, where custom tolerated infanticide in so many cases, it would occur (though such cases we consider as exceptional) that a child perished for yet more trifling reasons, such as that it worried its parents too much with its screaming or when puppies had to be suckled by its mother.<sup>7</sup>

All the motives hitherto set forth are, however, of an accidental or exceptional nature; they testify, indeed, to the nature of the relations between mothers or, in general, of parents to some children, but they do not yet make infanticide a permanent practice, and, moreover, they keep it within numerically modest limits. Neither twins nor cripples are common;<sup>8</sup> only the custom of killing the first child made infanticide in Australia

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1925, 64; S. Nind, 39; W. Westgarth, 710 (one is always sacrificed); F. H. Wells 515 (if one of twins is a male child, it is killed: perhaps here we have to do with the well-known fear of incest).

<sup>1</sup> C. Strehlow, I. 15.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 352.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. A. Meyer, 186.

<sup>4</sup> J. Frazer 1892, 3; H. E. A. Meyer, 186.

<sup>5</sup> E. Stone Parker, 23.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 749 (they strike the younger one's head against the shoulder of its elder brother or sister); W. E. Stanbridge in R. Brough Smyth, I. 52; Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 475; H. Basedow 1904, 36. Sometimes they kill the baby and eat it — the parents, or at least the mother, thinking they will get the youngster's strength, *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895). 182.

<sup>7</sup> J. Mann, in *Pr. Geo. Vict.*, I. 58 (when the camp had to be struck quickly); E. M. Curr, I. 376, 380 (when the child annoys them unusually by its cries or when a birth was difficult), *ib.*, II. 403 (for accidentally breaking a weapon as it trotted about the camp — this must refer to a grown child). In Tasmania, the father when enraged with his wife, occasionally murdered her child, J. Bonwick 1870, 79.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, at the end of the XIX century, in Austria there were barely 20–25 twins per 1,000 new-born infants.

rather much more common. In general, all the motives given by us so far are not, however, continuous in their action, that is, they act only from time to time and at irregular intervals. But in Australia there existed factors with a stronger influence, which brought it about that infanticide was more widely and systematically practised. In passing, let us note that the aboriginal women also induced abortion by artificial means, but they had recourse to this much less frequently than to infanticide and in any case very seldom.<sup>1</sup> But before we proceed to consider those more important factors we ought to devote a few words to the subject of the Australian mother. She is often accused of hardness towards her progeny. Such accusations are often extremely unjust and arise merely from ignorance of Australian custom. They show, too, a lack of comprehension of the fact that under the conditions in which the natives lived, infanticide was often the only thing possible for the mother if she did not want to sacrifice an older child. "An aboriginal gin is often charged with callousness towards her offspring. Such an accusation, apart from proving the informant's ignorance, amounts to a slanderous injustice. The aboriginal mother is as fondly attached to her babe as most white women are to theirs, and the way she can endear herself to it is pathetic."<sup>2</sup> Even the men show great affection to children, not only of their own tribe, but also of white settlers. "Squatters know only too well that under ordinary circumstances their children could not be in safer custody than when entrusted to the care of the aborigines."<sup>3</sup>

But difficult conditions of existence sometimes run counter to the strongest instincts. "The natives are generally much attached to their children... and yet there is no doubt that infanticide prevailed to a fearful extent."<sup>4</sup> Factors came into action which forced the mother to murder her own child. These factors were connected with the difficulties of bringing up a child in the conditions of native life in Australia, and namely: the long suckling

<sup>1</sup> This practice was not so very obvious and for that reason doubtless we find few mentions of it. There are references to it in E. M. Curr, I. 76; R. Oberländer, 279; Knut Dahl, 25; E. Palmer, 280.

<sup>2</sup> H. Basedow 1925, 65. According to *Report on the condition, capabilities and prospects of the Austr. Abor.*, Melbourne 1846, 13, the Moreton-Bay blacks have a great affection for their children.

<sup>3</sup> H. Basedow 1925, 65—67.

<sup>4</sup> E. Stone Parker, 23; Ch. Sturt 1849, II. 137.



of the child at its mother's breast, and the necessity of carrying the child on her back for several years during the wanderings inseparable from a roving mode of life.

Let us enter into particulars concerning the matter of suckling.

The suckling of the child goes on for a long time, since foods which could replace the mother's milk such as, amongst us, are cow's milk or porridge are lacking. It is necessary, from the nature of the food used by the aborigines, that a child have good teeth before it can be even partially weaned;<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, a mixed diet is offered the suckling very early in life: one often sees a baby only a month or two old, vigorously sucking the smooth head-end of a big bone, just as with us children will suck an empty "comforter."<sup>2</sup> But these foods, given at irregular intervals, do not obviate the necessity of the mother suckling the child. In times of drought and famine, it is the only way in which the mother can feed her child.<sup>3</sup> At that stage of culture, an infant, deprived of its mother's breast, is condemned to die of hunger. Even on the island of Yap, where culture is incomparably higher than in Australia, a child which will not suck its mother's breast, ipso facto condemns itself to death by starvation; the native has no experience how to avoid this, nor has he foods, equivalent in value to the mother's milk, which might save the infant from starving to death.<sup>4</sup> If a mother dies, the natives of Australia bury her living infant with her. D. Collins, visiting New South Wales at the end of the XVIII century, has left a detailed description of such a ceremony. A woman had died, leaving behind her a little girl of four or five months old. "When the body (of the mother) was placed in the grave... the father himself placed the living child in it with the mother. Having laid the child down, he threw upon it a large stone, and the grave was instantly filled in by the other natives... (The father) so far from thinking it unhuman,

<sup>1</sup> G. Grey, I. 250.

<sup>2</sup> H. Basedow 1925, 66.

<sup>3</sup> A. N. Cabeça de Vaca, 83, one of the pioneers on the American continent, states that children are suckled up to their twelfth year; because of great poverty of land, adults are sometimes two or three days without food and the children are allowed to suckle that they might not famish.

<sup>4</sup> S. W. Lessler, in *Anthropos*, VII (1913). 1049 (note); on the island of Dobu, an infant is murdered if its mother's milk dries up and no one in the tribe can or will act as wet-nurse, W. E. Bromilow, in *Au. A. A. S.*, XII. 483.

justified the extraordinary act by assuring us that as no woman could be found to nurse the child, it must die a much worse death than that to which he had put it.”<sup>1</sup> And this argument is characteristic not only of peoples at the lowest stage of culture, such as the Australians and Californians;<sup>2</sup> it is met with too among settled tillers of the soil, both those at a low level, such as the Melanesians,<sup>3</sup> and those at higher ones, such as the Dyaks.<sup>4</sup> (It is worth noting that among some peoples an additional motive comes into action: the child must die for it has taken its mother’s life.)<sup>5</sup> Suckling in Australia lasted from two to three years<sup>6</sup> and even more. Generally, the child was not in a hurry to renounce this easy source of food and took advantage of it until the mother forcibly compelled it to get a living for itself.<sup>7</sup> Hence even a boy of five and six years, playing with his companions, would suddenly stop and run to his mother to refresh himself with a draught of milk,<sup>8</sup> or would do so whilst working with her in the swamps seeking roots.<sup>9</sup> And this was the case not only in Australia. Long suckling is a custom in aboriginal America, both among the hunting

<sup>1</sup> D. Collins 1798, 607—608. Cf. L. de Freycinet, Vol. II, pt. II. 747; E. M. Curr, I. 352.

<sup>2</sup> In California among the Korusi, St. Powers, 222, among the Nishinam, *ib.* 328. Even among the Reindeer Chukchee if the mother had died in her labours, the baby was often smothered and exposed together with her in a common funeral, V. Bogoraz 514—515.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the tribe of Elema (N. Guinea), J. Holmes, in *J. A. I.* XXXII (1902). 423.

<sup>4</sup> In Sarawak (F. W. Leggatt, quoted by H. Ling Roth 1896, I. 100) no woman would consent to suckle such an orphan lest it should bring misfortune upon her own children. In Africa too, in the Congo, there is no way of saving the child when its mother dies in her confinement, E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *J. A. I.*, XXXV (1905) 420.

<sup>5</sup> In N. Guinea, J. Holmes, in *J. A. I.*, XXXII (1902). 423 (an eye for an eye, — is a law among the Elema); in Sarawak, H. Ling Roth 1896, I. 100.

<sup>6</sup> The mother suckles her child two years and more, J. Frazer 1892, 3; two or three years, G. Taplin, in J. D. Woods, 14; three and occasionally four years, J. Bonwick 1863, 43; at least three years, E. M. Curr: *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria*, 252, 263; until children are past the age of two or three years, G. Grey, I. 250; children are not weaned till they are in their fourth year, C. E. Jung, 382; they are suckled one to three years, E. Eylmann, 5, 261; up to the age often of three years and even more, Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 264, *Horn Exp.*, IV. 166; more than three years, F. Bonney, 126; three, four years, or even more, Wm. Wyatt, 162, J. G. Withnell, 8, H. Basesdow 1925, 66; even five years, G. Bennett, 253; up to three, four and five years of age, E. Walter Roth 1897, 184.

<sup>7</sup> R. Brough Smyth, I. 48.

<sup>8</sup> R. Salvado, 311; R. Brough Smyth, I. 187; H. E. A. Meyer, 187; J. Bonwick 1870, 78 (Tasmania); G. Grey, I. 250.

<sup>9</sup> J. Morrill, 17.

tribes and among the more advanced agricultural peoples. The Melanesians are not free from this practice nor are the African negroes, who occupy a considerably higher stage of culture, as also many peoples coming within the sphere of influence of Hindu culture.<sup>1</sup> A very high stage of culture has to be reached and thus quite different conditions of existence, before popular superstition categorically forbids the mother to prolong suckling too long, threatening her, as in modern Greece, that the child will be an idiot<sup>2</sup> or, as in Poland, that it will become a thief or a prostitute.<sup>3</sup> Of course, among the backward peoples, where long suckling is absolutely necessary, there is not and cannot be room for the birth of a second child until the first has been weaned.<sup>4</sup> Even the way out which is found by the wives of persons of rank on the island of Rabiana is impossible: a mother belonging to the common people there, if she has no milk, murders the baby, for it never even occurs to her that there could exist other means of feeding it except with milk from her own breast,<sup>5</sup> but the wives of the chiefs force the slave women to reject their own babies and feed the chiefs' children.<sup>6</sup> So, on the Australian continent, "if a mother has children in rapid succession, the young infant is killed" — "the women allege that they cannot suckle and carry two babies at once while the men wash their hands by maintaining that they

<sup>1</sup> Among the Todas the infants are nursed for about three years, but it is not uncommon for them to be suckling in the sixth year, E. M. Marshall, 82; Kadir women are said to suckle their children till they are two or three years old, E. Thurston III. 20; Nair women suckle two years, Jager, in *A. G. Vhl.* 1878, 123; Khamba are said to have been "breast-fed" till almost adult, T. C. Hodson, 151; Lhoosai children sometimes do not leave the breast until four years old, T. H. Lewin, 255; in Upper Sarawak until three to five years of age, Houghton, quoted by H. Ling Roth 1896, I. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Georgiakis and Pineau, 322.

<sup>3</sup> O. Kolberg: *Krakowskie*, III. 136 (if a baby is still suckling over two Good Fridays); but if when the child is weaned, the mother relents and again allows it to suck from her breast, it will have the evil eye (O. Kolberg: *Lubelskie*, I. 132), or be a vampire (O. Kolberg: *Krakowskie*, III. 136).

<sup>4</sup> But sometimes an Australian woman does not hesitate to suckle two children simultaneously, E. W. Roth, XVII. 60 (in the neighbourhood of Port Leschenhault); J. Morrill, 17; *An Ethnologist*, l.c. 38. Probably the elder child is only thus given additional food.

<sup>5</sup> The California natives had no name for milk as they had never seen it: hence, as an Indian frequently sees this article for the first time among civilised people he adopts the very name for it from the Spaniards, St. Powers, 271.

<sup>6</sup> C. Ribbe, 271.



are never present at these murders.”<sup>1</sup> Usually, “the Arunta native does not hesitate to kill a child if there be an older one still in need of nourishment from the mother”<sup>2</sup> — a motive which brings it about that they regularly murder one of a pair of twins.

The fate of the infant is not only seriously affected by the necessity of long suckling but also by the demands of the roving mode of life, especially in periods of drought, when it has been essential to travel far. In such a case the infant, which necessarily had its permanent place on the mother’s back, became a great hindrance. “It seems to have been the custom to kill many of the children directly after birth, to save trouble and privations in time of drought, when long distances must be travelled in the search of food and water. It will be difficult in the fierce heat to transport a number of young children over a dry journey of twenty miles and often more, without more water than can be carried in the skin bags used for that purpose.”<sup>3</sup> No wonder that the Australian women, justifying themselves before the white men for the murders they had committed, pointed to the bag in which they carry their infants and said that there was only room for one child in it.<sup>4</sup>

2. These two motives, the necessity for long suckling and the need for carrying a child for several years on the back, are not of an accidental nature, but result absolutely and directly from the conditions of native life. These motives act in that stage of culture very effectively and powerfully and made infanticide at that time a stable and permanent practice. The murdering of infants ceases to be an incalculable caprice of the parents, barely tolerated by the tribe, but grows into a permanent social institution to which the tribal council or rather the public opinion of the tribe gives its approval. (Especially, the tribal council in some tribes decided

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Schürmann, 223—224; Wm. Wyatt, 162; various correspondents in R. Brough Smyth, II. 273, 290; A. W. Howitt 1904, 748—749; G. Bennett, 253—254; J. Dawson 1881, 40; Wilhelmi in R. Brough Smyth, I. 51, and in *Tr. Roy. Vict.*, V. (1860). 180; E. M. Curr, II. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 264, and 1904, 608.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bonney, 125.

<sup>4</sup> R. Brough Smyth, II. 273, 290; H. Basedow 1904, 36; J. D. Woods, XV; J. W. Fawcett, 153; P. Foelsche, 192; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 190; J. Mathew 1910, 166 (“the motive for infanticide could not be to save food in times of dearth; it would be mainly, if not entirely, that mothers might escape the irksomeness of carrying them on their frequent journeys”); E. M. Curr, I. 272; II. 179, 474; III. 353 (also E. M. Curr: *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria*, 263).

on the murdering of all children of mixed blood.)<sup>1</sup> In the course of ages certain standards were formed by custom: in principle the matter was left to the women, or rather to the mothers. Yet sometimes custom limited their rights; for instance, in the Mukjarawaint tribe the grandparents had to decide whether a child was to be kept alive or not; the father could not order the child to be killed; if he did so, the grandparents would raise a party against him, and he would have to fight them;<sup>2</sup> again elsewhere whether the infant should have be killed, was generally decided by the mother's brother;<sup>3</sup> or the mother would take counsel of her husband.<sup>4</sup> But among many tribes the father, as, in general, men, hardly ever interfered in this matter.<sup>5</sup> The commission of the murder was the affair of the women who accompanied the woman about to be confined, there were even generally-known child-killers amongst old women in the Wonnarua tribe.<sup>6</sup> In principle an infant which came into the world when one before it was not yet grown, was murdered. And since the child suckled its mother's breast for two to four years (and there exists rather a tendency to make the period of suckling a four-year one), there had to elapse between the confinements of one and the same woman (provided the new-born infants were not killed) a period of three years and often longer.<sup>7</sup> An infant born within a shorter period would be murdered. The sources from which we derive our information, have endeavoured in some cases to express the sequence of births by numerical

<sup>1</sup> J. Frazer 1892, 3; R. Oberländer, 279 (the father might protest as regards his child against a resolution of the tribal council).

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 749 (if a child was to be killed, then either the grandfather or the father killed it by striking it against the mother's knee and then knocking it on the head).

<sup>3</sup> F. Bonney, 125; J. Frazer 1892, 3.

<sup>4</sup> J. Dawson 1881, 40.

<sup>5</sup> W. G. Stretton, 231; S. Gason in E. M. Curr, II. 46.

<sup>6</sup> J. W. Fawcett, in *Au. A. J.*, I. 153; Wilhelmi in R. Brough Smyth, I. 51. The means of murdering were various, probably the most frequent way was pouring sand into the mouth or sometimes ashes; sometimes the child was thrown on to the hearth or its skull was broken, cf. G. Taplin, 11; R. H. Mathews 1904, 219; S. Gason in E. M. Curr, II. 46; A. W. Howitt 1904, 749–750; E. M. Curr, II. 182 (they kill it by strangulation); W. H. Willshire, 17 (they fill the infant's mouth with sand or strike it on the head with a stone or yam stick); *An Ethnologist*, l. c. 58 (they kill the baby by strangulation or by a blow on the head from a club or a thick stick).

<sup>7</sup> J. Frazer, in *J. Roy. N. S. Wales*, XVI (1882). 200, tells of a woman who abandoned several of her children in succession, and then after an interval of 7 or 8 years, suckled and reared another.

data. In Central Australia a new-born infant was killed if its predecessor was only eighteen months old; in other places, the new-comer was murdered if the previously born child was still unable to walk; in yet other places, if the elder child had not reached the age of three to four years.<sup>1</sup> Presuming that the average period of child-bearing for a woman was fifteen years (from the age of fifteen to thirty) and taking into consideration the probability that the first child and perhaps the first two or three children were the victims of infanticide, we should get a mean of two or three<sup>2</sup> children as probably the average number of children a native woman could raise. In Tasmania the native women, as a rule had very few children, and still fewer were, by abortion or infanticide, permitted to live; apart from the long suckling for three or even four years, the period during which their powers of reproduction existed was much shorter than with Europeans. Very few of them had children after thirty-five years of age, and the majority, perhaps, were barren before thirty; there were infrequent conceptions as girls were given in marriage to old men.<sup>3</sup> "Various circumstances render miscarriages more frequent amongst these tribes than amongst European nations and the first years and bloom of a female generally elapse, before she has any children."<sup>4</sup> But it is not easy to fix the actual number of children born because of the lack of exact data. "Owing to the practice of infanticide it would be difficult to say what number of children a woman bore, but the average was probably five. In one instance there must have been an interval of about sixteen years between the birth of the eldest and youngest child."<sup>5</sup> We may probably take that number of five children as the highest average limit for the number of children which an Australian native woman

<sup>1</sup> *Horn Exp.*, IV, 166 (a mother with a child of eighteen months seldom undertakes to rear a girl infant); W. E. Stanbridge in R. Brough Smyth, I. 52; R. Oberländer, 279; Wm. Wyatt, 162 (females infants are murdered at birth for the sake of boys who are still being suckled, though three to four years old); E. E y l m a n n, 261; G. Taplin, 11.

<sup>2</sup> The first three or four children are often killed, J. D. Woods, XV.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bonwick 1870, 85.

<sup>4</sup> G. Grey, I. 249 - 250.

<sup>5</sup> E. M. Curr, III. 164. This concerns the Kabi tribe, of which J. Mathew 1910, 165, remarks that the number of children in a family is small: a family of six rarely occurs, the author did not know of even one family with more than five who survived infancy; one half-caste woman, however, had nine children.



would give birth to and we would specially emphasize that figure. Out of that number many children would perish by infanticide and by illness. As to how many finally grew up, we may get a very inexact idea from loose and scanty statements left by first-hand observers. We have succeeded in collecting some material as regards the number of children born or raised per woman and have tabulated the results in Table VI:

Table VI.

## Fertility of Australian native women.

No. of children born	No. of children reared	No. of cases <sup>1</sup>
—	Number of children inconsiderable	6 <sup>2</sup>
—	2	5 <sup>3</sup>
5	—	1 <sup>4</sup>
—	2 or 3	2 <sup>5</sup>
—	3	5 <sup>6</sup>
3 or 4, seldom over	—	1 <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Number of references to the fertility of native women either in single tribes or to that of Australians in general. These references are quoted in the foot-notes.

<sup>2</sup> General remarks: the children are not numerous, the women rear no children until well on in life, i. e., 28–40 years of age, E. M. Curr, II. 19; J. Mathew 1910, 165; the women are not too prolific, R. Oberländer, 278; B. Spencer 1914, 10, 48 (a man in the Northern Territory had six wives, but only four children, the ages of the wives varying from 15 to 50; the greatest number of children, that B. Spencer met, was eight in the case of a Kakadu woman; H. Basedow 1904, 31, found there, that nine women in five families had twelve children); Knut Dahl, 25; J. Bonwick 1870, 79 (Tasmania).

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, III. 21; H. E. A. Meyer, 186 (the child of any woman who has already two children alive is put to death); D. Charnay, *Bull. d'Anthr.* 1890, 856–857 (a not very trustworthy authority — tells of the murdering of the third child); W. H. Willshire, 17; W. Westgarth, 708.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 376 (according to Moorhouse they have an average of five children, but only two are reared, J. D. Woods, XII; J. Bonwick 1870, 79, also repeats Moorhouse's figures).

<sup>5</sup> F. J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 264 (the number of children rarely exceeds four or five in a family and as a general rule, is still less, perhaps two or three); *Horn Exp.*, IV., 34 (relatively few children; the author mentions a few cases of families of three, four, and even five).

<sup>6</sup> E. M. Curr, II. 474, III. 4; *Au. Rec.*, XV (1922). 58. We include in this group the testimony of R. Salvado, 310, and of C. E. Jung, 382, to the effect that every third, and even second daughter is killed.

<sup>7</sup> K. Lumholtz 1892, 173 (a woman seldom gives birth to more than three or four children).

No. of children born	No. of children reared	No. of cases
—	3 or 4	5 <sup>1</sup>
—	Average of 4, in barren districts 3	1 <sup>2</sup>
—	Seldom over 4	3 <sup>3</sup>
Seldom over 4	—	1 <sup>4</sup>
—	Maximum of 4	1 <sup>5</sup>
4.6	—	1 <sup>6</sup>
Seldom over 4 or 5 children	—	1 <sup>7</sup>
—	5	1 <sup>8</sup>
5	—	1 <sup>9</sup>
8	—	1 <sup>10</sup>

On the basis of this table we should be justified in coming to the conclusion that on an average the Australian woman gave birth to 4.6—5.0 children. E. M. Curr accepts a larger number of births: according to him, the Australian woman had, on an average, six children, though she only reared three (two boys and one girl), the others dying a violent death.<sup>11</sup> Of course, our table concerns only those times or regions when or where the influence

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 402, II. 332; P. Foelsche, 192 (any children in excess of three to four are killed); A. W. Howitt 1904, 749 (an infant is killed if there are already three or four children in the family); W. E. Roth, XVII. 60 (three to four children would not uncommonly be noticed as belonging to one mother, who might be seen suckling more than one of her infants at a time).

<sup>2</sup> An *Ethnologist*, *l.c.*, 58.

<sup>3</sup> J. Morrill, 17 (the women have very few children, seldom exceeding four); W. C. Schürmann in J. D. Woods, 223 (the number of children reared varies, but, in general is very limited, rarely exceeding four); C. H. Wilhelmi, in *Tr. Roy. Vict.*, V (1860). 180.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Sturt 1849, II. 137 (the women seldom have more than four children and if they have, few above that number arrive at the age of puberty).

<sup>5</sup> J. Dawson 1881, 39 (large families of children are unusual; however many may be born, rarely more than four are allowed to grow up, five children are considered to be a large number).

<sup>6</sup> G. Grey, I. 250 (All the forty-one women included in Grey's list had passed the age of child-bearing at the time the list of their families was drawn up.)

<sup>7</sup> F. Bonney, 126.

<sup>8</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 338.

<sup>9</sup> E. M. Curr, III. 164 (the Kabi tribe).

<sup>10</sup> Myles, quoted by E. M. Curr, II. 37 (the Wonkomarra tribe, in which infanticide was an ancient custom). This high average number seems to be of very doubtful accuracy.

<sup>11</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 70. This same author in his *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria*, 251—252, estimates the number of children among the Bungeang at an average of six or perhaps even eight, of whom at least half were murdered.

of the Whites had not yet affected the customs of the natives, at least to any great degree.<sup>1</sup> Contact with our civilization had an unfavourable effect on fertility. Formerly in New South Wales, every family "swarmed" with children<sup>2</sup> and on the waters derived from Cooper Creek "there were numbers of children at some of the camps."<sup>3</sup> In general, in the period to which E. J. Eyre's inquiries refer, children were numerous, in so far as a given tribe did not come into contact with Europeans: the increase of numbers in aboriginal tribes was checked in proportion to the frequency of that contact.<sup>4</sup> Thus the figures of our table represent the fertility of Australian women under the conditions of their former roving life. But this way of life rendered it impossible for women to make full use of their child-bearing possibilities. Hence, if they had food secured to them and were, as a result of European influences, not so restrained by native custom — especially in the case of unions with white men — they gave birth to many more children: they had families of even ten, twelve and thirteen children.<sup>5</sup> But when dealing with the increase of population, the number of children reared, i. e. of the living children per woman, is more important. Families in Australia were not large. Not only the figures cited in our table, but also the fact that in certain districts (e. g., on Encounter Bay, near Adelaide) the mother of a fairly large number of children was given a distinctive name,<sup>6</sup> emphasize this. According to Table VI. an Australian woman would, on the average, rear about 2.7 — 3.2 children — a figure which

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<sup>1</sup> For this reason we do not cite figures, which either arouse suspicion that they concern tribal communities which were already under the fairly strong influence of the white settlers, or are quoted as examples for the purpose of supporting some doubtful thesis. For instance, R. Brough Smyth, I. 78, is enthusiastic about the fertility of the Australian women; whenever there is any abundance of food they have many children (often with white men), but these are exceptions, and he himself gives a number of facts of a different nature.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. Strzelecki, 254—255. This author did not explain what should be understood by the term "swarming". We only know that he used it when contrasting this number of children to those of the Tasmanians transported to Flinders Island. Among the Niol-niol, children are also said to have been formerly abundant, J. Bichofs, in *Anthropos*, III (1908). 35.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt in R. Brough Smyth, II. 301.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Eyre, II. 378.

<sup>5</sup> R. Brough Smyth, I. 78; J. Mathew 1910, 165.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bonwick 1870, 79.



is, if anything, probably exaggerated.<sup>1</sup> However, there were probably great differences in different districts on the Australian continent. In barren parts, native families would have on an average about three children, generally two boys and one girl, in more fertile parts, infanticide was far from being a general custom, and the average number of children perhaps rose to four.<sup>2</sup> Thus if we accept the figures of children born and reared as calculated on the basis of Table VI., then 1.8—2.3 children on an average per woman could have no expectation of being raised, i. e. died in very early infancy or even immediately after birth, it matters little for the purposes of our inquiry whether a natural or a violent death. In other words, the percentage of children who died within a few days or months of birth would be approximately 40% (and even, according to E. M. Curr, about 50%) of the total number of new-born babies — this is a very considerable percentage if we consider that in England and in Germany less than 10% of the new-born babies died in 1911 within the first three months of life.<sup>3</sup> This percentage is as large as the percentage of children in Europe (1871—'82) who died before reaching the age of 15 years.<sup>4</sup> Such an immense difference between the figures for Europe and those for the aborigines is apparently due to the custom of infanticide prevalent in Australia. It would be of interest to examine in greater detail the question of how far infanticide added in Australia to the natural mortality of the children. As we already know, in some tribes the first-born child was murdered, on account of its weakness, being born of too young a mother. If we assume that a woman gave birth on an average to five children, then about 20% of the total number of children in these tribes would perish immediately after birth. In other tribes it was the custom to murder every child born over and above three

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr seems to count as raised every infant not murdered immediately after birth, i. e., every infant definitely allowed to live, even for weeks, still more for a few months. We presume, that in most cases, the expression "a child reared" carries that meaning in statements of other authors.

<sup>2</sup> *An Ethnologist*, l. c., 57—58.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, 4.06% of the children died in their first month in England and Wales and 5.71% in Germany; correspondingly 2.58% and 3.42% died there from amongst children 1—2 months old, cf. *A. I. de Stat.* 1917, 163—164.

<sup>4</sup> In Europe, of a hundred born at the same time there died before the age of 15: 40.2 in Germany, 46.7 in Austria, 30.4 in Switzerland, 51.4 in Italy, 25.0 in France, 25.8 in Great Britain, 22.6 in Sweden, G. v. Mayr: *Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre*, II (1897). 239.

living ones. Here infanticide would dispose of about 40% of the new-born infants, or actually rather less, for among the three left alive, one might die when somewhat older and an infant born after its death would be raised. As a matter of fact, infanticide would in both cases be rather more frequent than the figures given by us would imply, for independently of the removal of the first-born child, or of children over and above three living ones, children in any way deformed or crippled, one or both of twins, and infants born before an older child had been raised to the required age, were murdered. We do not think, however, that these percentages (20% or 40%) would be considerably increased on account of such further extension and application of infanticide. Only the cases where the infant was removed on account of the fact that the previous child was still at the mother's breast, might tend to increase the figures given above to any rather greater extent. But our percentages are even so very modest ones as compared with those of some observers. Some authorities even assert that 50% of the new-born children died a violent death immediately after birth.<sup>1</sup> But we must not think that the actual losses to the population caused by infanticide were as great as the percentages given would indicate. For infanticide removed a certain number of children who, even if that violent means had not been used, would have died a natural death shortly after birth. For instance, we shall consider the case where the first-born child was murdered. Let us presume that natural mortality in the first year of life, i. e., mortality not caused by infanticide, removed on the Australian continent 35%—40% of the total number of children born. On this hypothesis from amongst murdered infants the same percentage, i. e. 35%—40%, would have, anyhow, died a natural death within the first year of life and infanticide would have really removed only about 12%—13% of the infants born. But even this calculation is not correct. For first-born children were murdered for the very reason that the mother was too young and hence the children were physically too weak. In other words, the percentage of children which among those murdered would have died a natural death in infancy or in early childhood, must necessarily have been still larger, and finally infanticide for this reason would have

<sup>1</sup> G. Taplin, in J. D. Woods, 13; E. M. Curr, I. 70,

increased infantile mortality by a smaller additional percentage. In the other case, too, i. e., when three children had been raised, or allowed to live simultaneously, we must take into account our above argumentation, namely that infanticide actually was responsible for lessening the number of new-born infants by only 24%—26% and not by 40%, for the other 14%—16% of infants murdered would undoubtedly have died a natural death. Actually, however, many more would die a natural death. For we should remember that primarily those children were removed who were weaker, or who, owing to the presence of a somewhat older brother or sister, would necessarily have died for lack of food. Thus the actual adverse results of infanticide in such cases were still smaller than those indicated by our calculation, and violence for this reason only increased the natural death-rate by some relatively smaller figure. For instance, if the natural mortality for infants within their first year of life was 35%—40%, then as the result of such infanticide which removed every child in excess of three living ones, it would perhaps reach a level of about 45%—50%.

But the number of children raised does not yet give us an idea of how many of them lived to maturity, i. e., to that age when the girl is married and the boy undergoes initiation and goes to live in the bachelors' camp. That number must have been very much lower than the number of children raised: for illnesses and other accidents made considerable inroads on the younger generation, which, escaping death at the hands of the women in the first days of infancy, was one day to take the parents' places and keep the little tribal community in existence. For it is indubitable that, in spite of the murder of weakly infants, most likely immediately after birth, and of the suckling of children by their mothers for several years, the mortality among the children was considerable. "Infants suffer very much from the exposure of savage life;" they died through over-exposure to the sun by being uncovered on their mother's back during a long march on a hot day; and "any severe disease which may suddenly seize a child, of course runs on and becomes fatal, although at first quite amenable to treatment."<sup>1</sup> "Children were difficult to rear, less from

<sup>1</sup> G. Taplin, in E. M. Curr, II. 259. The cold nights also did them much harm, E. M. Curr, III. 21.



the exposure of climate than unsuitability of food, harassment of travel, annoyance to parents, and the absence of effective remedies under disease."<sup>1</sup> And this is quite natural; the mortality of infants is considerable even in Europe, in spite of medical aid and greater comforts; its extent would be much greater at that very low stage of culture.<sup>2</sup> "The deaths amongst the children, particularly during early infancy, are, as far as I can judge, much more numerous in proportion to the number of births, than they are in civilized nations."<sup>3</sup> It must also be taken into account that disastrous famines occurred from time to time on the Australian continent. In the course of his journey, Ch. Sturt probably observed the results of such a famine in the basin of the river Murrumbidgee: "the children were much subject to diseases, and were dreadfully emaciated. It is evident that numbers of them die in their infancy from want of care and nourishment."<sup>4</sup> And if the babe did not perish by the hand of its mother immediately after birth, if it did not die prematurely of an illness, more than one danger still lay in ambush for it. And thus, here and there child-murder was committed not only from necessity but also for reasons of mere gluttony. The existence of this eating of children is testified to by all too numerous facts:<sup>5</sup> Mowbray relates that he personally found in the basin of the river Mitchell the aborigines roasting and eating their own children.<sup>6</sup> When a child looks well, is "well-fed" or "fat", it may happen that one of the men, or even the whole community, murders it for cannibalistic purposes in the absence of its mother. It has even occurred that if the mother, fearing for the life of her child, would not leave the camp, she would be induced to go outside on some pretext or other and her absence taken advantage of.<sup>7</sup> We do not think that such cannibalism was common, though there

<sup>1</sup> J. Bonwick 1870, 85.

<sup>2</sup> "These children of ours die like flies . . . the Yakut women only suffer in vain," declares a Yakut, referring to the great mortality of the children, W. Sieroszewski, 308.

<sup>3</sup> G. Grey, I. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Sturt, II. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. much evidence in R. Brough Smyth, I. 51—53 (in some districts the first-born are, on principle, eaten; *ib.*, II. 311); K. Lumholtz 1892, 300, 318; A. J. Peggs, in *F. L.*, XIV (1903). 340, 352; J. Bischofs, in *Anthropos*, III (1908). 35; Walter E. Roth (*N. Qu. Ethn. Bull.* No. III, 30, § 38).

<sup>6</sup> E. M. Curr, II. 403.

<sup>7</sup> J. Frazer 1892, 3; R. Helms, in *Tr. Roy. S. Au.*, XVI, 282; E. M. Curr, I. 380; III. 159.

are many references to it, but even those infrequent cases had some effect on the growth of the population, in view of the small size of the tribe. (Another factor has more influence: children were killed during long journeys. At such times carrying the children became burdensome to the mother, especially in conjunction with being short of provisions.)<sup>1</sup> It was only in periods of drought and famine that child-eating assumed large proportions. That which in the ordinary course of events was somebody's caprice, became then a general practice. "It is during these trying times that parents are obliged to resort to extreme measures, so that they may sustain the lives of their children. Driven to the verge of despair, and visibly moved at the thought of it, a father must occasionally make the decision to slay one child in order that another may be saved."<sup>2</sup> In hard summers the new-born children seem to be all eaten in the Kaura tribe — A.W. Howitt inferred this from remarkable gaps that appeared in the ages of the children.<sup>3</sup> It even came to that, as in the Birria tribe during the years 1876—'77, in the drought, not only were all the infants devoured, but even the younger grown children.<sup>4</sup> However, in some tribes this practice appeared, even in a normal period, not to be so very rare. At least, if the gossip that circulated among the tribes were to be believed, cannibalism was even more extensive than we suppose. For instance, one tribe relates of another that it marks at birth those infants which are to be eaten later on;<sup>5</sup> again, the children of some women were always killed and eaten as soon as they got fat enough.<sup>6</sup> According to Machattie, a tribe numbering 250 souls when the Europeans came, during six years ate seven children, i.e., about 3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>10</sub> of its whole population.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes the eating of

<sup>1</sup> P. Beveridge 1889, 26—27.

<sup>2</sup> H. Basedow 1925, 21.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 749. In the basin of the river Murrumbidgee there were no children at the age of incipient puberty, and most of them were under six, Ch. Sturt 1833, II, 53 — this presumably was due to the same reason.

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Curr, II 378. The Mungerra also, in time of famine are known to have killed and eaten some of their female children, *ib.*, II. 465.

<sup>5</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 342.

<sup>6</sup> *Au. A. J.* 1897, 81 (reference is made to a mother who had eaten all her children); E. M. Curr, I. 376, relates that one woman had killed and eaten two of her own children because they troubled her with their cries.

<sup>7</sup> Machattie in E. M. Curr, II. 367 (Machattie does not, however, state whether healthy children were killed for that purpose or whether the tribe was satisfied with children who had died a natural death). Also cf. R. H. Mathews 1904, 219 (the children

children was the result of superstition — a mother restored her health with the blood or flesh of her own child. It is perhaps from such a reason that the practices of the Polish peasants in the district of Tykocin originate: if the woman's pains in her confinement do not cease, she is given "navel-drink," i. e., a glass of vodka, with which is mingled a thimbleful of blood from the navel and to which some salt is also added.<sup>1</sup>

3. We must ultimately arrive at the conclusion that even a small but constant and general increase in the population of Australia was almost out of the question. But the great mortality of children (and infanticide) was not the sole cause of this, as the following review of the influences at work will show:

a) A young girl, often very young and hardly out of childhood, would be given to a husband who in many cases would be considerably older than she. In Tasmania, a gray-headed old man possessed three wives aged respectively thirty, seventeen and ten years.<sup>2</sup> Such families probably were by no means uncommon in Australia. In many cases the difference in age between husband and wife was so great that it necessarily had to react adversely on the fertility of the woman. Again with the early marriage of a girl, especially if the husband were an old man, the first child was often weak and frail and so was doomed to an early death under Australian conditions.

b) The conditions of life in Australia caused early and premature senility to appear amongst the women: they would become mothers at a very early age but would usually relatively early cease to bear children. An Australian woman would be fertile for an average period of about fifteen years, and probably only very rarely was this period extended to twenty years. Any woman wanting to rear a child beyond the age of infancy could not bear another child until the former one had reached the age of at

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of unmarried women are devoured); A. W. Howitt, 1904, 749; A. R. Brown in *J. A. I.*, III (1913), 169; *J. A. I.*, XXIV (1895), 182, 196; E. M. Curr, I, 252; II, 159, 322, 371, 403; E. Eylmann, 261—262; B. H. Purcell, in *Tr. Geo. Au.* (Victorian branch, XI, 288); many of the last mentioned authorities also report the devouring of the corpses of children — a custom also very prevalent, E. M. Curr, II, 346, 361, 452; H. Basedow in *Tr. Roy. S. Au.*, XXXI (1907), 8; K. Lumholtz 1892, 300, 318; W. E. Stanbridge, 289; W. H. Willshire, 17, 39.

<sup>1</sup> *Wislá*, VII (1895), 166.

<sup>2</sup> G. Th. Lloyd: *Thirty-three years in Tasmania and Victoria* (1862), 44—45.



least three years. We know nothing of the relations of the husband with his wife during the period of suckling: we have not found any definite mention of such marital abstinence as is binding in the cases of other peoples, discussed elsewhere in this work. It is, however, quite possible that in polygynous families, which were not rare in Australia, the husband would abstain from sexual intercourse with a wife engaged in suckling her child. Naturally, it must have sometimes happened that a woman would become pregnant before her previous child had been weaned. Then, probably, in many cases, the hard conditions of life would doubtless aid the mother by inducing natural abortion, but in many other cases the same result would be consciously brought about by artificial means. We are convinced that the latter solution was more often utilised than would appear from various descriptions of native life. (The life of the Australian women is to this day a closed book in many respects: we know little of it and it appears likely that cases of artificial abortion could have very easily escaped the notice of observers.)

c) It can be accepted that during the whole period of her fecundity the Australian woman had five to six child-births on the average. The average number of children born would therefore not be small (although her fertility when mated to a native would be sometimes exceedingly small<sup>1</sup> and in any case smaller than when in marital relations with a White). Further, not all the children born would necessarily live to grow up. In cases where abortion had not been utilised, the mother could always murder an unwanted infant if the previous child were still unweaned or if it had still to be carried on the mother's back during wanderings. Again, we must, in the case of some tribes, take into account the custom of killing first-born children (as weaker and frailer than subsequent ones) as also of those increasing the number of living offspring to over two or three. All these motives caused infanticide to assume serious proportions and must have had an effect on the rate of increase in population. On the

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Northern Territory "a remarkable feature of many of these tribes is the small number of children, even though a man may have as many as five or six wives... The natives, in many parts, are certainly not prolific, and, under normal conditions, they do not, apparently, kill their children," B. Spencer 1914, 10-11.

other hand, the doing away with of such children as cripples, one of twins or those of mothers having died in childbirth, etc. could have had but little effect on the number of children reared since such infants were always relatively rare. More serious dangers to child-life were certainly famines and droughts: the children were said to perish in such numbers that subsequently remarkable gaps appeared in the age-groups of the children alive. In addition it should be also borne in mind that owing to the difficult conditions of life frequent miscarriages amongst the native women were inevitable and naturally affected the number of live-born children.

All these factors combined to restrict the number of reared children to two or three per woman. Of this number, there lived to attain maturity a barely sufficient number to maintain the population of the little tribal communities, in principle at least, at a stationary level. (It must be borne in mind, on the other hand, that the mortality amongst the older children cannot have been great in view of the strict selective process caused by natural and violent death during the first months of life.) Under favourable conditions, a tribe could grow in size somewhat for a given period, but such increase would soon be counterbalanced by the adverse although temporary effects of famine and other natural catastrophes. In less hospitable regions, the population would in the best case remain stationary, but it must have happened fairly often that decreases in population took place and from time to time the gradual dying-out of a tribe must have ensued.

d) Infanticide assumed excessive proportions and natural child-mortality increased after the appearance of the Whites. We ought, however, to treat the narratives on the subject with great reserve. From the nature of things, an observer tends to push forward and make much of the more striking examples he sees or hears of: depicting the scene of Australian reality, he is inclined to over-concentrate its tones and colours. We can be certain, nevertheless, that before the white invasion, infanticide did not have that intense and appalling character which it assumed later. The native encampments, at least in the more fertile regions, were said to swarm with children: as every woman was a wife it was enough for every mother to have two or three living

children to cause the impression that the larger camps "swarmed" with children.

e) An increase in the population tended to be restrained by other factors, often indeed of minor importance and of a local character, yet existing here and there, such as, for example, the mutilation of women so that they could not breast-feed their infants.<sup>1</sup> Finally there acted, through its results, the "terrible rite" (subincision) — a mutilation which makes even the severest circumcision to appear innocent. We reject the conjectures of some observers, who ascribe this practice to the desire of the Australians to restrain the increase of population, yet this mutilation is of a nature which, while not hindering physical relations, must render difficult the fertilizing of the woman.<sup>2</sup>

f) We must also take into account the custom of bloody vengeance in case of anyone's natural death. Such death, though natural, was attributed to malevolent magical practices. Some authors ascribe an important role to this custom in relation to its effects on the size of the population. Actually, however, this practice was rather more mildly applied than theory demanded, but it must have in any case exerted some influence on the size of the population.

Definitely, "whatever may be the cause, the native (in the Northern Territory), even under normal conditions, does not appear to increase in numbers, and, when he comes into abnormal conditions, such as those associated with intercourse with strangers, he very rapidly diminishes. Their numbers are, undoubtedly, to a certain extent, kept down by their constant feuds. One thing is noticeable, and that is that you seldom see a really old man or woman."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. L u m h o l t z 1892, 174—175, relates the custom of cutting off the women's nipples (*Papillae mammae*) in the districts of Queensland which came under his observation; the men, wishing to take unhindered advantage of the women as labourers, used this means, just as for the same reason they forced them to murder their infants. As regards the tearing out of the women's nipples in north-western Queensland, cf. M i k l u c h o - M a c l a y, in *Z. f. E.*, XIV (1884). 27, and J. W. F a w c e t t, 256; generally, *An Ethnologist*, l. c., 58; E. M. C u r r, I. 76.

<sup>2</sup> This question, which is comparatively indifferent for the deductions of our work, has evoked numerous contributions of different kinds to the subject. The succeeding phases of views as to this mutilation are set forth in the essay of T. P. A n d e r s o n S t u a r t, in *J. Roy. N. S. Wa.*, XXX (1896). 115—123.

<sup>3</sup> B. S p e n c e r 1914, 11.



2. The dying-out of primitive peoples upon their coming into contact with European culture: the especially slight resistance of peoples of the lowest degree of culture. The number of progeny among peoples in a state of savagery. The tendencies peculiar to the hunting peoples of the North.

Hitherto we have considered the growth of the population on the Australian continent. The conclusions we have arrived at are the more important because Australia is a large continent and the tribal organization, not having been restricted in its development during the course of the ages by the influences of higher culture, could give rise to all the consequences inherent in it as regards growth of population. This continent was in many parts but little affected by the direct influence of European settlers up to the middle of the XIX century, and the statements which we have referred to often deal with tribes which at the time when the materials were gathered had not yet undergone too great disturbances in their mode of life.

The question is how far these tendencies are reproduced with regard to other peoples, who were approximately at the same, or perhaps at a little higher stage of culture than the Australians. Considering the matter from a theoretical standpoint, it could be supposed that with about the same degree of technical knowledge and the same dependence on wild-food supplies, we should find there the same or approximate conduct and the same results of human actions as among the natives of Australia.

But our materials generally date from times when other of the lowest races had been brought to a greater state of social breakdown than on the Australian continent. The effects of contact with a higher culture acted the more intensively because these peoples occupied territory which was, in comparison to Australia, of inconsiderable area, and they were in many cases pressed upon from all sides by influences which hindered their movements and their ancient ways of life. The peoples whom we have to consider in the present chapter are among those who have most felt the results of the incursion of a higher culture. These races were never very populous nor were they marked by any great number of reared children. They remained stationary in the course of centuries

at a uniformly low level of population and found it difficult to restore their equilibrium once it had been lost. Naturally, they were distinguished by their great sensibility to any kind of disaster. The ravages of infectious disease and long-continued famines which visited them from time to time, decreased their population for long and sometimes were the fore-runners of extinction. How difficult it would be for a hunting people affected by such disasters to regain its former level of population,<sup>1</sup> is shown by facts reported from Siberia. Moreover, we must take into account the circumstance that colonization there in the North was excessively slow in its progress, the region available for hunting decreased imperceptibly and the hunter or nomad, except for the tribute which he paid in furs, was not subject to the results, severe in their systematic consequence, of contact with a higher culture, as were, for instance, the Australians in Victoria and New South Wales, or the Indians in North America. But even this weak pressure was sufficient to induce the gradual extinction of some peoples. So uncertain is the equilibrium of population at that stage of culture. And when there came plagues, such as the "bloody typhus" which visited the Obdor Ostyaks in 1855, or the smallpox which in the middle eighties of the last century raged among the nomad Chukchee, or the epidemics which, in 1767—'69, 1786 and 1799 carried off the greater part of the natives of Kamschatka, the vitality of the peoples devastated by such disasters was permanently impaired. The above-mentioned peoples, having lost a half, or sometimes three-quarters of their members, had not by the beginning of the XX century regained their former numbers. We repeat that the culture of the white man is invading the forests and tundra of Siberia slowly, and yet, in spite of its slow progress, the native hunters of these regions are gradually vanishing. Such a gradual, deliberate progress was likewise the rule in the case of contact between higher cultures of non-European origin and primitive peoples: as for instance, the contact of the Malay culture with the pagan races of Malacca, and even of the Hindu culture with the Veddas. What the incursion of the Europeans accomplished

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<sup>1</sup> And not only for hunting peoples: in the district of Kina Balu (N. Borneo), among the tillers of the soil "few tribes increase much in number, an epidemic breaking out retards any increase for many years", J. Whitehead, 52.

elsewhere in the course of a few score years, required whole centuries in Malaysia or on Ceylon. The hunting peoples of the Ceylon jungle, or on Malacca, were kept lingering for centuries. The European invasion continues to exterminate hunting peoples at a much faster rate. The preponderance is immense, the pressure brought to bear upon the natives has so increased in strength and efficiency, the area available for hunting has been so narrowed, the game so destroyed, and the new-comers have generally exerted such an unfavourable influence in every respect, that even barely to hold their own proves impossible to the natives in the long run.

Social breakdown had also to influence that function of their life which particularly interests us, namely their procreative capabilities. Some of them were, at the period from which our materials date, already rapidly dying out, as, for example, the Fuegians. Others, like the Andaman Islanders, had not yet been so adversely affected by their contact with the Whites. Still others, such as the Veddas, surrounded by the representatives of a higher Hindu culture, barely maintained their footing amidst the jungles for whole centuries. The Sakai even to a certain extent practise a rude kind of agriculture.

The figures in our possession regarding the number of progeny among the savage hunters are probably of unequal worth, although they inspire confidence because of their approximate agreement with the general character of the average figures obtained for the Australians.

And thus, among the Andaman Islanders, a married pair had, on the average, three or four children: infanticide was unknown, perhaps because their way of life, due to the greater natural abundance of food, was not so uncertain or to such an extent roving as in Australia. (But "it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be tolerated, for all three of the children of mixed parentage met their death by violence or neglect.") A mother would suckle her child three to four years; mortality among the infants was great and therefore the population remained stationary at more or less the same level.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Man, 13 (the largest number of children known to Man which a woman had was six, of which only three attained maturity), 109, 11, 12.



Our information with regard to the Vedda is rather uncertain and in some respects contradictory. According to the Sarasin brothers,<sup>1</sup> the Vedda women are prolific, but most of the children die early of fever. These authors altogether reject the assertion made by an anonymous writer that the Vedda murder any of their children over the number of two or three. Similarly they differ from J. Bailey,<sup>2</sup> who states that the number of children is few and attributes that to the custom of marriages in and in. J. Bailey gives examples of this small number of children: thus in one group there were nine grown-up persons and one child; in a second, eight adults and also one child, and in yet another little tribe, very isolated, there were twenty adults and four children. But Bailey has also other figures: among the Nilgala Vedda there were twenty-two children to fifty adults; in Bintenné, out of 308 persons 113 were children. And hence the number of children in these last-mentioned divisions is by no means so small. E. Deschamps also gave examples of the low fertility of the Vedda women, but he took into consideration exclusively young married people. In nineteen families (among them two married women were twelve years old at the most) he found only thirteen children. In another case there was not even one child amongst ten married couples, but there the wives happened to be but twelve or thirteen years of age.<sup>3</sup>

The mortality amongst Sakai children is enormous. It appears to be a general rule that out of about six children one would be still-born, and two would die within the first three years. This high mortality is caused to a certain extent by the carelessness of the mothers, and it is emphasised by the circumstance, that those women who have only one or two children, especially if one of them is born after a long interval, succeed as a rule in rearing them to maturity. The largest number of children (in one family) was sixteen, out of which twelve died before reaching maturity, and of these seven before they were a year old. The average number of children in a family is four. Child-bearing generally continues up to the age of about forty-two.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. and F. Sarasin, 469.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bailey, 296.

<sup>3</sup> E. Deschamps, in *Anthropologie*, II (1891). 312.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Skeat and Ch. O. Blagden, II. 11—12.

Bushmen women suckle on an average about three years.<sup>1</sup> However, "sexual intercourse between the parents ...is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession ...it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is 'thrown away'... But whether alive or still-born, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother." This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women refuse to rear two children at the same time. They are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care.<sup>2</sup> They murder children in many other circumstances. "The Bushmen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions: as when they are ill-shaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of the child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to flee the farmers or others, in which case they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. There are instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering be made to him."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, only every second or third child is usually reared. The women cease early to bear children; although they are very prolific, the Bushmen families are not large. Child-bearing seems to stop at an early age, and one seldom sees more than three or four children in a family. On the average, women do not rear more than two or three children.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Fuegians abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide was not rare. But, "to reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon

<sup>1</sup> Two or three years among Bushmen-Auin, H. Kaufmann, in *M. D. S.*, XXIII (1910). 158; about three, or even four years, I. Schapera, 116.

<sup>2</sup> I. Schapera, 116.

<sup>3</sup> R. Moffat, 58; S. Passarge, 99; S. S. Dornan, 129; Bleek and Lloyd, 127-191 (about throwing children to hungry lions).

<sup>4</sup> S. S. Dornan, 129; I. Schapera, 116; H. Kaufmann, in *M. D. S.*, XXIII (1910). 156, 136, found that most of the women had two or three children and that those children had been born at intervals of two to three years; G. W. Stow, 50 (they seldom have large families).

put an end to them and drove them under cover.”<sup>1</sup> The mothers suckled children three years.<sup>2</sup> The mortality among children was immense: soon after birth had taken place the mother bathed the newborn child in the sea in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° F to 50° F, and all but the most vigorous and robust infants were ruthlessly eliminated.<sup>3</sup> A woman gave birth on an average to about four children, of whom not much more than half lived.<sup>4</sup> P. Hyades and J. Deniker, however, already in the period of intensive breakdown of Fuegian customs, calculated the progeny of seventeen women of different ages: eight women over thirty years of age had eighteen living children, i. e., over two per woman; and the other nine (under thirty years of age) also had eighteen children, i. e., two per woman. These authors give a few particulars regarding the more prolific women. One woman, aged fifty, had had fourteen children, of whom only three did not die prematurely; another woman, aged forty-five, had nine children, eight of whom died very young.

Thus the facts dealing with other peoples who are at the lowest stage of culture correspond more or less with the facts observed on the Australian continent. Namely, the number of children was as is shown in Table VII.

The number of children raised for all these peoples is, on an average, probably about two or three children per mother — a number perhaps somewhat lower than among the Australians. But even this average figure cannot be regarded by us as being of any greater significance, especially if it be compared with the mean figures for the Australian natives. We have insufficient evidence at our disposal to trust these data overmuch and cannot base any comparative conclusions upon them. We shall content ourselves merely by pointing out their general character, namely that they have more or less the same character as the figures regarding the fertility of the Australians.

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<sup>1</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 163; Hyades and Deniker, 376.

<sup>2</sup> P. Hyades and J. Deniker, 195.

<sup>3</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 163.

<sup>4</sup> P. Hyades and J. Deniker, 189—190. On the basis of the figures given by Th. Bridges, 223, we find that among the Yakgan there were scarcely 1.3 living children to every woman (included among the children are also motherless orphans, whose mothers of course are not reckoned among the women).



Table VII.  
Fertility of women at the stage of savagery

Hunting Races	Number of children (born or raised)
Tasmanians . . . . . (Bonwick)	The women avoid having many children
Andaman islanders . . . . . (Man)	3 or 4 (born)
Veddas . . . . ., . . . . . (Anonymous)	2 or 3 (living?)
Sakai . . . . . (Skeat and Blagden)	4 (born?)
Fuegians . . . . . (Hyadès and Deniker)	{ 4 (born) 2 (adult)
Bushmen . . . . . (Dornan)	Seldom more than 3 or 4 (living)
Bushmen . . . . . (Kaufmann and Schapera)	2 or 3 (living)

Even peoples who have reached a relatively higher level of technical knowledge, but who live in very inhospitable regions, tend to behave similarly as regards the number of children.

In making this statement we have in mind primarily polar peoples as well as those in localities adjoining the polar regions, and similar to them in respect of the severe climate, scarcity of vegetation and relative paucity of land-game.

The Eskimo will be considered in the first place.

All branches of this race have in common the custom of long suckling of their children, i. e., for three or four years,<sup>1</sup> and there are few children in their families everywhere, but methods of avoiding an excessive number of children are not everywhere uniform.

D. Crantz says of the Greenland Eskimo that the women have from three to four children, at the most six, and give birth to a child every 2—3 years.<sup>2</sup> Among the tribes of Labrador the number of children is rarely over five, many parents are contented with but one or two children; they practise infanticide only when

<sup>1</sup> J. Murdoch, 415.

<sup>2</sup> D. Crantz: *Gesch. v. Groenland* 1770, I. 212 (they mock at prolific women).

the mother cannot suckle her child or in time of famine.<sup>1</sup> Among the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, on the whole, the number of children is very small.<sup>2</sup> Among the Eskimo of Smith Sound, the married couple usually has two children, any above that number being smothered or exposed to the frost.<sup>3</sup> Among the Point Barrow Eskimo the women are not prolific: although all the adults are married, many of them are childless, and few have more than two children although one woman was known to have at least four. J. Murdoch never heard of a single case of infanticide: children were so scarce and seemed so highly prized that he never even thought of inquiring if infanticide was ever practised. Nevertheless, Dr. Simpson speaks of such cases: a child is destroyed only when afflicted with disease of a fatal tendency, or, in scarce seasons, when one or both parents die.<sup>4</sup> The Eskimo females of the Alaska are not prolific, and to find four children of one mother is quite a rare occurrence, one or two being the usual number of children to a family.<sup>5</sup> On Behring Straits, families rarely have more than two or three children, and it is not uncommon for them to have none.<sup>6</sup> Among the Kung-julit in the former Russian possessions in North America, a woman of twenty-five is already an old hag; most of the families have one or two children. L. Zagoskin did not see even one woman who had as many as four children. The women, he says, mock those among them who are very prolific, saying that they had looked too hard at a bitch.<sup>7</sup> Generally, the kind of treatment the children receive is decided by the varying conditions about them. Among the Central Eskimo, infanticide has existed to some extent, but probably only girls and widows' or widowers' children have been murdered, the latter on account of the difficulty of providing for them.<sup>8</sup> Infanticide was practised by the Labrador Eskimo when the mother believes

<sup>1</sup> L. M. Turner, in *Tr. Ca. I.*, V. 103—105 passim, and in *B. Am. E.*, XI (1889—'90). 189 (2 or 3 children is the usual number, many die in early childhood).

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas 1901, 6.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bessels, in *A. f. A.*, VIII (1875). 112.

<sup>4</sup> J. Murdoch, 38—39, 417 (Dr. Simpson heard of a "rare case" where one woman had borne seven children, *ib.* 39.)

<sup>5</sup> I. Petroff, 127.

<sup>6</sup> E. W. Nelson, 29.

<sup>7</sup> L. Zagoskin, I. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. Boas 1884—'85, 580; Dr. Simpson, quoted by J. Murdoch, 417.

herself incapable of nourishing the new-born child; instances of cannibalism are frequent when the parents are so reduced as to slay their children, as often happen, when the elders are driven by starvation to another locality and during the journey can find no food.<sup>1</sup> Among the Eskimo of Behring Straits it was a common custom to murder female children at birth if they were not wanted; girls were often killed when from four to six years of age. (Children of this sex are looked upon as a burden, since they are not capable of contributing to the food supply of the family, while they add to the number of persons to be maintained.) Infants are taken naked to the graveyard and there exposed to the cold, their mouths being filled with snow, so that they will freeze to death quickly.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, among all the Eskimo tribes infanticide probably was practised to some extent on account of the difficulty of providing for children. It is very remarkable that the practice of infanticide seems to be quite permissible among many Eskimo tribes, but in Greenland it is believed that the ghost of the murdered child becomes an evil spirit and revenges the crime.<sup>3</sup>

Let us now proceed to consider the Athapascan peoples of northern Canada.

These tribes cannot boast of their fertility. Among the Tinneh, a girl gets married sometimes, albeit rarely, at ten years of age and retains fertility until forty-five, but very few infants are born, mothers on an average having three children (including dead infants). When a man had ten children, the natives found it so unusual that they called him *Hon-nen-na-be-ta*, or "the father of ten". Female infanticide, formerly so prevalent, was about 1866 unknown; but still, in seasons of famine or times of danger, girls invariably fall the first sacrifices to the exigencies of the case.<sup>4</sup> On the Cooper River according to H. T. Allen it is an unusual occurrence to see a father and mother with more than three children.<sup>5</sup> The Beaver women are not very prolific, a circumstance which, according to A. Mackenzie, may be attributed in

<sup>1</sup> L. M. Turner, in *Pr. Can. I.*, V. 103—105 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. Nelson, 289—290.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Boas 1884—'85, 580.

<sup>4</sup> B. Ross, 305, 310.

<sup>5</sup> H. T. Allen, in *Smths.* 1886, I. 258.



a great measure to the hardships that they suffer.<sup>1</sup> The Loucheux justified (female) infanticide by stating that they love their children and destroy them only to save them from such hardships and misery as to which their mothers are exposed.<sup>2</sup> Female infanticide was also known to the Kutchin, on the Yukon, amongst whom suckling often lasted for six years.<sup>3</sup>

Practices peculiar to these peoples are covered by Table VIII (it has proved impossible exactly to delimit the dividing line between the number of children born and those reared).

Table VIII.

## Fertility of women among the peoples of the North

	No. of children born or raised
Eskimo: Greenland . . . . . (Crantz)	3 or 4 children
„ Point Barrow Cape . (Murdoch)	Very few children; an average of not more than 2 children.
„ Cumberland Sound . (Boas)	Very few children
„ Smith Sound . . . . (Bessels)	2 children
„ Labrador . . . . . (Turner)	Seldom more than 5; many have 1 or 2 children; usually 2 or 3 children
„ Alaska . . . . . (Petroff)	Women are not prolific; usually 2 or 3 children
„ Behring Strait . . . (Nelson)	Seldom more than 2 — 3 children
„ Kang-julit . . . . . (Zagoskin)	In most cases 1 or 2 children; not one family had 4 children or over
Tlingit of Alaska <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	Not prolific
Eastern Tinneh . . . . . (B. Ross)	3 children
Beaver Indians . . . . . (Mackenzie)	Low fertility
Cooper River Indians . . . . (Allen)	Seldom more than 3 children

<sup>1</sup> A. Mackenzie, 147.

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Hardisty, in *Smths.* 1866, 312.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Kirby, in *Smths.* 1864, 418; L. H. Morgan 1871, 238.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Dall 1870, 581; according to H. J. Holmberg, 318, suckling among the Tlingit lasts ten to thirty months; A. Krause, 216, reported as much as even four years.

This table shows strikingly the tendencies prevailing among the peoples living not only in the Far North, but also those more to the south. And these are figures which are in most cases characteristic of the normal life of these peoples, or at least of those who have not been too greatly turned aside from their former ways of life. The children are few in number, and fewer still attain maturity. Thus the population under former conditions of life increased somewhat in some years and in others it decreased, but on the average it probably oscillated about a constant level or increased slowly in some districts. Fairly severe, but sporadic, disasters upset its equilibrium over a long period. On the other hand, adverse influences, although sometimes weak, do much by their continuous effect to ruin these small communities whilst a more intense action of such factors can cause their extinction.

We omit the minor peoples of the North, for the simple reason that we have no trustworthy information about them with the exception of only a few peoples.<sup>1</sup> We have more plentiful data about the Kamchadale, the more valuable as they date from the XVIII century. According to Kraschenikoff they were not prolific. The women suckled their children for two to three years. They practised infanticide and induced abortion (the old women would strangle the child in its mother's womb and break its arms and legs, thus producing miscarriage). Infants were strangled or cast to the dogs — this fate always awaited one of twins, as also those children who were born during bad weather.<sup>2</sup> But in giving these particulars, we should remember that at the time when Kraschenikoff wrote his book (1741), the Kamchadale, being suppressed by violence, were decreasing quickly in number — their population fell during the XVIII century at least by half and probably, as a result of the breakdown of their former mode of life, the practices of abortion and of infanticide took root among them and flourished. Of the Giliaks we

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<sup>1</sup> We have already written about the Chukchee.

<sup>2</sup> St. Kraschenikoff, II. 172—175 passim; G. W. Steller, 349—350. (During the first half of the XIX century the population of the Kamchadale was more or less stationary, being one-sixth to one-fifth of their former number, but in the second half of that century they began to increase slowly, S. Patkanoff, 47—48).

learn that every Giliak wants to have as many children as possible, but in spite of this the average family contains only two children. The mortality of the children is great although the mothers suckle the children four to five years and sometimes even longer. Women become old very early, and those of 30—40 years of age look as if they have 50—60.<sup>1</sup> Among the Ostyaks who live in a warmer and more hospitable region there are few fathers with more than three or at the most four children.<sup>2</sup> Among the Ainu (perhaps they should not be included amongst the northern peoples) few children are born, though parents feel it very much if they have no child; the mother suckles her baby 4—5 years.<sup>3</sup>

We shall supplement the foregoing by giving more particulars of a few Northern Indian peoples. Whilst on the subject it is of interest to state that the small number of children amongst the Northern Indians can be explained above all by the difficult conditions, in which the Indian woman lives, works and bears children. In other conditions "she is as prolific as an Irish woman, and as patient as a slave."<sup>4</sup>

Thus among the Cree (Cumberland House) the women marry very young and have the custom of suckling their children for several years; they are constantly exposed to fatigue and often to famine, hence they are not prolific, bearing on an average not more than four children, of whom two may attain the age of puberty; the women who become inmates of a fort bear children more frequently and longer, but at the same time, are rendered liable to indurations of the mammae and prolapse of the uterus — evils from which they are, in a great measure, exempt as long as they lead a wandering and laborious life.<sup>5</sup> The Nascapsee females arrive at puberty at the age of fourteen or fifteen, and are taken as wives at an even earlier age. So early are they taken in marriage that before they are thirty they often appear as though they were fifty years of age. They are not prolific, it is not usual for

<sup>1</sup> L. Schrenck, v. III, pt. 2, 365, 640—644 passim; J. Deniker, in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, II (1883). 303.

<sup>2</sup> P. S. Pallas, III. 53.

<sup>3</sup> R. Hitchcock, in *Am. Nat. Mus. Rep.* 1890, 465; J. Batchelor, 230.

<sup>4</sup> E. Petitot 1876, XXV.

<sup>5</sup> J. Franklin 1823, 60, 86.



a mother to have more than four children, although as many as from six to eight may be born.<sup>1</sup> S. Hearne says in general of Northern Indians (Chipewayans and others) that they are less prolific: it is very uncommon to find a woman having more than five to six children, and these are born at such long intervals from one another, that the youngest is generally two or three years old before another is brought into the world.<sup>2</sup>

3. Number of children among the North American Indians. The South American Indians. American agriculturists.

1. Those tendencies, having their origin in the severe conditions of existence in which man lives during Australian or Bushman savagery and maintained almost entirely by the inhospitable natural environment of the Far North, also remained in force, though their intensity was weaker, at the higher stage of hunting culture which existed among the North American tribes on the Pacific coast, in the vicinity of the Great Lakes and on the Plains. Amongst none of these peoples previous to the coming of the Whites was the number of progeny large. One of the earliest writers, Lescarbot (about 1612), had already noted this. Comparing Indian fertility with that of ancient Gaul (and presumably with the France of his times), he states that population does not "abound there as with us, although they all take part in the work of generation, while on this side a part of the people live without marriage, and with no results from such sexual connection as they have."<sup>3</sup> The missionary reports dating from times when it was impossible to ascribe this low degree of fertility to the adverse influence of our civilization, bear this out. One of these reports is dated in the first year of the Jesuit mission in Canada; according to this relation the women, "although naturally prolific, cannot, on account of their occupation in these labours (every-day work), either bring forth fully developed offspring or properly nourish them after they have been brought forth; therefore they either suffer abortion, or forsake their newborn children, when

<sup>1</sup> L. M. Turner 1889-'90, 271.

<sup>2</sup> S. Hearne 1811, 303.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lescarbot, III. 165.

engaged in carrying water, procuring wood and other tasks, so that scarcely one infant in thirty survives until youth.”<sup>1</sup> Another statement, referring to the long, three-year period of suckling, relates that the Indians do not have children oftener than every two years.<sup>2</sup> At the same time (the first half of the XVII century) Th. G. Sagard tells us that “the greatest wish (of the Hurons) is to have more children, so as to have more power and secure for themselves support in their old age, yet the women are not fertile, perhaps because of their dissolute habits, and taking to themselves of so many husbands.”<sup>3</sup> Some time later, about 1672, M. Denys, states that the men have three or four wives each, and sometimes more; it would seem that they should have plenty of children, but a woman, if she becomes pregnant whilst still suckling a child, induces abortion. They declare that they “cannot nourish two children at the same time”, “it is necessary that the child shall cease suckling of itself, and it sucks for two and three years.”<sup>4</sup> Joutel (1687) declares that the Caddo Indians “love their children but have not many of them”, which is ascribed to the wives frequently changing husbands.<sup>5</sup> The Illinois Indians also had but few children.<sup>6</sup> And references from the first half of the XVIII century show clearly that the women were but little fertile. Father Lafitau declared that the Indian peoples do not increase greatly: “the women, though strong and robust, have not the fecundity which we see in other places, particularly in northern Europe,” and he admitted that he could not perceive any cause so general in nature as is the sterility of the women and the fairly small number of children.<sup>7</sup> About the same time Charlevoix wrote: “Though the women are strong and lusty, they are unfruitful. Besides the reasons I have already mentioned, that it to say, the time they take to suckle their children, their custom of continence at this time, and the excessive labours they are obliged to undergo in whatsoever condition they find themselves, this barrenness proceeds also from the custom established in many places, which permits

<sup>1</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, I. 257—259 (Jouvençy).

<sup>2</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, III. 109 (Biard).

<sup>3</sup> Th. G. Sagard, 117.

<sup>4</sup> N. Denys, 404.

<sup>5</sup> H. Joutel, in P. Margry, III. 413.

<sup>6</sup> H. Joutel, in B. F. French, I. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Lafitau 1724, I. 590. Cf. C. le Beau, II. 199.

young women to prostitute themselves before they are married; add to this, the extreme necessity to which these peoples are often reduced and which takes away their desire of having children.”<sup>1</sup> In 1789, G. H. Loskiel, the missionary, remarks that in spite of early marriage, they have but few children, seldom more than six.<sup>2</sup> Finally, it should be noted that statements made at the beginning of the XIX century do not differ from the earlier ones. And it is just these old documents which convince as to the truth of statements made in later times: for instance, Heckewelder’s statement that the Indians rarely had more than four or five children,<sup>3</sup> or G. Catlin’s statement that “it is a very rare occurrence for an Indian woman to be blessed with more than four or five children during her life.”<sup>4</sup> We shall content ourselves with quoting J. D. Hunter, who stated that the Indian women seldom raise more than three or four children; he knew a few of them to have five, and very rarely indeed, one or two more; the women do not hesitate to induce abortion (this practice was discountenanced by the men, except when on long marches or pressed by their enemies). In general, there was perceptible in the Indian tribes an antagonism between the conduct of the women and tribal interests — the women endeavoured to liberate themselves from the onerous duties of maternity, while, on the other hand, the tribe looked upon its boys as the national treasure making up for the losses suffered in war; for this reason too it adopted prisoners of war so as to fill the vacant places in the ranks of its warriors.<sup>5</sup> On the whole, the number of births among Indians, according to de Witt Clinton,<sup>6</sup> was inferior to that among civilized nations; in time of war the number of deaths generally exceeded that of births, and the Iroquois, for the fifty years prior (i. e., since about 1750), not having been able to execute to any great extent their system of adoption, had experienced a corresponding diminution.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix 1744, III. 304.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Loskiel, 79.

<sup>3</sup> J. Heckewelder, 390.

<sup>4</sup> G. Catlin 1841, II. 228.

<sup>5</sup> J. D. Hunter 1823, 203—205, 257 (his statements refer to tribes to the west of the Mississippi). According to him the births in proportion to the population are about half as numerous as they are among the white people: we are inclined to doubt the justice of this statement, that is, if J. D. Hunter had in mind the birth-rate; on the other hand, his supposition is feasible, if it is to deal with the average fertility of the women.

<sup>6</sup> de Witt Clinton 1814, 86.



Table IX.  
Fertility of Indian women

Tribe	No. of children per family
Indians in general:	
„ (Heckewelder) .	seldom more than 4 or 5 children
„ (Catlin) . . . .	„ „ „ 4 or 5 „
„ (Hunter) . . . .	„ „ „ 3 or 4 „
Blackfeet <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	few children
Chippewa <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	the men have on the average four children, seldom as many as seven unless they have many wives
Cheyenne <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	few children
Fox and Sauk <sup>4</sup> . . . .	3 „
Omaha <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	4—6 „
Dakota <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	3—8 „ in a common family
Navaho and Comanche <sup>7</sup>	not prolific; seldom more than 3 or 4 children
Ute <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	3 children
Apache <sup>9</sup> . . . . .	few „
Mohave <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	few „

<sup>1</sup> Cl. Wissler 1912, 29 (“large families seem not to have been unusual though I have never seen many children with one woman; some men claim to be fathers of more than twenty children each, though not by a single mother”).

<sup>2</sup> Wm. H. Keating 1824, II. 156 (in spite of the belief that “the pride and the honour of parents depends upon the extent of their family”).

<sup>3</sup> A woman should not have a second child until her first is ten years old, G. B. Grinnell, in *Am. A.* 1902, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Forsyth, 216: a Sauk woman has on an average three children and generally leaves off child-bearing about the age of thirty years (she has a child the first year after marriage and one every two years following).

<sup>5</sup> E. James (St. H. Long) 1823, I. 237 (there are some families of 10—12 children, of these the mother has often two at the breast simultaneously). Among the Osage a chief was said to have had four wives and thirty-seven children, but this number of children was probably attributed to him by mistake, *ib.* II. 271.

<sup>6</sup> Ph. Prescott, quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 238.

<sup>7</sup> H. H. Bancroft: *Native Tribes*, 513. (“The living Navaho family is generally moderate in size”, A. Hrdlička 1908, 43).

<sup>8</sup> G. D. Merton, cited by A. Hrdlička 1908, 43; according to Hrdlička’s own notes, the living children in families range from two to five, being more often nearer the former than the latter number.

<sup>9</sup> Ten Kate, 175. According to A. Hrdlička 1908, 43, thirty-seven women of S. Carlos Apache, all beyond the childbearing period, had borne on an average seven children, but there remained alive only about four children per woman at the time of the inquiry.

<sup>10</sup> A. W. Whipple, 17 (seven men had seventeen wives and twelve children. The Mohave were vigorous and healthy and had plenty of food. The small number of children, according to Whipple, was evidence of a gradual decay of the tribe).

Table IX affords an idea of the number of children among the Indians in the XIX century (in some cases the number of children given is most probably not that of those born but of those living contemporaneously).

Thus the relatively small number of children among the Indians of the Plains and adjoining regions is a fact stated over a space of three centuries. We have given the explanation, furnished by observers of former times, of this low degree of fertility or, really, of the small number of (reared) children. The chief reasons were the long suckling of children and connubial restraint during that time, as also artificial abortion and the loose life of the young women. According to L. Hennepin (at the end of the XVII century) "these women have so great a care of their children that they avoid all carnal commerce with their husbands till the child be three or four years old. The European women do not so because it is easy to supply the defect of the mother's milk with the milk of cows and other domestic animals. But they have none of this sort of cattle. They avoid therefore the commerce of their husbands while they are nurses, for if they should prove with child, their infants would undoubtedly perish, they have nothing suitable for a child of six to eight months old."<sup>1</sup> Naturally the long suckling of a child was a universal custom among the Indians in later times also, and exceptionally long periods of suckling have been noted, which earlier writers could not observe, not having a close enough contact with the life of the Indians. Suckling lasted sometimes, in individual cases, five, six and even seven years.<sup>2</sup> In one case a Potawatomi mother was observed suckling a child twelve years of age.<sup>3</sup> Of course, these are all rare exceptions, caused by accidental reasons. The usual period of suckling is shorter: for instance, in the last example given, among the Potawatomi, it lasted from three to four years.<sup>4</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> L. Hennepin 1903, 528; among the Huron and Iroquois a woman suckles her child for three years and her husband does not approach her during that period, Charlevoix 1766, V. 426. Cf. Biard, in *Jes. Rel.*, III. 109; Le Clerq, 91 (Indian women in Gaspesia suckle up to four or five years); Lamothe Cadillac (P. Margry, V. 104), states that the husband avoids his wife not only whilst she is suckling, but also during pregnancy.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 238; G. F. Edmonds (Oregon) in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 212.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 132.

<sup>4</sup> E. James (St. J. Long), I. 237 (three years among the Omaha).

actually these longer or shorter periods depend upon the mother becoming pregnant, or the child itself ceasing to suck, as for instance among the Dakota, where children are suckled for a long time, two to five years, generally until a new pregnancy stops the secretion of milk.<sup>1</sup> It appears that that was the general rule,<sup>2</sup> although sometimes the mother, even in spite of the birth of another child, did not wean the first one, and suckled two children simultaneously.<sup>3</sup> As a result of such long suckling, children were born only every few years — “at such a distance from one another that the youngest is generally two or three years old before another is brought into the world.”<sup>4</sup> As earlier writers inform us, sometimes for the purpose of preventing the birth of an undesired child, recourse was had to induced abortion. Of course, with regard to the scale on which this was done, we can say nothing certain, since we have no data at all regarding its frequency. We do not know if it was practised only in exceptional cases, or often. Judging by the fact that various older writers refer to this practice, we may presume that it formerly was not very infrequent. It still occurs here and there, although it is impossible exactly to estimate its extent. Among the Apache-Mescaleros, abortion was not very rare; amongst the Apache-Jicarillas it was seldom practised and only in the case of unmarried women;<sup>5</sup> Dakota unmarried women endeavoured to interrupt pregnancy by procuring abortion, but married women also often had recourse to this practice with the knowledge and consent of their husbands.<sup>6</sup> In general, at least in the south-west of North America, in spite of the fact, that a desire for and love of children are universal among the Indians, “artificial abortion is practised, as is told by the older men or women without hesitation; the cause of the practice are shame or fear in the unmarried, and among married women inability through poverty to provide for the family, or a loss of many previous children, or a desire to get rid of concomitant physical diffi-

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 417.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 132 (Potawatomi); Th. Forsyth, 216 (Fox and Sauk); G. M. Sproat, 94 (Nootka); H. H. Bancroft: *Native races*, I. 279 (British Columbia).

<sup>3</sup> E. James (St. H. Long) 1823, I. 237.

<sup>4</sup> S. Hearne 1911, 303; every two years, Th. Forsyth, 216 (Omaha)

<sup>5</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 164.

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 294; Ph. Prescott, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 243.



culties, and necessary subsequent cares.”<sup>1</sup> But infanticide, if it happened at all, was of rather exceptional occurrence.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, evidence that custom tolerated it. Among the Navaho, according to the Franciscan Relations the recognition of a child by its parents depended upon whether it would cry or make no sound as soon as it was born; if it cried, all was well: if not, it was deposited in a tree and left, no attempt being made to make it cry.<sup>3</sup> Among the Creek a mother had the right to put her child to a violent death during the first lunation after its birth.<sup>4</sup> The Creek were on a relatively higher level of culture, and this circumstance permits us to consider that in other tribes such a practice perhaps did not run very counter to tribal opinion. However, at present, at least in the south-western regions of North America, not only among the roving Apaches but also among the agricultural Pima and Zuni no deformed or monstrous child is allowed to live. It sometimes happens that an unmarried girl’s child or a child of mixed-blood is murdered, and there are even instances of married mothers killing normal children.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, we do not take into consideration cases of an exceptional character.<sup>6</sup>

The customs obtaining in the Pacific coast regions and their hinterland seem to be more severe in this respect.

The children are considered by the Takulli as a burden. Abortion is constantly practised among them, both before and after marriage. The women are proverbially barren (chastity is said to be unknown among them), and almost every individual is infected with venereal disease:<sup>7</sup> all these features afford evidence of the extensive social breakdown evoked by the influences of white civilisation. More to the South, among the Klallams a few old women know

<sup>1</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 163.

<sup>2</sup> After death, Blackfeet women who have been guilty of infanticide, are, according to local superstition, “compelled to hover round the seat of their crimes”, J. Franklin 1824, I. 120.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Reichard, 135.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Gatschett: *Creek*, 183.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 165—166.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, a Chippewa, on a journey, forced thereto by hunger, murdered two children of six and eight years so as to feed on their flesh, W. H. Keating, II. 160; occasional infanticide caused by famine had place among the Cree: the moral depression felt by the participants affords proof as to the rarity of such occurrences, J. Ryerson, 152—153.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. Wilkes, IV. 480; H. Hale, 203.

of a medicine which they give a woman to drink immediately after the birth of a child to prevent future conception, the medicine is supposed to make a woman very ill and is likely to make her weak for the remainder of her life (one woman is related of who took it after she had five children, all of whom except one died).<sup>1</sup> The crime of infanticide immediately after birth is unknown among the Nootka, but in order to spite their husbands after a quarrel, the women frequently induce abortion; the average age at which native women marry is about sixteen, and they seldom bear children after the age of about twenty-five: as a rule they rarely have more than two or three children, which are suckled until three to four years old, G. M. Sproat saw a boy of four years following his mother for her milk.<sup>2</sup> In western Washington and Oregon, about 1842, the occurrence of infanticide was "not less common than of old... abortion was almost universal and was produced both by violence and by medicine: certain plants were known to Indian women which effect it, and it was generally believed by the Whites, that they know of others which produce sterility at will."<sup>3</sup> Generally, all over the region between the river Skeena and the river Columbia, infanticide was practised, and abortion was induced, and there were even old women reputed experts at such practices: chiefly illegitimate children were the victims.<sup>4</sup> And it was in California that all these practices were the most exaggerated. The Gal-li-no-me-ro (a branch of the Pomo) "did not seem to have limited themselves to murder of twins, or to have made any distinction of sex, but cut off boys and girls alike;" if a child was allowed to live three days, its life was thenceforth secure. When remonstrated with for this practice, they pleaded "not guilty"; they said they did not kill the child but "God kills it". "It seems to have been that mere heartless and stolid butchery which comes of overpopulation."<sup>5</sup> Among some other Californian tribes, when a mother died leaving a very young infant, custom allowed the relatives to destroy it; occasionally, a squaw destroyed

<sup>1</sup> E. Günther, 237; and among the Sk'qomic there exist customs to prevent pregnancy, C. Hill-Tout, in *Ass. A. Sci.* 1900, 481—482.

<sup>2</sup> M. G. Sproat, 94; H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 197.

<sup>3</sup> G. Gibbs 1877, 199.

<sup>4</sup> Totmie, quoted by J. K. Lord, II. 231—232.

<sup>5</sup> St. Powers, 177—178.

her baby, when she was deserted by her husband and had no relatives.<sup>1</sup> In general, Indian women in California "do not care to have many children, and infanticide, both before and after birth, prevails to a very great extent."<sup>2</sup>

Hence, on the Pacific coast and in its adjoining regions, the number of children was not large. It is true that our data come from times when the Whites had begun to appear in considerable numbers, and the natives to die off rapidly. No doubt, this circumstance much extended the frequency of such practices as abortion and infanticide. On the other hand, among the Takulli severe natural conditions impelled them in this direction, and, among the Californian Indians, it was a consequence of a low stage of material culture. But we do not presume that before the coming of the Whites, the number of children raised was very large, although it was probably somewhat larger. The former situation is well represented by the following incident of Quinaielt life: "Kapa (or rather his wife) had some 10 to 12 children — a most remarkable occurrence, as these Indians are not prolific, rarely having more than three or four. Kapa's wife caused great envy by her numerous progeny, and was called Squintoo, or the hen partridge."<sup>3</sup> Here on the coast, too, in a temperate region, where food was comparatively plentiful and the mode of life half-settled or even settled, the number of children was not considerable. We shall not, however, enter into any consideration of the value of the existing material which we have tabulated in Table X.

Table X.

## Fertility of Indian women in Pacific regions

Tribe	Children reared (living)
Quinaielt <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	rarely more than 3 or 4
Chinook <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	seldom more than 2
On the river Columbia <sup>5</sup> . . . .	3 or 4 (at most)
Nootka <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	2 or 3

<sup>1</sup> St. Powers, 222, 328, 382.

<sup>2</sup> F. E. Grossman, in *Smiths.* 1871, 415.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Swan 1857, 266.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 242.

<sup>5</sup> H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 218.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 197; G. M. Sproat, 94.



We have not included in this table those numerical estimates of the fertility of women in Pacific regions, which come from the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX century. These estimates differ from the ones hitherto given: they give as a rule a larger number of children born, although in the final result the number of those living seems to remain within the former limits or even slightly below. Thus, the Tahltan are a fairly prolific people: four or five children are common, and women were pointed out who had borne nine and ten children. But their hard life, ignorance and lack of sanitation had always inhibited any substantial increase in numbers; infantile mortality is unduly great, although the child is suckled as long as it can draw any sustenance from the breast, sometimes until it is two or three years of age.<sup>1</sup> With the Shuswap, as with the Thompson Indians, births are frequent, but the mortality among children is so great that in most bands very few live to be adults.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the Thompson Indians, data exist which, though inadequate, are in any case more abundant. Although there is, among these Indians, a very high death-rate, the birth-rate is also high — at least in the Spences Bridge band (the Upper Thompson Indians). The principal cause of the decrease of population is the great mortality among children: in 1884 the band numbered 144 souls, in the years 1884—'94 there were born 43 children and of whom 25 died. Taking these figures as the only possible basis, we get a birth-rate figure of about 34.0 ‰,<sup>3</sup> or, in comparison with pre-War European conditions, such a birth-rate, as was noted in representative countries in our part of the world, i.e., representative from the point of view of the birth-rate. The birth-rate among the Lower Thompsons seems to be higher than among the Upper Thompsons, while the mortality of the children seems to be lower. Abortion is rarely practised, and is effected by the drinking of medicine. New-born babies are sometimes, but very rarely, summarily disposed of by strangling or drowning, but women who do so are thought very severely of. During the last few years before 1900 there was a slight improvement in some of the more remote villages, but places situated close to towns, and where

<sup>1</sup> G. T. E m m o n s, 102.

<sup>2</sup> J. T e i t 1909, 463.

<sup>3</sup> We have calculated the birth-rate on the basis of the average population in 1884—'94, i.e. 126 souls.

there was much association with the Whites, showed a very high mortality.<sup>1</sup> In any case the above statements indicate a relatively large number of children. The question is, what were the reasons for this fact, so different in character from the relations so far discussed. Was it, perhaps, that refraining from marital intercourse during the period of suckling decreased as a result of contact with the Whites,<sup>2</sup> and that the women, owing to the change in conditions, bore children to a later age? Finally the possibility arises that perhaps the data in our tables for the North American Indians were deficient in some respects and, in tabulating the number of children per family, i. e., living children, did not include in most cases the children who died early. However, the high estimates of the number of children which we have just given are confirmed by the studies made in the near vicinity by Fr. Boas — the most systematic which we have on this subject.<sup>3</sup> These studies also covered some Thompson bands (the Utamkt, Ntlakyapamuqo'e and Nkamtcinemuq) — the fertility of the women of those regions was not smaller than that of the women of Berlin (1885). In his report he gives the figures dealing with women of over forty, hence women who were beyond the age of child-bearing. Fr. Boas states that "although the number of observations is small, the general result is undoubtedly correct and agrees with the relative number of children in the villages of the various groups." Table XI is based on his data.

Table XI.

Fertility of women among the Kwakiutl, etc.

Tribe or tribal subdivision	No. of families observed	Average number of children born per mother
Nass River Indians . . . . .	6	4.8
Kwakiutl . . . . .	20	3.5
Utamkt . . . . .	11	5.3
Ntlakyapamuqo'e . . . . .	13	5.8
Nkamtcinamuq . . . . .	10	5.8

<sup>1</sup> J. Teit 1900, 177, 305.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, among the Thompson Indians, children of mixed blood formed 10% of the new-born babies. It is doubtful whether white men maintained marital abstinence during the suckling period.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Boas: *Fifth Report on the Indians of British Columbia* (in *Tenth Rep. on the N. W. Tribes of Canada*), 549—551.

The average numbers do not greatly vary, except in the case of the Kwakiutl. But figures showing how many of the children born remained alive, would be more decisive. In order to arrive at such figures, Boas chose women aged from thirty-five to forty-five, i. e., women who, in consequence of their age, might just be beginning to have grown-up children. He found 36 such women: they had given birth together to 133 children. Of these children, 61 remained alive when the observations were undertaken, i. e., 45.9%, or, per woman, 1.7 on an average. But this mean figure is quite misleading, for individual tribes present widely differing tendencies — some were placed in extremely adverse conditions and were dying out, others could, for a time, adapt themselves and perhaps their women raised more children than before contact with the Whites. (Table XII).

Table XII.

Infantile vital statistics among the Kwakiutl, etc.

Tribe or tribal subdivision	No. of women (aged 35—45)	No. of children born	No. of children living		No. of children living in percentages of the total number of children born
			Total	Per woman	
Nass River Indians . . . .	3	9	5	1.66	55.5%
Kwakiutl <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	14	30	8	0.57	26.6%
Utamkt . . . . .	8	48	31	3.87	64.6%
Ntlakyapamuqo'e . . . . .	8	34	14	1.75	41.4%
Nkamtcinemuq . . . . .	3	12	3	1.00	25.0%

The studies of Boas<sup>2</sup> covering the Cowichan tribes on the Lower Fraser River throw an interesting light upon the number of children who in by-gone generations had attained maturity. He gives the pedigrees of two chiefs. One includes three generations and only covers persons who married, i. e., grown-up children: three

<sup>1</sup> The Kwakiutl women of 40—50 years of age had the lowest number of children, viz., 1.6 per woman: this coincides closely with the time when the Kwakiutl sent their women most extensively to Victoria for purposes of prostitution. But the women of 50—60 years of age had 5.2 and those of 60 and more, 4.9 children per woman.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas: *Indian Tribes of the Lower Fraser R.* (in *Ninth Rep. on the N. W. Tribes of Canada*).



married couples noted in that pedigree had, altogether, twelve children, i. e., an average of four. The second pedigree is more interesting for it extends back into the past for nearly 200 years and covers ten generations, of which the last two come within our times and have not yet completed their period of fertility. In eight families of the first six generations there were thirty-five children from nine wives, i. e., an average of 3.9 adult children per wife.<sup>1</sup> In the seventh generation, eleven children grew to maturity in two families, an average of 5.5 per family (or 2.8 per married adult member of the generation; two other families were childless). In the eighth generation, of its eleven members five were childless, but the other six left twenty-two children, an average of 3.6 for each parent.<sup>2</sup>

In any case, the number of children raised was, among the North American Indians, larger than that which we have met with hitherto. But that increase barely sufficed to cover the losses which, at least among some tribes, were caused by war. These gaps were sometimes very large and the tribe, in order to maintain its numerical strength, had to adopt the captives taken upon other tribes, and even incorporate within itself remnants of such tribes which it had vanquished. We have the impression that with regard to some peoples could be repeated what N. J. Wyeth stated about the Snakes and generally about the tribes in the Rocky Mountain region, i. e., at the time when some of these tribes had not felt too acutely the adverse influence of the white invasion. "The Green River Snakes have a country well stored with buffalo, food, clothes and lodges, but I do not suppose they were on the increase. Probably they had been stationary in numbers for a long period, and the same observation may be applied to all the Indians on both sides of the mountains who have access to the buffalo ranges."<sup>3</sup>

2. In South America, abortion and even infanticide have been common among some hunting and roving peoples. There is no doubt that these are ancient practices. But contact with European civilization has probably augmented the use of these bloody expedients which have largely contributed to the decrease of the native population.

<sup>1</sup> One of the wives had ten children. The families with unknown or doubtful issues are not taken into account.

<sup>2</sup> One of the women, married to a white man, had five children.

<sup>3</sup> N. J. Wyeth, in H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 227.

The peoples inhabiting Chaco and neighbouring regions probably lead in this respect.

In Paraguayan Chaco the children are often not weaned till they are five to six years old. Infanticide accounts for at least 50% of infantile mortality, girl babies if they are the first born, are put to death; deformed children are also killed, and if the mother or the father dies at the time of birth, the child is murdered, as also is a posthumous child; many children die through exposure and want of care during the first years of childhood.<sup>1</sup> The Mbaya women will not give birth to children till they are thirty years of age, and in case of pregnancy they induce abortion; it is just on account of this postponing of child-birth to a more advanced age that sometimes they have no children at all; suckling lasts from four to five years, and the married pair must refrain from marital intercourse while it continues. And these customs of the Mbaya are ancient.<sup>2</sup> Among the Lengua of the present day, there is always a seven to eight year gap between successive children of the same mother; during such an interval, abortion is freely practised and if a child be then born, it is murdered.<sup>3</sup> We get the impression that in this case we have to do with excessive indifference to progeny, caused by the coming of the Whites. However, already at the beginning of the XIX century, Fr. Azara cited that people as an instance of low fertility and, in a hasty deduction, reckoned that, in view of the customs prevailing among them, 12,000 married persons would leave only 750 descendants having children as the second generation, and 94 as the third. The customs in question were, according to Azara, that the Lengua women only raised the "last" child, inducing abortion before that time. If they, by chance, became pregnant, they took measures accordingly (moreover, a period of suckling extending over twelve years assured them that they would make no mistake). Thus Azara, presuming that a woman had only one child when she was forty-one, that only half of the children would live to be eight years old and of the remainder only a half would

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<sup>1</sup> W. B. Grubbs, 63 - 64 passim.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Colini, quoted by G. Boggiani, 323 (Colini repeats the statements of Fr. Azara 1810, 251).

<sup>3</sup> S. H. C. Howtre, in *J. A. I.*, XXXI (1901). 295.

attain the age of forty-one, calculated that in each successive generation the population would be one-eighth of what it was in the preceding one.<sup>1</sup> The actual facts contradict these calculations, since the Lengua have not yet died out. But the number of progeny now raised is, as it was then, inconsiderable.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the XVIII century, similar customs are said to have prevailed among other peoples in that region also.<sup>3</sup> And from other sources we derive the information that in the first half of the XVIII century the number of children among these peoples was not very great. The Morotoco satisfied themselves with two children, getting rid of any others (about the year 1727).<sup>4</sup> Among the Guanas at the end of the XVIII century, the women, though very prolific, had not more than one or two children: to attain that end, they either had recourse to preventive measures, or murdered the infants, and in this latter case the mother would not at any price hand over a child which was to be killed to anyone else for adoption.<sup>5</sup> A few score years later, branches of this tribe still limited themselves to two, or at the most to three children — two sons and one daughter.<sup>6</sup> Generally, infanticide, or at least the inducing of abortion, was probably a common practice among the tribes of the Gran Chaco and on the Pampas.<sup>7</sup> And these practices remained until about 1860 among the Pampeans. "Children are not nearly so numerous as might be imagined: the existence of the new-born infants is submitted to the judgment of the father and mother who decide on its life or death. As to the deformed infants (such cases are very rare) or whose constitution does not appear to fit them for the kind of life they would have to lead, they make away with them. The women suckle their children up to three years of age: if they have others during this time, they nevertheless continue to nourish them."<sup>8</sup> At any rate, in the XVIII century,

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<sup>1</sup> Fr. A z a r a 1904, 392–393. M. W i e d - N e u w i e d 1820, II. 39, already doubted the correctness of these deductions.

<sup>2</sup> S. H. C. H o w t r e y, *l. c.*, 295.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. among the Mackicuy, Fr. A z a r a 1810, 279; the Mbaya, *ib.*, 251.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem. geog., phys., hist.*, VI (Yverdon 1767). 22.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. A z a r a 1904, 384–385.

<sup>6</sup> J. R. R e n g g e r, 335.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. among the Abipones, M. D o b r i z h o f f e r, II. 125.

<sup>8</sup> A. G u i n n a r d, 144, 146.



among the peoples living in the Gran Chaco region, the losses caused by mortality were barely covered. This was probably the same in former years.

Customs in the basins of the Amazon and Orinoco are not so uniform as a result of more differentiated conditions of life and levels of culture. But there, too, the number of children was not large. And the saying of the Macusi women: "we are no bitches that throw a lot of pups at a time," probably reflects the general state of mind in the past. Abortion and even infanticide are often referred to. R. Schomburgk met among that tribe not only small families but also many couples without any children at all. This fact caused him to suppose that in many cases women seek artificial means to prevent pregnancy.<sup>1</sup> "The heavy work in the field and in the household, the restless fondness for travel when the women have to act as carriers of utensils, articles of trade and provisions, the oft-prevailing want of the necessities of life, and their exhausting labours are without doubt the chief cause of sterility. This is confirmed by the fact that the Indian women who marry Europeans, when they are then subject to neither of those fatigues, not privations, become mothers of a numerous family... A ground for that pregnancy is often prevented by artificial means may lie... in the vanity so universally peculiar to her sex, because her work and trouble is increased with each new-born child and all traces of her former beauty which her first child may have left will completely disappear after repeated confinements."<sup>2</sup> In general, the number of raised children among the tribes of the Amazon was small: it was very rare to find an Indian family having as many as four (living) children, and very great is their liability to sickness and death on removal from place to place.<sup>3</sup> Of course, long suckling which lasts for two or three years is here universal.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> On the Upper Amazon, contrivances were even made out of the local rubber to prevent conception — at least, Dr. Freud, a member of the Polish expedition to Peru in 1928, discovered this custom which, in his opinion, arose quite independently of the Whites. It is, however, probably a modern acquisition.

<sup>2</sup> R. Schomburgk, II. 248.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Bates 1873, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. Krause, 401 (a Kayapo woman suckles her child even when it can walk); Koch-Grünberg, I. 183, 243; G. v. Königswald, in *Globus*, XCIII (1908). 381 (Cayua women in order to avoid a new conception suckle their children for a long time); *ib.*, XCIV (1908). 31 (Coroado women nurse their children until they are 4—5 years old); Spix and Martius, I. 381 (the children are suckled even until their fifth year).

the number of living children is smaller nowadays, at least amongst the dying-out peoples: "artificial abortion is a general practice and explains the small number of children."<sup>1</sup> Table XIII gives some evidence on the fertility of women in the basin of the Amazon River.

Table XIII.

Fertility of Indian women in the Amazon basin, etc.

Tribe	Number of children
Macusi <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	usually small families, many women without any children
Puri, Cocope, Coroado <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	rarely more than 4 children
Coroado <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	" " " 3 "
Cayua <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	" " " 2 or 3 "
Bakairi <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	" 3 children
Amazon basin <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	fertility is low; very rarely more than 4 children
Bolivian-Peruvian borderland <sup>8</sup> .	small families: 1—3 children

But the above data refer no doubt to the number of children living. The custom of inducing abortion which was, it is true, fairly general, causes these figures to be sometimes approximate to the actual number of births. Of course, the number of births is, as a rule, higher, especially if the getting rid of the surplus children was left to the action of ordinary mortality. The observations of K. E. Ranke on the natives of central Brazil give a more accurate idea of the number of births.<sup>9</sup> (These observations may be considered as exceptionally exact when compared with any for South America with which we have hitherto come across.) Women

<sup>1</sup> K. v. Steinen 1894, 123.

<sup>2</sup> R. Schomburgk, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Spix and Martius, I. 381.

<sup>4</sup> G. v. Königswald, in *Globus*, XCIV (1908). 31.

<sup>5</sup> G. v. Königswald, in *Globus*, XCIII (1908). 381.

<sup>6</sup> K. v. Steinen 1894, 409 (our statement is based on details as regards the art of counting amongst the Bakairi).

<sup>7</sup> H. W. Bates 1873, 260.

<sup>8</sup> E. Nordenskiöld, in *Z. f. E.*, XXXVIII (1906). 98 (he had found four children only in the largest family).

<sup>9</sup> K. E. Ranke: *Beobachtungen über Bevölkerungszustand und Bevölkerungsbewegung bei Indianern Centralbrasilien* (in *Correspondenz-Blatt d. deutsch. Ges. f. Anthr. etc.* 1898), 128—129.

are married here between the ages of thirteen and twenty. Of course, the older the woman the more children she would have.

Age of mother	No. of women	No. of children born	
		Total	Average per woman
20—30 years . . . . .	22	57	2.59
30—40 years . . . . .	19	67	4.78
40 years and over . . . .	24	128	5.33

Fertility among the Indian women of the last category (over forty years) is somewhat higher than it was in 1885 in Berlin: the women of Berlin, who became wives between the ages of twenty and thirty and were married for twenty to twenty-five years, gave birth on an average to 5.20 children per woman, and thus somewhat fewer than the Indian women. But, on the other hand, the mortality among the Indian children was large.<sup>1</sup> Eighty-six women gave birth to a total of 360 children, but only 141 lived, i. e., 39.2<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Hence there were, on an average, 4.19 confinements per woman and 1.64 living children. Probably, this great mortality was partly a consequence of the disastrous influence of our civilization.

As compared with the North American Indians, the tribes of the regions in question were distinguished by severer customs and perhaps by the somewhat smaller number of children raised. But this statement, based on impressions which are not sufficiently well-founded, may be quite mistaken. At any rate, in the times before the arrival of the Whites, the increase of the population was probably very slow — a woman was not eager to raise many children. It is of interest that the only distinct exception to this among the Brazilian Indians (and it was not in the Amazon basin area) was afforded by the Botocudos, of whom various authorities relate that they abound in children; four or five children in a family being fairly usual with infanticide rare.<sup>2</sup> But it may be that

<sup>1</sup> For instance, a Karaib woman had eight children but only two remained alive, J. N. Rat, in *J. A. I.*, XXVII (1898). 314. However, we do not know how far such a mortality is general among the Karaib children.

<sup>2</sup> K. F. Ph. Martius 1867, I. 322; A. H. Keane, in *J. A. I.*, XIII (1884). 206; M. Wied-Neuwied 1820—1821, II. 39.



this refers to the so-called *mansos*, or civilized (i. e. settled) *Botocudos*.<sup>1</sup>

3. It is only among the settled agricultural population of America that we may perceive a decided change in this respect, although for want of sufficient evidence we do not know to what extent it can be asserted of all American peoples at this stage of culture. However, K. Lumholtz<sup>2</sup> says of the Tarasco that they never have very many children, — rarely more than five or six. But even that number is a great advance in comparison with Indian tribes not solely engaged in farming. Huichol families include as many as eight to ten children.<sup>3</sup> Among the Opata five or six children is a usual number, there are instances in which a woman gives birth to twelve, fifteen and even more children, but the mortality among the progeny is immense: a calculation covering women, almost exclusively elderly, yielded as an average per woman twelve confinements, but only five living children at the time of the inquiry.<sup>4</sup> Among the San Xavier Papago the usual number of living children in a family ranges from three to five; among the Zuni this number seems to be smaller: 5.7 was the average number of all the members of a family.<sup>5</sup> But these Papago were under the farmer at San Xavier, whilst the Zuni would appear to be decreasing. On the other hand, we do not know to what extent this large number of children is a heritage from former times, nor how far it is the result of the influence of European civilization. This influence, though it completely undermined the mode of life of the hunting peoples and led to their decay, yet, by abolishing war and destroying ancient customs, could favourably affect the increase of the agricultural population. It is only just at this stage that the women begin to attach importance to having a more numerous progeny. About 1566 Diego da Landa stated that the people of Yucatan held in high price the possession of a numerous progeny.<sup>6</sup> Such a view-point on children among contemporary agriculturists would be quite comprehensible: the stability of their

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Keane, in *J. A. I.*, XIII (1884). 416.

<sup>2</sup> C. Lumholtz 1903, II. 416.

<sup>3</sup> C. Lumholtz 1903, II. 90.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hrdlička 1904, 78—79.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Diego da Landa, 193.

existence has increased, food is more plentiful, wars and feuds have ceased in consequence of the control of the white man, and the maternal instinct, taking advantage of more favourable circumstances, has evidenced itself in the rearing of a greater number of children. In accordance with this, the ideology connected with the question of progeny has taken another form. Prolific mothers are no longer mocked at by being called "bitches" or "hens"...

But as the sepals at the base of a full-blown rose bear witness to its past, so the various customs of agriculturists go back into past ages. Amongst them, the still fairly frequent custom of suckling the child for several years should be given the first place.<sup>1</sup> It happens even, as among the Pima,<sup>2</sup> that a mother suckles for six or seven years, and if she becomes pregnant within that time, she causes abortion artificially, since they think her pregnancy has a bad effect on the health of the living child — and the mother loves the child she is rearing more, for "she can see it". However, artificial abortion is among the Pima an ancient practice, and in the Pima confessionary (in the XVIII century) there are suggestive questions.<sup>3</sup> But the conduct of the Zuni women is probably the rule among many agricultural peoples: abortion is rarely practised on married women, but it is not uncommon among the fallen women, who are always pointed at with the finger of scorn.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Guatemala, women suckle their children until their third year, H. H. Bancroft: *Native Races*, I. 704; Opata women nurse them two years and more, A. Hrdlička 1904, 81; the Papago baby is usually nursed until dentition begins, but nursing is often prolonged, A. Hrdlička 1908, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Russel, 186.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 164.

<sup>4</sup> M. C. Stevenson, in *B. Am. E.*, XVIII (1901—'02). 296.

## VI. FERTILITY OF WOMEN AMONG SETTLED PEOPLES

1. Data as to fertility of women in Malaysia. Children few in families but population increased.

Prolific mothers ceased to be regarded with scorn.

Life, however, does not advance so simply and smoothly.

Much time must pass and settled, agricultural existence take strong root before childless women begin to be despised and to be looked upon as bewitched,<sup>1</sup> as soulless beings, still more before a numerous progeny is looked upon as a divine blessing — as dew from Heaven — and a mother desires to have as many children as the arrows in a quiver.<sup>2</sup>

At lower stages of agriculture the number of children in a family, for one reason or another, is not very large and can by no means be compared with the number of children in England, for instance, or in Germany, in the XIX century.

For the purpose of clearing up this matter and of finding out how the tilling of the soil affects the number of children (and of course, the growth of the population), let us consider the agricultural peoples of the large islands to the south-east of Asia.

A. Wallace, staying among the Hill Dyaks, was much struck by the apparent absence of all those hindrances which, in other places, restrain the increase of the population: food was abundant, nine-tenths of the whole area was covered with woods and assured to the future generations a sufficient source of work, the healthy climate favoured long life, early yet not too early marriages and

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<sup>1</sup> F. J., I. 328 (among the Pathans); Dudley Kidd, 87; G. McCall Theal 1886, 213.

<sup>2</sup> W. Sieroszewski, 307—308 (the Yakuts); S. R. Steinmetz, 262 (the Washambala); H. Francois (the Herero), 214; *Etnogr. Zbirnik*, V. 121 (the Ruthenians); G. W. James, 94 (the Hopi).



the complete absence of old bachelors and old maids ought to have led to an increase in the number of children. And yet the population among that branch of the Dyaks remained stationary. On the other hand, the population of England was doubled every fifty years. In order to yield such a result, every married couple in England would have to rear three children who would live to be married at the age of twenty-five. Since half of the children die before they reach that age and since, moreover, many persons do not marry at all or marry very late, the number of children to each marriage would have to average four or five. And as a matter of fact, English families of seven or eight children are very common and of eleven or twelve by no means rare. Wallace did not find such large families among the Hill Dyaks. A woman would have no more than three or four children and one old chief declared that he had never known even one who had eleven; in a village consisting of a hundred and fifty families, only one family had six children living, six families had five children apiece, the majority appeared to have two, three or four.<sup>1</sup> Wallace ascribes this small number of children to the women being overworked. De Crespigny says the same with regard to the Dusuns (a Dyak tribe): he is at a loss to conceive, how it is that, with a well watered country, a healthy climate, peaceful occupations and a perfect independance, the Dusuns have not increased and multiplied to a greater extent.<sup>2</sup> And in the district of Mount Kina Balu the families are very small: in one or two instances they contain eight or more children by one mother, but many women have only three or four, most have one or two children, and it is by no means uncommon to find them childless — “the cause of this low rate of increase has been ascribed by many writers to the hard work performed by the women of barbaric races, but to my mind this has nothing to do with it. I believe the reason is entirely to be attributed to the low degree of fecundity of such races, brought about by the climate, and aggravated by the difficulty of finding sufficiently nourishing food during certain periods.”<sup>3</sup> C. Bock also states that the Dyak families are small: they seldom have more than three children.<sup>4</sup> E. P. Houghton

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wallace 1869, II. 141—143.

<sup>2</sup> de Crespigny, in *R. G. S.*, II (1857—'58). 348.

<sup>3</sup> J. Whitehead, 52.

<sup>4</sup> C. Bock, 211.

is more liberal: among Upper Sarawak Dyaks, in general there are more than two children in a family, on an average there are four, very seldom only one child.<sup>1</sup> Ch. Brooke goes still farther, and his statements throw much light on Wallace's figures. He points out the low fertility of some Hill Dyak tribes: there were two subdivisions of tribes, all but extinct: "their women refused to fructify, yet there appeared no signs of physical decay among them; few had more than one child and many were barren." (According to Brooke, one of the principal reasons for their decay and decrease may be attributed to marrying and breeding in and in.) But these are exceptional cases. Thus, in the principal divisions of the Dyaks the number of births is considerable — four or five per married woman. In some places the Dyak population had migrated farther and farther from their original abode, which remains at the same time as thickly populated as the land will permit, and the emigrants have formed within fifty years in the place where they settled a community half the size of the population of their home district. In general, "if allowances be made for their not having the advantage of medical skill, there would be found almost as great a longevity and fruitfulness as in England."<sup>2</sup> There are more statements of this kind: there is evidence that, for Asiatics, the Dyaks of Sarawak have rather large families — four to six children being quite common.<sup>3</sup> Infanticide is practised among the Dyaks only in exceptional cases. The victims of it are deformed children or those whose mothers had died during confinement — custom requires that the child should pay the penalty of being the cause of its mother's death; wilful miscarriage is never resorted to under any circumstances;<sup>4</sup> mothers suckle their children very long — there are cases where children suck till they are three to five years of age.<sup>5</sup>

Among other peoples of Malaysia, similar conditions prevail. On Sumatra, at Atjeh,<sup>6</sup> parents generally do not aim at having a very large number of children, hence they make use of means

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Houghton, 195.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Brooke, I. 19; II. 335—336.

<sup>3</sup> Sp. St. John, 151.

<sup>4</sup> cf. H. Ling Roth 1806, I. 100—101.

<sup>5</sup> E. P. Houghton, 196.

<sup>6</sup> J. Jacobs, I. 111—112; cf. W. Marsden, 219.

to prevent conception. The largest number of children that can be found in a family there, of course of one mother, is four. Families with five to seven children are rare. On the neighbouring island of Engano three children was the largest number which H. von Rosenberg met with in one family.<sup>1</sup> On the mainland, too, the number of children oscillates within the same limits: the Lhoosai are not prolific, a family is generally limited to three or four children, the child is suckled for a great length of time, sometimes until four years of age.<sup>2</sup> Among the Naga, families are not large, three or four children being a considerable number.<sup>3</sup>

In most cases the above figures for the number of children are none too large.<sup>4</sup> The Dyak and Atjeh women, compared as to number of progeny with the peasants of central Europe, especially east-central Europe, are not extremely prolific. But we should guard against a too hasty conclusion which might be drawn from these figures with regard to the growth of population. We should bear in mind that every woman in Malaysia as soon as she is mature, becomes a wife and in all probability will be a mother. Therefore, despite the relatively small number of children in a family who are reared, the percentage of children in the country is very considerable. For instance, let us consider a district of Java: "(the women) nurse their children for a very long time, and perhaps for this reason have but few children", e.g. sixty-six couples (excluding nine widows) had a total of a hundred and fifty living children (under fifteen years of age), i.e. about 2.3 living children per couple. Yet that gives as much as 51.5% for the whole population, numbering 291 persons!<sup>5</sup> This is a rate which suffices to secure even a very rapid growth of population if the death-rate is not too high. It should not be forgotten when considering this stage of settled culture that the small number of children per family is not necessarily identical with a small percentage of children in the community. Agricultural peoples at the same stage of culture as in Malaysia are, on the whole, good colonizers. In spite of the

<sup>1</sup> H. v. Rosenberg, 212.

<sup>2</sup> T. H. Lewin, 255.

<sup>3</sup> M. Molz, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 55.

<sup>4</sup> In the northern district of Celebes (in Limo lo Pahalaa) there are very many women who have 10—12 children apiece, J. G. F. Riedel, in *Z. f. E.*, III (1871). 404.

<sup>5</sup> J. Jacobs and J. J. Meijer: *De Badoej's* (The Hague 1891), 58, 45—46.



small number of progeny (or rather, of children reared) on an average per woman, there are surpluses of population from time to time, which make their living by clearing the forests in the vicinity of their native district.

2. Melanesian customs. Population formerly increased on some archipelagoes. Two-children system on the small islands and in Micronesia.

As already stated, infanticide is practised among the Dyaks only in very exceptional cases. In accordance with a much lower culture, the attitude in Melanesia towards infants is greatly different. The Melanesians, in spite of a settled way of life and the systematic practice of agriculture, as regards relations with their progeny, still keep to a great extent to the traditions which have remained with them from earlier cultural periods: the women sometimes do not hesitate to limit the number of children reared, and that by murdering them. This practice, which on the small islands can be excused by the fear of overpopulation, is unnecessary from that point of view on the large islands, where man has sufficient areas that can be cleared and cultivated. Even on such a large, fertile island as New Guinea, the custom flourishes of restraining the number of children by induced abortion and infanticide. Among other instances, in the Mafulu tribe, which is but little affected by the influences of European civilization, abortion and infanticide are exceedingly common: the women do not wish to have too many children.<sup>1</sup> Among the Kiwai, children are generally suckled until they begin to talk, misshapen children are killed immediately after birth or later on handed over to someone to be killed; husband and wife abstain from intercourse until the baby begins to crawl, another child, however, should not be contemplated before the first one is able to run about and catch fish.<sup>2</sup> In another district of British New Guinea "under certain circumstances, the Papuan mother regards the most revolting cruelty as necessary, because it is the custom to practise it:" a child, whose mother has died

<sup>1</sup> R.W. Williamson, 176—177. (There is another cause for these practices: a woman must not give birth to a child until she has given a pig to a village feast).

<sup>2</sup> G. Landtmann, 232—233 *passim*.

during its infancy is buried alive; in one instance, the parents after tolerating the cries of their teething child for some time, decided to kill it.<sup>1</sup> In Dobu one of twins is killed; the child is also killed, when the mother's milk dries up and no one can or will act as wet-nurse or tend the child of a dead woman which is too young to run about.<sup>2</sup> In the Sinaugolo tribe, pre-conjugal children are rare, and abortion is then commonly attempted; if this fails, the girl's mother often kills her unwelcome grandchild; there is generally a woman in the village or in one of the surrounding villages who is supposed to possess the power of causing women to become incapable of having more children; during the period of suckling, women are supposed to forego cohabitation.<sup>3</sup> In the Koita tribe abortion was formerly produced without any feeling of doing wrong, but it seems that even in the old days this practice was less common than might have been expected;<sup>4</sup> children are suckled usually for twelve months or more, after this they may be given the breast occasionally for another year; cohabitation should not be resumed before the child can toddle about.<sup>5</sup> Among the southern Massim "it appeared that children, especially illegitimate children, were sometimes killed and eaten; that they might formerly have been killed if they were a nuisance to their mother was clear enough, but I am not prepared to say that they were often eaten;"<sup>6</sup> in the northern branch of this people the girls were got rid of if they were more numerous than the boys.<sup>7</sup> The practice of parents murdering children is said to be unknown among the Motu and Motu-motu: they, however, "do not like twins because it is like a pig," and the people of the village ask if the woman is "a pig or a dog," but both twins are left to live; if another child is born before the first is big and able to walk, the parents are "terribly ashamed."<sup>8</sup> In the examples given above, which are all

<sup>1</sup> Ch. W. Abel, 42—43.

<sup>2</sup> G. Brown, in *Au. Ass. A. Sci.*, VII (1898). 792; Bromilow, *ib.*, XII (1909). 482—483.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, in *J. A. I.*, XXXII (1902). 302—303.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 134—135.

<sup>5</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 86.

<sup>6</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 551, 568 (foeticide and infanticide are, or rather were, common).

<sup>7</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 705.

<sup>8</sup> J. Chalmers, 165, 163; cf. C. G. Seligmann 1910, 705.

taken from British New Guinea, infanticide appears to be rather of a sporadic character. But reports of missionary origin give a more vivid description of the practice of infanticide. Thus, in the Kuni tribe the young married couple has children only after three or four years, as the young wife is busy occupied in breeding her porkers. Induced abortion is common and, besides poisonous plants, the pregnant woman resorts to such a means as squeezing herself in between two trees which grow near together; infanticide is so common that there is not even one woman who has not murdered one or more children; children are got rid of immediately after birth, sometimes the mother strangles them with a cord and throws them out to be devoured by the pigs or stuffs their mouths with leaves or abandons them in the brushwood.<sup>1</sup> In the Monumbo tribe many women are childless, since they know how to induce complete barrenness; only a few families have rather more than the average number of children, usually they content themselves with two; although they love their children, they do not like the trouble connected with their rearing.<sup>2</sup> Usually (the natives) "love their progeny (in former German New Guinea) but they are reluctant to rear more than three children."<sup>3</sup> In Seleo even one or two children suffice, there are rarely three in a family; Hesse Wartegg mentions as an exception that in one family there were as many as five children.<sup>4</sup> And in Dutch New Guinea the rule is from one to three children: in the district of Dorei two suffice, and should further pregnancy take place they induce abortion.<sup>5</sup> On Nvefoor Island (populated by a branch of the same tribe which lives in Dorei), the number of children is not large: a woman who has had three or four children does not wish to bear more, for she is tired, and, in case of need, resorts to induced abortion or infanticide.<sup>6</sup> However, everywhere in New Guinea women do

<sup>1</sup> H. Eschlimann, in *Anthropos*, VI (1911). 260—264 passim.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Vornann, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 413. Instances of abortion and infanticide in former German New Guinea, see various correspondents in R. Neuhaus, III. 26, 27, 91, 121 (Kai), 295—296 (Jabim), 400 (Bukaua), 524 (Tami).

<sup>3</sup> M. Krieger, 165.

<sup>4</sup> E. Hesse-Wartegg, 37 (in the Tami tribe there are women who have given birth to five, six, eight and nine children, G. Bamler in R. Neuhaus, III. 524).

<sup>5</sup> D. W. Horst, in *Tjd. v. ind. T. L. V.*, XXXII. 229; H. v. Rosenberg, 454; cf. M. Krieger, 390.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Hasselt, in *Z. f. E.*, VIII (1876). 184.



not like the trouble of rearing many children. A crowd of children is for no Papuan woman a desirable aim of her marriage; she follows the rules of the two-children system: "one boy to take the place of the father, and one girl that of the mother."<sup>1</sup> In many localities of the island a great scarcity of children may be observed — a circumstance which permits the presumption that, in one way or another, abortions are resorted to or new-born infants killed.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, customs in New Guinea are not uniform. There are tribes in which the removal of the child, whether before or after birth, is frequent. There are other tribes with regard to which authorities are either silent or where they have found milder practices. We are prepared to admit that these differences in description correspond to differences in the actual state of things. But the question arises, how far these differences are inherent in ancient, similarly different, native customs, or how far they were extended and appeared with greater force only owing to the influence of our civilization, former occasional and relatively rare practices of ancient times becoming the rule. Nor is it impossible that in some cases the observers exaggerated or unduly made little of infanticide and abortion by the way in which they represented them, and thus caused the actual differences to appear greater. Yet such differences have been noted also in other parts of Melanesia. "Abortion and infanticide were very common... Infanticide was more prevalent in some islands than others: since Christian teaching has been introduced, a great change is visible in Maewo, Aurora Island, and at Wango in San Christoval, where the birth of an infant was of late years indeed an unusual thing, and all children in the villages had been bought from inland. In those parts the old women of the village generally determined whether a new-born child should live."<sup>3</sup> Among the Baining (New Britain) an

<sup>1</sup> R. Neuhau ss, III. 121 (Ch. Keysser), 524 (G. Bamler).

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the district of König Wilhelm Cape, such a scarcity was observed in the village of Quambu, although in the village of Lamatkebolo there were very many children, Stolz in R. Neuhau ss, III. 254.

<sup>3</sup> R.H. Codrington, 229. Cf. Hagen and Pineau, in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, VII (1889). 332. It is noteworthy that in the New Hebrides and other islands, neither of twins is killed. This applies also to the Banks Archipelago, though perhaps twins were murdered if they were of different sexes (probably because of incest), W.H.R. Rivers 1914, I. 145.

infant was probably only murdered when its mother died in her confinement and no one would feed or rear it.<sup>1</sup> There is no reference to the removal of infants in the north-east of the Gazelle Peninsula, except when an unmarried girl became pregnant.<sup>2</sup> But in another part of the same island, which was severely visited by smallpox, and thus depopulated, "induced abortion and the murdering of infants are practised more than anywhere else on the (Bismarck) archipelago."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless in the course of the five years (1875—'80) which he spent on the island of New Britain, G. Brown never heard of any case of infanticide and the natives told him that they did not have recourse to such practices; the women nursed their children from ten to twenty months; families, as a rule, were not large; he knew, however, of one family with eight children, all of whom grew up, two other children of the same family had died in infancy; another family consisted of seven children all of whom grew up; on the other hand, a large number of women were childless (the women would eat certain leaves to prevent conception).<sup>4</sup> On the near-by island of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg), twins and deformed children were got rid of but it was done quietly and in secret. The absence of any deformed persons in the island would suggest that this custom was universally observed. Further, a mother, fearing to be overburdened with duties, would hold her hand over the baby's face and keep it there till the infant's heart ceased to beat. Again, two or three years would pass before a young married woman became pregnant for the first time. Probably, abortion was more frequently induced by means of massage or of jumping from a height<sup>5</sup> (we gain from the narrative the impression that this practice was not very general). On Rook Island (Umbo) there was a good deal of infanticide. During the sojourn there of a missionary, sixteen of the twenty-three new-born infants of whose birth he was informed "went away". The natives never said that they had been murdered,

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 161.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 71—72.

<sup>3</sup> R. Parkinson 1907, 209.

<sup>4</sup> G. Brown, 37—38.

<sup>5</sup> J. Pfeil, 18, 31. This author states that the Kanaka women can consciously regulate conception, and he gives details as to this.

but used the above-mentioned phrase.<sup>1</sup> On the Solomon Islands "there are several places where it was the custom to kill all, or nearly all, of the children soon after they were born... it became necessary to buy other children from other tribes, and very good care was taken not to buy them too young... the women were constantly to be seen suckling young pigs and dogs".<sup>2</sup> On the northern islands of this Archipelago, infanticide was practised, but much more rarely than on the south-eastern ones: on the former there were families containing five or six children, not to mention those of the chiefs, who were polygynous.<sup>3</sup> However, on the island of Ulawa, in the south-eastern part of the Archipelago, the families of Christian natives are generally large and there are some containing as many as seven children; formerly unwanted children were strangled at birth, usually at the instigation of the elder women, this being the recognised custom on that island. Abortion, however, was unknown, and there was no use of contraceptives; the practice of the latter is supposed to have been brought to Ulawa from Fiji in recent times by returning labourers.<sup>4</sup> (That these practices had formerly their limits and that they only aimed at the regulation of the increase of the population and not at depopulation, is evidenced by the custom existing on one of the Solomon islands: namely, when the population of a place is dying out and children are not being born, the women desirous of offspring go to the Twin Rock and expect to become mothers as the result of offerings deposited there.)<sup>5</sup> In the southern part of the Archipelago are islets like Ugi: very few inhabitants were born on the island and children were bought elsewhere to fill up the gaps caused by infanticide.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that, on the Solomon Islands, the greatest disregard for their own progeny was shown by the inhabitants of a district depopulated by smallpox. It is possible that the natives, despairing of the future of their race, willingly give up the prospect of leaving descendants. And probably on the larger islands of Melanesia, as

<sup>1</sup> P. Reina, in *Z. f. allg. Erdk.*, IV (1858). 359—360.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Romilly 1886, 68—70 *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> R. Parkinson, 482—483.

<sup>4</sup> W. G. Ivens, 48, 92—93.

<sup>5</sup> W. G. Ivens, 77.

<sup>6</sup> H. B. Guppy, 42.



often as we meet with a careless waste of infant life, motives are at work similar to those we investigated when dealing with the case of Eddystone Island and to a certain extent with that of the Fiji Archipelago:<sup>1</sup> progeny is got rid of as a result of despair regarding the future of the race, and practices which were rare and exceptional in a happier past grow and attain the dimensions of a general disaster. It was probably so, too, on the island of Ugi. The same was the case, presumably, on Vanua Levu (Fiji Archipelago) at the time of Th. Williams: there were but few women who had not stained their hands with killing; infanticide in some parts of the island removed more than a half and probably two-thirds of the total number of infants: "abominable as it is, it is reduced to a system." There were professional murderesses, to whom recourse was had in case of need. But if the child lived one or two days it was never killed.<sup>2</sup> Once more we emphasize that we are of the opinion that these are customs which grew up from comparatively milder ancient ones, — that these bloody practices increased in their frequency after contact with our civilization. "Whereas in former times the practice of abortion was limited to a few professional midwives, to whom women desirous of undergoing the operation would resort, some of the secrets of the trade are now common property among the women."<sup>3</sup> At any rate these practices could not have been, at least in certain parts of Melanesia, very frequent. The population of the Solomon Islands and of the Fiji Archipelago<sup>4</sup> was comparatively large and when the first Europeans reached those islands it was if anything increasing. Even fifty years ago the natives of New Britain were convinced that they were increasing in number.<sup>5</sup> The number of children stated was sometimes fairly large. We have already spoken of families of five and six children on the Solomon Islands. Even on the little isle of Tikopio (Barwell Island) custom limited a family to four children,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 92 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Williams 1870, 154–155. According to L. Fison and A.W. Howitt, 171–175, infanticide was an ancient custom. A mother sang to her child; "sleep, my child", as she gently compressed its nostrils and lips till it died.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiji Report*, 121.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, about 1770 the population of the Fiji Islands is said to have been 300,000–500,000. About 1850 it was still 200,000, W. Deane, 228.

<sup>5</sup> G. Brown, 35.

but sometimes five or six (never more) were reared; superfluous children, i. e. those over and above the customary limit, were buried alive after birth, one or both of twins were killed.<sup>1</sup> We would not by any means say that families were everywhere so large. We only wish to state that estimates made in times when the natives had already been affected by the adverse influence of contact with our civilization and had been diverted from the paths of their ancient mode of living, cannot be authoritative for former tendencies as regards the number of children and the growth of population. Recently collected pedigrees bear eloquent witness in respect of those former times. H. Thurnwald has traced back as many as seven generations on Bougainville Island: a married couple had on an average 3.08 children in the first generation, 2.07 in the second, 1.47 in the third, 0.87 in the fourth, 0.56 in the fifth, 0.60 in the sixth, and 0.40 in the seventh.<sup>2</sup> We give a few of the shorter pedigrees:

Generation	Lambutio Id. <sup>3</sup>	Eddystone Id. (Solomon Archipelago) <sup>4</sup>	Vella Lavella Id. (Solomon Archipelago) <sup>4</sup>
1st generation. . . .	2.25 children	2.16 children	2.40 children
2nd    ,,    . . . .	2.37    ,,	1.35    ,,	1.44    ,,
3rd    ,,    . . . .	0.83    ,,	0.65    ,,	0.26    ,,
4th    ,,    . . . .	0.50    ,,	—	—

It should be added that in the first generation on Eddystone Island, families with three to five children formed 32.8<sup>0</sup>/o of the total number of families, and those with six or more children formed 4.3<sup>0</sup>/o. On Vella Lavella these figures were even higher, for they were respectively 41.4<sup>0</sup>/o and 4.3<sup>0</sup>/o. (Making use in this way of pedigrees, we should not forget that human memory is not very reliable there when it recalls the more distant past.)

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers 1914, I. 313 (Gaimard, nearly a hundred years ago, writes of numerous progeny on that island, and pedigrees collected by Durrad, *ib.*, 352, also confirm this. Illegitimate children were always murdered, *ib.*, 305, 310.)

<sup>2</sup> R. Thurnwald, III. 79.

<sup>3</sup> R. Thurnwald, III. 80.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers 1922, 98.

If, on an average, a woman reared even three or four children (assuming that the mother would suckle every child for some years,<sup>1</sup> during which time there was a fair degree of restraint in marital relations; and considering moreover the natural mortality of infants in the first years of life), this was a figure which would often absolve the woman from the need to resort to violent methods. Social custom evoked that every girl on the approach of maturity became a wife. In such circumstances, the number of children mentioned to some extent assured the increase of the population; in all probability, of course, were it not for tribal feuds, this increase might become somewhat greater. Thus we should not hasten to accept such statements as Patouillet's who says of the New Caledonians that the marriages were not fruitful<sup>2</sup> or Suas', who, writing of the New Hebrides, affirms that a man has one, two, three, five and even ten wives, depending on his importance, but the family on an average contains two children, sometimes three or four, almost never five or six, no matter how many wives the man has; that there are many families with only one child, and still more with none at all.<sup>3</sup> We do not doubt that statements of this kind are in accordance with the facts, but with those of later times, when the natives were affected in one way or another by the decay of the old mode of tribal life.

Matters probably stood otherwise on the islets, especially where the cultivation of vegetables was but little advanced.

Islets of this kind are to be found between New Guinea and Australia.

On the western isles in Torres Straits, as everywhere in Melanesia, suckling is continued until the child can run about, i. e.,

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<sup>1</sup> Usually until the child began to run about freely, sometimes until it began to talk, R. Parkinson 1907, 73 (Gazella Peninsula); Schellong, in *Z. f. E.*, XXVIII (1896). 19 (former German New Guinea); C. G. Seligmann, in *Torres Str. R.*, V. 198-199 (Melanesia as a whole); on Rabiana Island suckling would appear to last six to eighteen months, or rather as long as the child wishes for it; big children still run to drink from their mother's breast, C. Ribbe, 271, on the Shortland Archipelago it lasts until the woman again becomes pregnant, *ib.* 144.

<sup>2</sup> J. Patouillet, 89; he says, too, that women induce abortion. They suckle their children, he adds, *ib.*, 94, for a year only. But M. Glaumont, in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, VII (1889). 80, gives a more probable length of time, namely three years or more.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Suas, in *Anthropos*, IX (1914). 246.



for two or three and even four years. Restraint is obligatory for the married couple for some time and as a rule the next child is seldom born until the previous one is some three to four years old; infanticide and abortion were formerly doubtless a common practice: the father decided whether the child was to be permitted to live.<sup>1</sup> For instance, "the population (of the island of Muralug) is kept always at about the same numerical standard by the small number of births, and the occasional practice of infanticide. Few women rear more than three children."<sup>2</sup> On the eastern isles in Torres Straits "prolonged lactation tends to reduce the size of families... children nearly three years old have been observed at their mothers' breasts... After a certain number had been born, all succeeding children were destroyed, lest the food supply should become insufficient; if the children were all of one sex some were destroyed from shame, it being held proper to have an equal number of boys and girls."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, "while foeticide and infanticide doubtless were prevalent, their practice did not seriously tend to affect the actual population (of the island of Mer), though they prevented over-population."<sup>4</sup>

But infanticide especially on the little islets of Micronesia reached vast dimensions.

There a real fear of over-population was felt. It was probably quite consciously, at least on some islands, that the size of the population was regulated, as it had to remain more or less at the same level. These islets strictly observed the rule of having two children, and hence they applied severe measures to prevent the growth of the population. It is only for the sake of example that we shall consider more particularly some islets of the Ellice group. On the atoll of Fanafuti<sup>5</sup> infanticide was generally practised: it was obligatory to destroy every alternate child. On the island of Niutao<sup>6</sup> the ancient custom was to rear only two children in each family, the life of a third might possibly be redeemed,

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, in *Torres Str. R.*, V. 198–199; A. C. Haddon, in *J. A. I.*, XIX (1890). 359.

<sup>2</sup> J. Macgillivray, II. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Torres Str. R.*, VI. 106–107 passim; A. Hunt, in *J. A. I.*, XXXI (1901). 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Torres Str. R.*, VI. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Hedley, in *Au. M. Mem.*, III. 54.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wyatt Gill: *Jottings from the Pacific*, L. 1885, 17.

but any more were put to death as soon as born. On the island of Nukufetau<sup>1</sup> only one child, some say two, was allowed to live in each family, the rest being strangled. But it was possible for parents to ransom their offspring by giving a present to the chiefs.<sup>1</sup> We have emphasized several words in the above passage, to make it clear that the matter had ceased to be dependent on the will of the parents but was an obligation, the execution of which was guarded by public opinion, embodied on the island of Nukufetau in the persons of the chiefs. As we have stated, we will let this one example suffice — Micronesia, however, deserves closer attention, as a region which differs widely in its ways of life and development from other parts of the world, amongst other things, in the attitude there of parents to children and in the whole shaping of the growth in the population. There were communities where the empty cradle was no problem. In this respect it may interest the student, not as a link in the normal chain of social evolution (with which we are chiefly concerned in this work), but as an exceptional deviation. A deviation, too, concerning which the available data are of comparatively recent origin, dating from a time when the decay of ancient customs and the decrease of the population were fairly far advanced. But European influences had probably only aggravated the tendencies which had existed for some time past. "The dying-out of the Pelew islanders is not by any means a surprising event. Various kinds of adoption which are met with in families there and which have as their object the increase of hands for labour on the farm, the inheritance of titles by sons, the disappearance of many large houses (families) — all this confirms the fact that for a long time the want of sufficient progeny had been felt and various means had been used to get over it, but not the only effective one, which is the more careful utilizing of females."<sup>2</sup> And Polynesia, at least some of its districts, did not follow the normal course of social development, although not to such a degree as Micronesia. For this reason, too, we shall not consider it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Hedley, *l. c.*, 54. Cf. Th. Waitz, V (pt. II). 111.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kuby, 149—151.

<sup>3</sup> Materials with regard to this may be found in Th. Waitz, VI. 138—142 and 638—639.

3. African practices: treatment of twins, murder of certain categories of new-born children. Barrenness looked upon as a curse. Polygynous families: the man has many children but the woman few. Average number of children in the African family.

1. The Negro peoples of Africa are much further advanced in culture than those of Melanesia. They long ago gave up the practice of wholesale infanticide such as has come under our notice in some regions of Melanesia.

But there are tribes which still apply it to certain children which, for one reason or another, are reputed to be ill-omened.

Hence, among the Nandi, blind and badly deformed children are made away with at birth.<sup>1</sup> Among the Kagoro and their neighbours an idiot child, or one unable to move about, may be thrown into the water, "but not killed" — it is evidently a snake and not a human being, "if after you have thrown him into the water you go away and then come back silently and hide yourself, you will see the child lengthen into a snake."<sup>2</sup> However, customs in this respect differ amongst the various tribes: among the Ba-Mbala, monsters and cripples are buried alive, but the Ba-Yaka preserve and care well for them.<sup>3</sup>

Not only cripples and monsters are got rid of, but also children who "cried in their mother's womb" and those who came out of the womb feet foremost.<sup>4</sup>

For example, among the Ibibio, in the old days, infants born feet foremost were allowed to die and their bodies thrown away, and the mothers were, in some districts, driven out into the bush and never allowed to return.<sup>5</sup> The customs of a transient nature are interesting: the Kuku let a child live who has come out of the womb feet foremost but they place it at the disposal of the relatives.<sup>6</sup> Banyakole mothers dislike a child to be born first feet,

<sup>1</sup> A.C. Hollis, 68.

<sup>2</sup> A.J.N. Tremearne, in *J. A. I.*, XLII (1912). 146, 147. Cf. S.R. Steinmetz, 211 (Wagogo), 376 (the Island of Nossi-Be, near Madagascar); Overbergh: *Basonge*, 241; J. Halkin, 260 (Ababua).

<sup>3</sup> E. Torday and T.A. Joyce, in *J. A. I.*, XXXV (1905). 420, *ib.*, XXXVI (1906). 51.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hollis: *Nandi*, 68; S.R. Steinmetz, 233—234 (Washambala); Schlömann, in *A. G. Vrh.* 1894, 68 (Malepa).

<sup>5</sup> P.A. Talbot 1923, 205, cf. A.G. Leonard, 461.

<sup>6</sup> J. Vanden Plas, 206.



because they fear the child when grown-up, will be troublesome and unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

Superstition is especially strong as regards children who are irregular in their teething, e.g., if an infant is born with teeth or if the upper teeth appear first.<sup>2</sup> In Mkulwe a child whose upper teeth come through first is an ill-omened child, who will bring the whole family to ruin and so it is murdered.<sup>3</sup> Among the Akikuyu a child which cuts its upper teeth first may be killed, or the father may make an offering in its stead, cutting two small pieces of flesh from young sheep and throwing them away: an ill-omened child is either suffocated by the mother or is put out in the fallow land.<sup>4</sup> Among the Baholoholo a child whose upper teeth appear first, is called *kiliba*, i.e., the accursed; the mother leaves it in the high grass on the river bank as a prey to wild animals.<sup>5</sup>

It is also worthwhile noting how the African natives treat twins.

There exist various superstitions as regards such infants.

If twins are the first-born children, both or possibly sometimes only the younger one are killed by the Akikuyu; the idea is that they prevent a woman bearing again; if they come later in the family the prejudice does not exist.<sup>6</sup> Among the Jekris (Yoruba) a mother of twins is considered as faithless and turned out of the town and left to die in the bush.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the birth of twins is looked upon in every house on the Niger Delta, not only with horror, but also as an evil and a curse, that is bound to provoke the domestic gods to anger and retribution. In order to avert the expected vengeance, it is the standing law of the priests that no time is to be lost in at once removing the unfortunate infants. This is generally done by throwing them into the bush to be devoured by wild animals or by the equally ferocious driver-

<sup>1</sup> J. Roscoe 1913, 123.

<sup>2</sup> S.R. Steinmetz, 234; A.C. Hollis, 68; Schlömann, in *A. G. Vrh.* 1894, 68; Endemann, in *Z. f. E.*, VI (1874). 36 (the Sotho drown them in a pot). For other facts, see J.G. Frazer: *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV. 195. (Among the Wa-kamba, if an infant cut its lower before its upper teeth, it generally "died", since the suckling was painful to the mother, H.B. Johnstone, in *J. A. I.*, XXXII (1902). 270.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hamburger, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 803.

<sup>4</sup> W.S. and K. Routledge, 149-150.

<sup>5</sup> R. Schmitz, 147.

<sup>6</sup> W.S. and K. Routledge, 149.

<sup>7</sup> *J. A. I.*, XXVIII (1928). 107.

ants, or sometimes by setting them adrift in the rivers and creeks in roughly-made baskets of reeds, when they are soon swallowed by sharks and crocodiles or drowned.<sup>1</sup> However, the variety of custom in this respect is great even in districts near one another. The Wasagara kill twins (as also children who leave the womb feet foremost or whose hand protrudes at birth), but, again, the neighbouring Wagoro do not get rid of twins.<sup>2</sup>

Thus there are peoples in Africa who murder twins,<sup>3</sup> and there sometimes exist remarkable practices in connection with such murders: among the Akikuyu a crippled child, or one which came out of the womb in a wrong position, or the second of twins, as also children whose teething takes place in an unusual manner, must be bound up in a skin by their mother, carried to the dense undergrowth of the bush, placed there in a hollow and covered with ashes where they are left to be eaten by the hyenas. Two representatives of the elders of the tribe accompany the mother and also see to it that she fulfils the requirements of custom.<sup>4</sup> Among the Ibo, as soon as a woman is delivered of a child, and it is known that another is to follow, she is instantly carried into the bush, and when the second is born, it is immediately thrown away, while the first-born is named M'meabo, i.e., two people; the people belonging to the quarter in which such a mother resides, are obliged to throw away all the half-burnt firewood, the food cooked and the water brought in the previous night, because the birth of the unholy twins defiles the house and all its contents.<sup>5</sup> There are various transitional stages up to complete cessation of this kind of infanticide: among the Kuku, for instance, the father leaves twins in the open field the first night after their

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Leonard, 458—459.

<sup>2</sup> H. Cole, in *J. A. I.*, XXXII (1902). 308.

<sup>3</sup> Twins are murdered: M. H. Kingsley 1899, 148, 455, 460, 487; S. R. Steinmetz, 39 (Banaka); among the Bakerewe twins are placed in an old household vessel and abandoned on a desert island. Eu. Hurel, in *Anthropos*, VI (1911). 286; in Mkulwe, A. Hamburger, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 803; Schlömann, in *A. G. Vrh.* 1894, 68 (Malepa in the Transvaal); F. Stühlmann, 38 (the Wadoe). One of the twins is murdered in Togo, H. Klose, 509; and among the Atongo, H. H. Johnston 1897, 418; the Sotho murder one or both of twins, burying them in the cattle enclosure and covering them with dry dung, Endemann, in *Z. f. E.*, VI (1874). 36.

<sup>4</sup> See J. M. Hildebrandt, in *Z. f. E.*, X (1878). 395; *ib.* for the ritual peculiar to the Wanika and Wasegua.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Leonard, 461.

birth, but, if no harm happens to them, they are reared;<sup>1</sup> among the Basoga, where twins are looked upon as a great blessing to the family, nobody, not even the father, may look at them in the first moment of their life.<sup>2</sup> Among the Wanyamwezi, twins are subject to a poll-tax, payable to the elders of the village and to the chief of the country; this payment is as if it were a price for the life of the children.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there are peoples who greet twins with joy as the heralds of good fortune.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the mother is the least pleased with them, for she will be obliged to carry, for the space of two years, one on her back and the other on her hips.

Some considerable space of time must pass in any case until the level of culture develops sufficiently for twins or children, whose physical peculiarities or conditions of birth have drawn down upon them sentence of death, to be allowed to live. And even when, as African practices show, they have been given the right to live, their own parents, under the pressure of public opinion, will show them disfavour. For instance, formerly on Madagascar, children who came into the world with teeth were murdered, as well as children in a few other categories. Some family friend carried them to the bush, there sought for a plant which had milky juice, squeezed the liquid on to the breast of the outcast, who was left to become the prey of hunger and death. In course of time other customs came: following the person who is to abandon the child in the bush, there steals a woman who takes the outcast and brings it up. Such a child, in later life, is not to know who its parents are and can never be restored to them.<sup>5</sup> On the Brass River (Guinea Coast) the mother may let an infant live who has come into the world with teeth, but any property which such

<sup>1</sup> Vanden Plas, 205—206.

<sup>2</sup> M.A. Condon, in *Anthropos*, VI (1911). 376.

<sup>3</sup> P. Reichard, in *Z. f. Erdk.*, XXIV (1889). 257.

<sup>4</sup> Overbergh: *Mangbettu*, 295; Overbergh: *Basonge*, 242; Overbergh: *Mayombe*, 217; Delhaise, 153—154 (Warega); S. R. Steinmetz, 211 (Wagogo); A. Hamberger, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 803; Fr. Stühlmann, 83 (Wanyamwezi), 504 (A-lur); A. G. Leonard, 462 (Igarra); J. Roscoe 1915, 46—48 (among the Banyoro, however, Miss Attlee assures us, many women fear to give birth to twins and it is the custom to expose them until they die and then put the bodies in cooking pots and fill the whole with cow-dung. The pot is placed on a slow fire until its contents are quite dry and retained in the house fully a year, then thrown into a river or a swamp.)

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Hildebrandt, in *Z. f. Erdk.* (Berlin), XV (1880). 267.



a child may acquire during life has no legal heir whatsoever: it must be dissipated or thrown into the bush to rot. Such a man on death is not allowed to be buried and his body is thrown into the bush to fall a prey to the wild beasts.<sup>1</sup> Still, the stigma of shame remains on the mother: among the Nandi, twins are allowed to live, but their mother is considered, to the end of her life, as an unclean person.<sup>2</sup> In the Ibibio country a woman who has had twins is looked on as unclean for the rest of her life and obliged to reside in villages, which are known as twin-villages, reserved for that particular purpose. Her husband is obliged to maintain her, but he is strictly forbidden to have any dealings with her, being divorced from her. She is allowed to form connections, but on no account to marry with strangers or men belonging to outside communities. In the event of such a defiled woman bearing twins again, these must be destroyed unknown to any one; for, if known, the probabilities are that the death of the mother would be demanded by the household and the community as well; or if not killed, she would be driven into the bush and left to die.<sup>3</sup> P. A. Talbot visited such a "twin-village." He saw there more than a hundred women: they led a very hard life, could get scarcely any food, might not draw water from the main streams and were forbidden to attend any market; there was no way of buying food except when the time for the twin-markets came round, then they could get a few yams and cassava in exchange for the nuts which they had picked in the forest.<sup>4</sup> In general, on the delta of the Niger, the mother of twins is driven out of the town into the bush.<sup>5</sup> Among the Wawanga a mother of twins may not cut grain at harvest time or sow seed in the plantations without taking special precautions to counteract evil effects: she smears white clay on her temples and forehead whenever she goes on a visit to another village, this being supposed to nullify the evil effects of her presence, and she does the same when going to reap or sow the crops.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Kingsley 1899, 487. Among the Warega a child which teeths in an unusual way is allowed to live, but will be an outcast, Delhaise, 154.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, 68.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Leonard, 460-461.

<sup>4</sup> P. A. Talbot 1923, 205-210 *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Leonard, 459.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth R. Dundas, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913), 33 (among the Wawanga). Cf., *ib.*, 67-68 (the Kamalamba, Lebonjess and Sangalo).

2. But sooner or later, settled life, putting an end to the accessories and survivals of the roving way of life, undermines the customs of the primitive epoch and, going further, destroys all remnants of them. Only the custom of suckling the child by the mother for several years remains and acts against a woman having a larger number of children.<sup>1</sup> But here also, in course of time, motives begin to act which evoke in the parents the desire to have a fairly large family. The first move in this direction is made by the more powerful, and primarily by the chiefs, who comprehend how important it is, the people at the time being scattered in little village communities, to have at command at any moment a numerous band of relatives and descendants. They argue, it is an armed force, which may be absolutely depended upon. And polygyny is just the means enabling men to attain that end: in the period when royal power arises, there is formed about the dynasty a band of persons connected with it by ties of blood and relationship — and this is one of the most powerful motives evoking a stronger desire for numerous children. This tendency appears very early. Among the Indians of Virginia “the reason whie each chief of a familie, especially Weroances, are desirous, and indeed strive for manie wives, is because they would have manie children, who maie, if chaunce be, fight for them when they are old, as also then feed and mayntein them”<sup>2</sup> (and therefore in order to spite their husbands after a quarrel, the women frequently bring about abortion).<sup>3</sup> Africa furnishes striking examples of this: there are patriarchs, having numerous progeny. W. Bosman saw men who were fathers of about 200 children; one of the viceroys, with his sons and grandsons, could make out the number of 2,000, not reckoning daughters, or any that were dead; assisted by his sons and grandsons, with their slaves, he had repulsed a powerful enemy who had come against him.<sup>4</sup> W. Bosman wrote his *Description*

<sup>1</sup> For instance, on the Gold Coast even for four years, L a b a t (Marchais), I. 326.

<sup>2</sup> W. S t r a c h e y, 114. Hence, the pride and honour of Chippewa parents depend upon the extent of their family: this causes them to attach a high price to the children, W. H. K e a t i n g, II. 156. Even among the Eskimo those men, who practise polygyny, have more numerous progeny, and in consequence of this, rule in the settlement, F r. B o a s 1901, 115.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. S p r o a t, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Wm. B o s m a n, 323—324. According to Smith, in *Allg. Hist. Reisen*, IV. 319, it happened that in the household of an important senior half a dozen children came into the world in one day.

of the Coast of Guinea in the XVIII century; his statements should be treated with great reserve: they are not the result of the author's personal observation, but they originate from the natives who, in their boasting, often fall into exaggeration.<sup>1</sup> But even to-day the greatest pride of a man in Nigeria is to have many children. Akpan Udaw of Ikotobo, who died in 1913, had a hundred and sixty sons and daughters, of all of whom he claimed to be the actual father; one chief alone brought ninety sons to salute the Chief (British) Commissioner.<sup>2</sup> The difference between the dynasties and the common people in this respect sometimes comes out very strongly: in Uganda it happens that a common woman can with difficulty rear one child, while some of the chiefs are said to have up to a thousand.<sup>3</sup> Generally, the attitude to children becomes completely transformed: numerous descendants are considered to be the foundation of the wealth and influence of the father. "Every time (among the Baronga) he marries a new wife, the husband builds a new hut. He began the building of his own village by the building of a hut for his first wife. When he marked on the surface of the earth the circumference of the circle on which will be based the walls of his dwelling, when he covered with thatch this circular clearing, he said to himself: 'I am founding my own village.' During the course of the years that followed, the ideal of his life will be the building of a similar circle, only roomier: when he takes a second wife, he will build her a hut of the same pattern. But the second, third, fourth huts will not be in a straight line: contrariwise, they form together a curve, which should lengthen into a semicircle and finally become, as new buildings are added, a full circle. Such is the ideal of the Black: he dreams of becoming the master and householder of a whole round village! Most men do not attain to this. They come to have as many as three or four huts; or a bare quarter circle. Others, better armed for the struggle for existence, more fortunate, close their circle. Their

<sup>1</sup> But, of course, such numbers of descendants are always possible. Even in Europe, where monogyny is the prevailing custom, Mrs. Honeywood, an old woman of 93, was said to have had during her lifetime 1,250 descendants, J. P. Süssmilch: *Göttliche Ordnung*, Berlin 1765 (3rd ed.), I. 169.

<sup>2</sup> D. A. Talbot 1915, 209—211 *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> H. H. Johnston 1902, II. 720—721. Among the Monbuttu, the families, except those of the chiefs, are not numerous (Overberg: *Mangbettu*, 297.)



cattle increase and do not die of epidemics. Every three years their wives give birth to children. If these are boys, fortune smiles on the father, the village will not lack successors to its ruler, the father will not lack hands for labour and defence; the birth of daughters augurs wealth, the family herd of oxen will be increased, the brothers will not lack wives, since, to provide the brothers with them, the sisters will be sold. Meanwhile the huts increase in number, lesser and greater, and the hut of the father of the family is the largest. The master walks about within his fence and looks with a smile upon his prosperity. The youths await the work he assigns to them. In the evening each wife will bring him, in a saucepan, the food she has prepared for him — that is the first duty of the wife. The husband grows stouter, he shines with fat, that indubitable sign in Southern Africa of wealth, greatness and nobility. And the fatter he is, the more respected he will be: his voice will have weight in discussion. It will even come to that he will be more respected than the chief. And the conclusion? The greatness of an African is inseparably connected with polygamy.”<sup>1</sup> The man desires to have children! And that begins to influence the woman: she is conscious of the fact that the more progeny she has the more her husband will respect her, especially if she has sons and not “empty vessels” (girls).<sup>2</sup> And she herself gradually imbibes this idea. “The Negresses consider fertility to be the most important of virtues: the scorn of her companions awaits the barren woman, they avoid her in fear and disgust. When gossiping together and when they want to annoy each other, they reproach one or another of that innate defect and the insult is much more hurtful than an attack on their faithfulness and purity would be to our common women.”<sup>3</sup> “The first and foremost desire of all Southern Nigerian women is for offspring; a barren woman is treated almost as an outcast and has little influence among her fellows. No doubt, this is partly due to the fact that her unfruitfulness is usually ascribed to some fault of her own, on account of which the jujus, or ancestors, will not insert a soul in her womb, or none of these

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Junod 1898, 40 – 42 passim; cf. also the statement of the same import made by K. Endemann, in *Z. f. E.*, VI (1874). 39, of the Sotho tribe.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Johnston 1886, 413; among the Yoruba, the more children a woman has the more valuable she is, *J. A. I.*, XXVIII. 106.

<sup>3</sup> A. Raffanel, 309 – 310.

latter is willing to be incarnated in her.”<sup>1</sup> “No African child is ever an unwelcome guest to father and mother. On the contrary, it is considered one of the greatest blessings if not the greatest, that could come to the family. Most of the charms, or fetishes, which are met with in African homes, or which African men and women wear on their bodies, are medicine for getting children. The greatest affliction that can befall an African is not blindness, or deafness, or even insanity, but childlessness. No consultation fee of a diviner, nor any sacrifice to the spirits is deemed too expensive if there is hope of thereby securing the desired blessing”.<sup>2</sup> No Mukene woman can endure to be childless: the condition is considered to be a disgrace to the home, and a wife who shows no signs of becoming a mother will lose her husband’s favour. The husband will assist his wife in every possible way to have a child: he will bear the expense of consulting medicine-men and deities with the greatest generosity. Should all efforts prove futile, the husband may send his wife back to her parents and they will either give him another wife, if there is a sister to take the place of the former wife, or failing that, they will return the marriage gift.<sup>3</sup> “The Basoga are very fond of their progeny. This is their sole wish and desire: to have children. Their happiness is complete upon the advent of children. To them life appears to be worth living, and then only, does the lot of the wife become bearable. A barren woman is an eye-sore to the husband... Occasionally, a married woman procures abortion owing to some grudge against her husband, for she knows well that he will be nearly heartbroken. However, should he be aware of her misdeed, then he dismisses her because he will not tolerate such a creature’s presence in his household.”<sup>4</sup> It even happens among the Batutsi that, in order to give birth to children more frequently the richer women hand over their children to foster-mothers to be suckled as, if they suckle themselves, they have a child only once in three years.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Talbot 1926, II. 353. Among the Ibibio the blessing of many children is looked upon as the greatest and best gift of the gods, P. A. Talbot 1923, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *J. An. F.* 1897, 24.

<sup>3</sup> J. Roscoe 1915, 24.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. Condon, in *Anthropos*, VI (1911). 373.

<sup>5</sup> P. Schumacher, in *Anthropos*, VII (1912). 2 (foot-note).

How far have we departed from the views and the practices peculiar to the earlier stages of culture!

But polygyny during the period of settled agriculturalism, though it increases to such an extent the possibility of the man having a larger number of children and so powerfully influences the woman in the direction of fulfilling the desires and supporting the interests of her husband, bears an inherent and irreconcilable contradiction within itself. It is true that it gives the husband a more numerous progeny, but it lessens the fertility of the woman and surrounds each wife with a relatively small group of children, especially among the persons of rank who, over-using polygyny in their youth, necessarily lose the procreative power of the simple but healthy peasant.<sup>1</sup> In other words, as compared with monogyny, polygyny acts restrainingly on the growth of the population just because it has not been able to take full advantage of the woman's powers of bearing and thus it results in the population increasing at a slower rate than would be the case if monogyny were the only accepted system of married life. (Polygyny has the same aspect in Melanesia, i.e. the same unfavourable influence on the fertility of the women.)<sup>2</sup> As a rule the constitution of the polygynous family is that the man has many children but the woman has few.<sup>3</sup> But it may happen, and that is the most interesting consequence of polygyny, that even the man sometimes has but few children. The chief of the Monbuttu, for instance, had about a hundred wives and only ten children, of which three lived; another had two hundred and fifty wives and ten living children;<sup>4</sup> a Timne man had sixty wives and a hundred children, his son had sixty-seven children by fifty wives — no less than thirty-five

<sup>1</sup> "I had seven wives when I was seventeen years of age" — runs a relation quoted by J.F. Cunningham, 4. And the fact that elderly polygynists marry young girls not only brings it about that few children are born, but also causes the children to be frail, Overbergh: *Mayombe*, 219.

<sup>2</sup> "Men having three to five wives are quite childless. At present, with the disappearance of polygamy in the Sattelberg district, the number of infants is greater than formerly and the population which used to decrease steadily has now commenced to increase" (among the Kai of New Guinea, Ch. Keyser, in R. Neuhauss, III. 29). According to the researches of R. Thurnwald, III. 82—83, the average for the woman in the monogynous family was 1.4 children, in the polygynous family 1.2.

<sup>3</sup> In Natal, in fifteen households, there were fifty-four wives and two hundred and nineteen children (of this number, sixteen (?) children died), i.e., there were 14.6 per husband and 4.05 per woman, J. Sanderson, in *J. A. I.*, VIII (1877). 254—260.

<sup>4</sup> Overbergh: *Mangbettu*, 397—398.



of these wives had no children, and if data were available as to his father, the proportion of barren wives would probably be equally great;<sup>1</sup> a Baluba chief had twenty-eight wives and only seven sons and daughters, dead or living.<sup>2</sup> These are facts probably of an exceptional nature, but facts which cast a brilliant light on some possibilities of polygyny!

3. The number of children given birth to by the Negress varies within fairly wide limits: there are districts in which the woman can boast of a more numerous progeny,<sup>3</sup> there are others where she is more restrained in this respect. Factors of a social nature have the greatest importance in determining the fertility of women and, in particular, whether monogynous or polygynous families prevail in the tribe. The influence of the constitution of the family manifests itself in the husband's behaviour to his wife while she is suckling an infant. The custom of a husband not approaching his wife until she weans the child, is fairly general in the lower stages of settled culture, and it also exists in Africa. Thus, in the basin of the Congo, during the suckling of the infant (which lasts two years and sometimes longer), the wife lives in complete separation from her husband.<sup>4</sup> Among the Warega the husband observes restraint even for a certain time after the weaning of the child and thus such restraint lasts some two or three years.<sup>5</sup> This custom is binding also in South Africa,<sup>6</sup> on the territories between the Lakes and the Indian Ocean (among the Makonde a wife avoids her husband until the child begins to talk)<sup>7</sup> and in West Africa.<sup>8</sup> In some districts it has a very strong rule over the minds of the people: among the Ephe, a wife has the right to demand of her husband two years of rest, i. e. throughout the period of suckling, and if a husband does not observe this, his

<sup>1</sup> N. W. Thomas: *Timne*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> R. P. Colle, I. 259.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Hobley (*J. A. I.*, XXXIII. 1903) quotes high figures of this kind in East Africa.

<sup>4</sup> Among the Bangala (Overbergh: *Bangala*, 199), the Mayombe (Overbergh: *Mayombe*, 219), the Ababua (Halkin, 260).

<sup>5</sup> Delhaise, 155.

<sup>6</sup> A. Delegorgue, II. 232; H. Lichtenstein, I. 435.

<sup>7</sup> J. Thomson, in *R. G. S.*, IV (1882). 75; it is believed that if this rule is transgressed some harm, if not death, would come to the infant.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, among the Mandingo, *Allg. Hist. Reisen*, III. 198; among the Kagoro, *J. A. I.*, XLII (1912). 174 (restraint lasts two to five years); among the Ephe, E. Henrici, in *Z. f. v. R.*, XI (1898). 134-135; among the Bassari, L. Frobenius, III. 466.

wife may forsake him and only return when that time is up.<sup>1</sup> Among most of the tribes, the husband will cease to cohabit with his pregnant wife after a ceremony until the child is born and weaned. If he has another wife, he will take to her society; if not he will strive to remain chaste in the fear lest if he commit adultery his unborn child will die; sometimes, the husband has only one resource, i.e. to set off on a trading expedition.<sup>2</sup> The above examples give an idea of the purport of custom, but rather a general one, for they are properly speaking loose narratives. But P. A. Talbot<sup>3</sup> has rendered it possible to get a more exact idea about this marital abstinence: he tabulated the various practices of some scores of tribes and sub-tribes of southern Nigeria. He includes in a table the period during which a mother suckles her child, and the length of time during which marital abstinence is compulsory because the mother is suckling a child. That abstinence varies very much in degree not only from tribe to tribe but even among branches of one and the same tribe: in every tribe and even in every branch of a tribe, the requirements of custom are different. We give below a list, showing these various degrees, the number of cases where the husband keeps away from his wife and for what period of time:

Duration of abstinence	No. of cases
1. As long as he likes . . . . .	2
2. For one month . . . . .	1
3. For about six months . . . . .	2
4. For a year . . . . .	12
5. For eighteen months . . . . .	1
6. Till the child can walk well and take its own food .	10
7. From one to two years . . . . .	2
8. From one to three years . . . . .	2
9. For two years . . . . .	7
10. From two to three years . . . . .	5
11. For three years . . . . .	13
12. From three to four years . . . . .	1
13. Till the end of suckling . . . . .	2
14. For an unspecified time . . . . .	2

<sup>1</sup> E. Henrici, in *Z. f. v. R.*, XI (1898). 134—135.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Johnston 1897, 411; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *J. A. I.*, XXXV (1905). 420; *ib.*, XXXVI (1906). 51.

<sup>3</sup> P. A. Talbot 1926, II. 380—387.

In other words, in about 8.0% of the cases the period of abstinence did not extend to a year, 19.3% of the married couples abstained for a year, 20.9% (in this category are included cases where the parents wait until the child begins to walk) from one to two years, 22.6% from two to three years, 22.6% three years or more. Undoubtedly such abstinence, sometimes very long, affected the number of children to which the woman gave birth. But the above list gives us an idea of the requirements of custom alone and does not yet express the precise degree of correlation between the two series: one gives the duration of suckling the child, and the other states the length of the period of marital abstinence (it is of interest to note that, while some husbands await the moment when the child begins to walk, others in the same district approach their wives after only a month). This dependence of one set of facts upon the other can be expressed by means of a coefficient of correlation. Excluding from the table those cases where the period of time could not be exactly determined, or where there is any doubt in other respects, we will have to do with fifty sub-tribes. The coefficient of correlation between the two series of values is 0.55 for these fifty sub-tribes: in other words, the correlation between them, or really their dependence is considerable. It is actually greater than the above coefficient of correlation would suggest, for in the list are included five cases which are, as one might say, paradoxical: in one case a long (three- to four-year) abstinence and a relatively short (i. e. eighteen-month) period of suckling; and in the other four cases a relatively short period of abstinence (for instance one is of seven months) and a long (four- to seven-year) period of suckling. Excluding these cases, for the other forty-five sub-tribes the coefficient of correlation would be 0.96, i. e., the correlation is very great. In principle that correlation takes the following form: marital abstinence lasts a shorter time than the suckling of the child. Of course, such extent and severity of custom in this respect is only possible on the premise that the husband has other wives besides the pregnant one. Polygyny is just what renders possible obedience to the requirements of tradition, as it does not expose the sexual desire of the husband to too severe a trial. In P. A. Talbot's list, in some cases of an abstinence of three years, the reservation is made: 'if the husband



has several wives.' Similarly in giving some cases of abstinence lasting for only one year, there is added: 'if the husband has not another wife.' As a result of this abstinence, the woman in a polygynous family does not become pregnant so often and thus gives birth to fewer children. But in districts where monogynous families prevail, life has its way and departs from this kind of rule. Thus, among many tribes of Central Africa, where monogyny is the general rule among the poor people, the husband resumes relations with his wife soon after the confinement.<sup>1</sup> Among the Basonge the wife does not share her husband's bed as long as she is suckling the child, but there are exceptions to this rule, namely, if the man has only one wife.<sup>2</sup> Hence, in a monogynous family the wife becomes pregnant more frequently, just because the periods of matrimonial abstinence do not exist — the number of children in it is larger and even very large, for the Negress is naturally prolific and in the polygynous family it is only the opportunity that is lacking for her inborn tendencies to manifest themselves. Thus we must partially ascribe the uneven fertility of the Negresses in different parts of Africa to the constitution of the family. In general, however, the Negress (we shall not now enter into the reasons) has but few children. Three is already a sufficient number to satisfy her self-respect: among the Wawanga, if a wife departs from her husband, leaving him three children, he has no right to require of her family the return of the sum which he paid for the girl — she has borne him enough children completely to compensate for that sum.<sup>3</sup> In the basin of the Congo River among the Bangala, a woman seldom has more than two or three children and the natives are simply amazed and ask the most ridiculous questions when they are told how many children a European woman gives birth to.<sup>4</sup> In Loango, his wife and children are, in the opinion of the Negro, his highest good, his wealth, they increase the respect with which he is regarded and his influence; the prolific woman is respected, the childless woman is scorned, yet fertility is not great and a woman gives birth on an average to two or three

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Johnston 1897, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Overbergh: *Basonge*, 242.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth R. Dundas, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). 55.

<sup>4</sup> Overbergh: *Bangala*, 201.

children.<sup>1</sup> Among the Mandingo "the Negro women suckle their children until they are able to walk of themselves... and during that period the husband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing that the family of each wife is seldom very numerous — few women have more than five or six children."<sup>2</sup> In general, "all Africans — amongst whom there is a curious Malthusian instinct — possess anaphrodisiacs, and finally, the prolonged lactation... prevents the women from becoming mothers."<sup>3</sup> On an average, as shown in Table XIV, the Negress gives birth to about three or four children (but a group of high figures all of which cover the same region have brought about this average of fertility):

Table XIV.  
Fertility of Negresses

Tribe	Number of children born	Number of living children	Number of children who reach adult age
Kaffirs <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	4—5.6	3 or 4	—
Bakene <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	3	—	—
Tribes living near Lake Nyassa <sup>6</sup> . .	3 to 5	—	1.2—2
Uganda (Banyoro) <sup>7</sup>	rarely over 4 or 5	—	1.4—1.8
Wanyika <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	4 or 5	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Pechuel-Loesche, in *Z. f. E.*, X (1878). 27—28. The author, however, gives a few occurrences, in which women had seven or even thirteen to seventeen children.

<sup>2</sup> Mungo Park, 402—403.

<sup>3</sup> R. F. Burton 1863, I. 207.

<sup>4</sup> H. Lichtenstein, I. 424, took it that the Kaffir women are very prolific and have eight to ten children. According to McCall Theal 1910, 175, 348, the Bantu are probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth: there are on an average 5.65 children to each wife of monogynists, and 5.58 to each wife of polygynists; Dudley Kidd 1904, 92, 228—229, states that barely three to four children per wife survive the hazards of infancy. J. Sanderson, in *J. A. I.*, VIII (1879). 254—260, found that the Kaffir women of Natal have on an average 4.06 children.

<sup>5</sup> J. Roscoe 1913, 151.

<sup>6</sup> In the northern part of the Lake district of Nyassa there are on an average three to five children in a family, but of five children only two reach adult age, H. S. Staunus, in *J. A. I.*, XL (1910). 510.

<sup>7</sup> J. F. Cunningham, 37. Miss Attlee (J. Roscoe 1913, 49), found that twenty-seven Banyoro women, who were, it appears, elderly, had 101 children of whom 32 died in infancy and 32 before they reached maturity.

<sup>8</sup> L. J. Vanden Bergh, 20.

Tribe	Number of children born	Number of living children	Number of children who reach adult age
Basoga <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	4	—	—
Wakima <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	3 or 4	2—2.6	—
Warega <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	5—6	3 or 4	—
Kuku <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	somewhat over 3	—	—
Monbuttu <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	3	—	—
Bangala <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	seldom more than 2 or 3	—	—
Baluba <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	—	rarely over 3 children, usually 2	—
Baholoholo <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	3—5	—	—
Basonge <sup>9</sup> . . . . .	2 or 3	—	—
Mandja <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	3 or 4	—	1.8
Mayombe <sup>11</sup> . . . . .	2	—	—
Ba-Mbala <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	usually 3 or 4	—	—
Ba-Yaka <sup>13</sup> . . . . .	3	—	—

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Condon, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 937.

<sup>2</sup> A Mkima has two wives of whom each bears three or four children; one third of the children die in early childhood, M. Weiss, in *Globus*, XCI (1907). 168.

<sup>3</sup> Delhaise, 157. The race is considered to be fertile: a woman formerly would give birth to about ten children, but now to not more than five or six, *ib.* 369.

<sup>4</sup> Vanden Plas, 33, says that the number of the population is stationary. He cites seven women between the ages of thirteen to eighteen years with a total of twenty-one children. Even for a Negress the age is too low to consider the average number of children as final. A census of the population of several villages (*ib.*, 142—156) unfortunately did not supply the required materials.

<sup>5</sup> A woman gives birth on an average to three children although one may meet with mothers who have had four and five children (Overbergh: *Mangbettu*, 585).

<sup>6</sup> Overbergh: *Bangala*, 201. Here are a few figures: amongst seventeen women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, eight had one child apiece, one had one child and was pregnant, one had two children, but seven were childless (amongst these, three admitted that they had induced abortion. Some of the women with children had sometimes done the same).

<sup>7</sup> P. Colle, I. 259 (mothers of four or five children are almost unknown).

<sup>8</sup> R. Schmitz, 595 (on the average there are two women and 1.5 children per man, *ib.* 147).

<sup>9</sup> On an average, a woman has two children, three are rare, Overbergh: *Basonge*, 557.

<sup>10</sup> F. Gaud, 563, 262.

<sup>11</sup> Diederich, quoted by Overbergh: *The Mayombe*, 463 (the maximum is five children).

<sup>12</sup> E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *J. A. I.*, XXXV (1905). 420.

<sup>13</sup> E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *J. A. I.*, XXXVI (1906). 51 (families with more than four children are rare).



Tribe	Number of children born	Number of living children	Number of children who reach adult age
Yakoma <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	4	—	—
Loango <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2 or 3	—	—
Ekoi <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	4.3	—	1.7
In the basin of the Niger <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	5	2.5	—
Bissari <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	—	4 or 5 at most	—
Whidah <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	—	2 or 3	—
Egbo <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	marriages are not very prolific	—	—
Sierra Leone <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	seldom more than 3 or 4	—	—
Mandingo <sup>9</sup> . . . . .	the family of each wife is seldom very numerous	—	—
Bambara <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	2 or 3	—	—
Touba <sup>11</sup> . . . . .	very fertile, sometimes as many as 10—12	50% die in infancy	—
Kagoro <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	probably 4 or 5 at most	—	—
Akikuyu <sup>13</sup> . . . . .	3—5	—	—

<sup>1</sup> H. Girard, in *Anthropologie*, XII (1901). 85.

<sup>2</sup> Pechuel-Loesche, in *Z. f. E.*, X (1878). 27—28.

<sup>3</sup> P. A. Talbot 1912, 12 (sixty-two married women chosen at haphazard in Oban town and two-hundred and seventy children; of these women, one had borne fifteen children, seven others had ten or over, whilst only four were childless).

<sup>4</sup> Binger, II. 44 (because of long suckling and abstinence from relations with their husbands, the women have a child every four to five years, hence they seldom give birth to more than five children, half of whom die).

<sup>5</sup> L. Frobenius, III. 464. There are special names given to children according to their order in the family: there are four such names in some districts, five in others; this indicates that the number of children did not exceed this limit.

<sup>6</sup> Labat (Marchais), II. 87 (few women have more than two or three children, the woman who has given birth to five or six is very much respected).

<sup>7</sup> R. F. Burton 1863, I. 207.

<sup>8</sup> Th. Winterbottom, I. 150.

<sup>9</sup> Mungo Park, 402—403 (few women have more than five or six children).

<sup>10</sup> J. Henry, 164 ("the woman is a machine of bearing children, but c'est une machine lente").

<sup>11</sup> R. Lamouroux, in *Anthropologie*, XXIV (1913). 680.

<sup>12</sup> A. J. N. Tremearne, in *J. A. I.*, XLII (1912). 174. (The number of births per woman seems impossible to estimate owing to the frequent change of husbands).

<sup>13</sup> W. S. and K. Routledge, 137 (forty-nine families were reported, fourteen of these families were presumably still incomplete, i. e. comprised a first child or very young children only, and two were those of mothers who had died young. The remaining families give a total of a hundred and thirty-two children or about four per family. Only thirteen (!?) children were reported as having died young. The size of the families was,

Tribe	Number of children born	Number of living children	Number of children who reach adult age
Nandi <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	2.6	2.0	—
Ja-Luo <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	10.5	5.8	—
Awa-Were <sup>1</sup> . . . .	7.3	—	—
Awa-Wanga <sup>1</sup> . . .	8.4	—	—
Wanyamwezi <sup>2</sup> . .	2 or 3; 4 at most	—	—
Lango <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	5.2	—	3.2

And thus, if we exclude peoples with numerous progeny, we get for the number of children which the Negress gives birth to, an average of 3.1—3.8 children, but if we include the peoples with numerous progeny, we get 3.7—4.3. The number of children still living after the first years of childhood amounts to scarcely 2.4—3.0 (or 2.8—3.3) per woman, and the number of those who reach maturity is 1.8—2.1 (2.2—2.4).

Table XIV is based, with a few exceptions, upon very subjective estimates, and hence on very doubtful ones. This is even so far the case that perhaps several of the figures given under the first heading (how many children were given birth to on an average per woman) should be transferred to the second (how many she reared). But even the above-mentioned few exceptions leave a great

on the whole, very uniform: three to five children in a family. But the average is raised in two cases: one woman had borne fourteen children and another nine. It is quite usual among the Akikuyu to come across a man with only one wife — it is a sign of poverty; two or three wives is a fairly ordinary allowance, while the rich have six to seven, *ib.* 134.

<sup>1</sup> C.W. Hobley, in *J. A. I.*, XXXIII (1903). 355—356. The figures for the Nandi were based on the observation of five polygynous households: four men having 50—65 years of age, every one with several wives. For the Ja-Luo, Hobley submitted twelve women, with the numbers of their children, alive or dead, for the Awa-Ware fifteen, for the Awa-Wanga nine women, without making any particular remark. We do not know what principles he adopted in his choice of the women, nor do we know anything about the constitution of the families (judging by the tables, the Nandi are polygynists, the other races more probably monogynists), hence we have no test by which we can judge how far we can take his figures as general.

<sup>2</sup> P. Reichard, in *Z. f. Erdk.*, XXIV (1889). 257.

<sup>3</sup> J.H. Driberg, 146—147, found, namely, 521 children born of one hundred women, and of these 124 died in infancy, 77 before puberty, while 320 lived to grow up. But among the women investigated, there were both young married women and old women. Hence the number of children per woman on an average is actually below the average we should get if we took into account only elderly women.

deal to be desired, and that for many causes. Besides reasons inherent in the African conditions of existence (such as the dispersion of the population, the difficulty of getting exact replies where there is no registration of births and deaths and recourse has to be had to human memory), there is also the influence of the superstition known from the Old Testament and still existing among the Jewish population of Eastern Europe. This superstition manifests itself in an express dislike to the counting of a family by a stranger and of inquiries being made as regards its number. Amongst the peoples of Southern Nigeria, parents never mention the actual number of their children; information on this point might not only give rise to ill wishes from unfriendly persons, but might even put the children under a charm proceeding from ill-wishers. We have noted this superstition as existing in some places in Africa.<sup>1</sup> Mothers who are asked how many children they have, do not reply or, at most, perhaps say: "Come and see for yourself." But, as the attempts of the Routledges proved, such visits do not give the desired result in the case of grown-up families: all the children are seldom assembled, the elder sons are frequently away, the daughters are married. Younger families, where there are only little children, and where thus the number of members of the family may increase, do not, on the other hand, answer the purpose of definitely ascertaining the degree of fertility of the Negress. It was necessary to resort to various kinds of stratagems in order to get any approximate or more or less trustworthy figures.<sup>2</sup> But just because of what we have just mentioned, the figures obtained will be, probably, always lower than the actual ones.

Bearing this in mind, let us go in detail into the statistics given by N.W. Thomas: they are among the most systematic studies

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<sup>1</sup> W. S. and K. Routledge, 135 (in Eastern Africa); P. A. Talbot 1926, II. 355—356 (in Western Africa).

<sup>2</sup> The Routledges had recourse to the assistance of those striplings who were continually in contact with them and who had not much respect for the superstitions which paralysed the tongues of their parents. These boys could most excellently give the number of their fathers' wives, and of their grandfathers', and their respective children; and in general they had a very good acquaintance with their relatives. It was on this information that the Routledges based their figures, the results of which we have given in our table. But they remark that these striplings might know nothing of many children who had died without the informants being aware of the event.



on the matter in question, but even they do not give all the required data. Nevertheless, they will also help us somewhat to judge the value of the figures given in Table XIV.

N.W. Thomas' studies deal with tribes in Nigeria. We shall first consider the Timne tribe of Sierra Leone, which he investigated, making use of a census in several villages, and also by the aid of drawing up pedigrees.<sup>1</sup>

He gives in his tables the numbers of children living and dead, but, unfortunately, he does not state the age of the mothers and only distinguishes between those who are the only wives of their husbands and those whose husbands have several wives. In the case of the latter category, he gives the order in which the husband married his wives. Of this material we should completely disregard wives in monogynous families, for in many cases the marriages were recent ones and sooner or later other wives would probably appear in the household. Such wives are, as it were, the nuclei of the future polygynous households. In these families either the wife had not even once been a mother — a supposition which is supported by the fact there is a considerable percentage of childless women, or she is far from the conclusion of her period of fertility. Thus, we shall consider only polygynous families, which we can be sure have existed for a fairly long time and amongst them only the first two wives in all polygynous families and the third wife in families containing three or more wives, not taking later wives into account. For these married women we get the figures given in Table XV.<sup>2</sup> According to this Table, the fertility of the third wife is less than that of the second, and the fertility of the second is less than that of the first; the first wife in polygynous families has on an average 3.01 (or perhaps 3.18) children born and 1.98 living children; the second, 1.84 children born and 1.22 living children; the third 1.68 children born and 1.16 living children. On an average, for all the married

<sup>1</sup> N.W. Thomas: *Sierra Leone*, I. 15—21.

<sup>2</sup> On the basis of N.W. Thomas' figures: *Sierra Leone*, I. 20, 21. A misprint appears to have occurred in these materials: the total given by him does not correspond to the sum obtained by adding the items, hence there are two different numbers in Table XV. However, according to N.W. Thomas, *ib.*, I. 17, no stress can be laid upon these data given by the method of genealogies, in view of the small numbers involved, and especially in view of the fact that the census figures do not confirm them, the last numbers being also questionable.

Table XV.

Fertility of Timne women in polygynous families  
(according to order in which married)

	First wives	Second wives	Third wives
No. of fertile wives . . . . .	51	50	29
No. of unfertile wives . . . . .	11	12	8
No. of children born . . . . .	187 (197)	114	62
No. of children alive at time of inquiry .	123	76	43
Average no. of children per woman:			
a) all women . . . . .	3.01 (3.18)	1.84	1.68
b) only fertile women . . . . .	3.66 (3.86)	2.28	2.14

women (both monogynous and polygynous) observed, there were 1.90 children born and 1.34 living children. It is worthwhile in this connection to remark that "the proportion of sterility among polygynous wives is enormously in advance — in excess — of what it is in the monogynous families"<sup>1</sup>: of childless wives in monogynous families there are 16.46<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, in polygynous families 20.72<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. But even the figures representing the fertility of the first wife, the earliest wedded and sometimes wedded long ago, give only the lower limit of average fertility for our calculations without any data for the fixing of the upper limit.

Data regarding the Ibo tribe throw rather more light on the question of fertility.<sup>2</sup>

The Ibo customs do not allow a woman to have more than nine children living simultaneously, or to continue to bear children if her daughter-in-law has a child. Thomas also gives in that tribe the number of children in 470 monogynous families (of which 14.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> were childless) and for 125 widows (of whom 5.6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> were childless). In the first case, i. e., in monogynous families, there was an average of 3.25 births per woman, in the second case there

<sup>1</sup> N.W. Thomas: *Timne*, I. 17.

<sup>2</sup> N.W. Thomas: *Ibo*, I. 22—24.

were 4.84 births per widow.<sup>1</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that the number of confinements in the case of Ibo widows would appear to fix a higher average limit of female fertility both amongst the Ibo and the Timne. But, if we want to arrive at the potential growth of the population, we must take into consideration not only the birth-rate but also the child-mortality. These data were as follows (Table XVI):

Table XVI.  
Mortality of Ibo children

	In Agola	In Ododoma	In Awka
1. Monogynous families:			
No. of children born . . . . .	3.2	3.2	3.9
" " " living . . . . .	2.0	2.1	0.8(?)
2. Widows:			
No. of children born . . . . .	4.9	5.4	3.5
" " " living . . . . .	2.2	1.7	0.8
3. Polygynous families with only two wives:			
No. of children born . . . . .	3.2	3.5	3.5
" " " living . . . . .	1.3	1.3	1.4

The mortality is considerable. But the above figures do not show how many children attained maturity but only how many of those born were alive when the inquiry was made. It is obvious that, before the living children reach maturity, a certain number of them will die. Hence the number of children who would grow up to maturity would be smaller than that of those alive at the time when N.W. Thomas made his investigations. As a final result, there would be per woman few children who would have attained maturity.

In conclusion, we shall consider two other tribes which were studied by the same author.

In one of the tribes, i. e. among the Edo, polygynous families form about or more than 60% of the total number of households,

<sup>1</sup> However, even the Ibo widows are less prolific than the Berlin women, namely, those whose marriage was contracted before their twentieth year of age and concluded by the death of the husband or by divorce, R. B ö c k h, in *Int. Bull. Stat.*, V (1890). 184.



and in the second, namely, the Sobo tribe, the monogynous family is the rule.<sup>1</sup> In the first case, on the average, there were 2.7 children living and dead, per woman, in the second 3.5 living children (the mortality of children, at least among the Edo, amounts to about 50%).

Thus the mean figures for the Timne, Ibo, Edo and Sobo, oscillate about the average which we have calculated on the basis of our table (excluding several tribes marked by the exceptional fertility of their women), namely, about 3.0—3.8 children per woman (or even still less). The Ibo widows alone form an exception, their average fertility being expressed by 4.8 children per woman; this figure thus is higher than the average based on Table XIV. Hence figures mostly based on a casual impression, very subjective in nature, are generally of the same character and even somewhat higher than those arrived at by means of systematic inquiries. This is comprehensible: of course, the observer depending on his own impressions or on loose narrations, noted only the women who had children, and among them primarily those who did not deviate too much from the average level, i. e., the number most frequently met with; he did not take into consideration the childless or younger married women, who had only lately become mothers. Thus we get figures higher than those of N.W. Thomas, who in his inquiry included every married woman. The figures in Table XIV deal, hence, with the average fertility of a woman in the course of her life, while N.W. Thomas' figures yield the average number of children per woman in the tribe at a given moment. On the other hand, Table XIV deals with the number of living children (2.4—3.0 children per woman, or, in case we also include exceptionally prolific peoples, 2.8—3.3) and with the number of those who reach adult age (1.8—2.1, or 2.2—2.4 children per woman). It gives on the whole a higher estimate than that arrived at on the basis of N.W. Thomas' materials, though that author took all children into account who were living at the time of his inquiry, and so, both infants and adult progeny. In other words, Table XIV gives a rather too favourable idea as to the possible natural growth

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<sup>1</sup> N.W. Thomas: *Edo*, I. 15—16. In the Sobo country, genealogies were persistently falsified to make the number of children appear as small as possible; Thomas obtained reliable statistics in one village only and they showed 3.5 children per marriage which was usually monogynous.

of the Negro population. In any case we can state decidedly that the growth of the African population is not so much restrained by an over-low degree of fertility among the women, as by great mortality among the children. "Infantile mortality does not appear (in Southern Nigeria) to be heavy at birth, but reaches an extremely high pitch during the first three or four years. Amid some peoples it is said that only a half the children survive."<sup>1</sup> For instance, among the Ekoi it is so considerable that the births barely cover the losses caused by death.<sup>2</sup> Among the Baluba (in the region of Lake Tanganyika) "a regular hecatomb" of first-born children takes place: these children do not come into the world at the proper time, as their mothers married too early, and practise abortion. "The population does not increase, and that apart from the epidemics, because of the small number of children and the great mortality. Only, the Christians contribute to the quick increase of the population — the average number of children in a (Christian) family being as many as four."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. A. Talbot 1926, II. 355.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Talbot 1912, 12.

<sup>3</sup> P. Colle, I. 259, 261.

## VII. VITAL STATISTICS IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

### 1. The conditions under which increase of population is possible in Europe.

When analysing the fertility of women at the lower stages of culture, we tabulated figures showing how many children on an average a woman gave birth to, and how many she reared. Every one of these figures, taken apart from the others, is open to serious doubt. For they were not arrived at by means of methodical research such as modern statistics require. (In passing, we should note that, even for Europe, researches as regards the problems here dealt with are far from satisfying all the requirements of statistical methods, and that on account of the complicated nature of the subject.) On the contrary, the figures given are the result of loose observations, or rather, of loose personal impressions, and, if even for that reason only, are strongly coloured by subjective elements or chance influences. Even in those few instances where systematic investigations had been undertaken, and thus a certain number of families examined in detail, this was done for a small group, i. e., in circumstances which favoured an excessive importance being given to influences of an accidental nature. In addition, it is often not known what caused the observer to choose a given family or, what comes to the same, a given woman. Moreover, all the more systematic inquiries of this kind belong to later times, when the primitive community was already affected by the influences of our civilization. As these influences became stronger and stronger, they caused an increase in the number of barren women; thus, whilst freeing the women from prolonged suckling they raised the number of confinements, and, destroying the ancient custom of abstinence during suckling, further increased the birth-rate and infantile mortality. On the other hand, indifference as to leaving descendants became even more marked, and with this came a growth in abortion and infanti-



cide. In a word, the expression of our subject in figures is far from being of the desirable exactitude. Yet there exists a circumstance which gives it a certain weight: it is the impression — we repeat once more that beneath the figures which we have cited, just such a basis lies hidden — that in spite of their originating in different regions and from different observers, they mutually confirm each other by the uniformity of their purport: all unanimously indicate that, at the lower stages of culture, the number of (living) children is smaller than that to which pre-War European conditions have accustomed us. Thus, extracing averages from the tables so far given, we get the data given in Table XVII:

Table XVII.

## Fertility of women at lower stages of culture

R a c e	No. of children born	No. of children left to be reared, or actually reared
Australians . . . . .	4.8—5.0	2.7—3.2
Other savage peoples . . . . .	2.5—3.5 <sup>1</sup>	
Eskimo and Northern peoples .	2.1—2.8 <sup>1</sup>	
North American Indians . . . .	3.0—4.0 <sup>1</sup>	
Negroes <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	3.7—4.3 (3.1—3.8)	2.8—3.3 (2.4—3.0)

This is how fertility presents itself at the various stages of lower culture. But these figures do not set the matter before us clearly enough. In order to read them as they should be read, we must look at them in the light of European vital statistics. For only then shall we be able to get an idea of the rate at which the figure of population changes from generation to generation at the lower stages of culture. Let us take the conditions peculiar to our own country (Poland)<sup>2</sup> as the starting-point of our inquiry.

<sup>1</sup> This item is certainly far from exact since in many cases it was difficult to differentiate between the number of children born and that of those reared. For this reason we have given the two items together in one column.

<sup>2</sup> We will take pre-War times, when population conditions were free from the disturbances resulting from the War, and thus, we shall deal with Poland under the partitioning states. We will, for the most part, take into consideration the Austrian division, i. e., Galicia. As regards former Congress Poland, there exist materials only for the year 1897, when the only pre-War census of her population took place: other figures for Congress Poland are of doubtful value. (The postulates with which we start were already formulated by A. v. Fircks, 154).

1. Length of period of actual female fertility.

This period, at any rate among the population of Poland, lasts on an average twenty-seven years — from the end of the seventeenth year of life to the end of the forty-fourth.<sup>1</sup> Departures from these marginal years are few and have no great importance for our deductions.

2. The number of women between the ages of seventeen and forty-four.

This number differed but little in the three former divisions of Poland. Thus, in Poznań, in 1910, it was 18.0<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the population, in Galicia (1910) 18.5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, in Congress Poland (1897) 18.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>.

3. The annual death-rate.

This rate varied considerably in the different pre-War divisions of Poland. On an average, in the five years 1906—'10, in former Congress Poland<sup>2</sup> it was 20.6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub>, in Poznań 18.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub> and in Galicia as high as 25.1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub>.

According to the above mentioned postulates the population of Poland in 1910 would have neither decreased nor increased, but only if every woman aged seventeen to forty-four years of age had, during her period of fertility, given birth, in Poznań, to 2.8 children, in Galicia to 3.6 and in Congress Poland to 2.9 children. With a smaller average number of children per woman, the population would have decreased from year to year. But as a matter of fact, the population increased in all the pre-War divisions of Poland, and the increase amounted for the five-year period 1906—'10 in former Congress Poland to 15.3, in former Galicia to 15.5, and in Poznań to 19.6 per thousand inhabitants. To maintain the increase on that level, every woman on a crude average should have given birth in former Congress Poland to 5.1 children, in Poznań to 5.7 and in former Galicia to 5.9.

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<sup>1</sup> We are concerned not with the duration of the child-bearing capability of the woman, but with the actual number of years during which she bears children, depending, of course, on social conditions. It is for that reason that we have taken into account only women aged 17—44 years. As regards women in Galicia and Poznań in 1910, we have considered those born in 1866—'92 inclusive.

<sup>2</sup> This death-rate should be higher: it was calculated on the basis of a population, which, owing to the inaccuracy of Russian official statistics, was estimated at a million souls higher than the actual one.

But in reality the actual conditions are not exactly covered by the above formulated statistical postulates.

In the first place, the age at which a woman is married in our civilization becomes, with time, more and more advanced: in 1900 in Austria the average age was 26.2, in England 26.0, and in France 25.2.<sup>1</sup> In the case of our country we have no appropriate figures at our disposal, but we have no doubt whatsoever that they constitute no exception to the general trend. In other words, the twenty-seven year period of fertility is only partially taken advantage of by the community — a circumstance which, *cæteris paribus*, must act unfavourably on the number of children, i. e., decrease it.

In the second place, many women remain unmarried all their lives. In former Galicia, married women and widows aged 17—44 years constituted 12.6% of the population; adding unmarried women between these ages, the figure is raised to 18.5%. Of course, the percentage of unmarried women decreases the higher the category of age we consider: in 1910 in Galicia, 24.2% of the women between twenty-five and thirty years of age, 13.4% between thirty and forty years of age and 10.5% between forty and forty-five years of age remained unmarried. In the west of Europe these percentages are still greater; e. g., in Germany in 1886—'91 the percentage was 36.4% for women between twenty-five and thirty and 16.5% for women between thirty and forty years of age.<sup>2</sup> However, we are not concerned with the legal side of maternity, but generally as to how many women actually became mothers. For, besides the legalised marriages, covered by the above data, there are also unlegalised unions, and the women who never marry, do not all remain childless. The number of illegitimate children born in Galicia during 1909—'12, amounted to 8.6% of the total number of live-born children, and in Poznanian to 5.1%.

In the third place, there are women who are married but barren. This childlessness is connected to some extent with the age at marriage: the later a woman marries, the greater is the probability of her being childless — whether this is due to the husband or to her is of less importance. Thus in 1911, in England

<sup>1</sup> J. Conrad: *Statistik* (4th ed. 1918), 139.

<sup>2</sup> J. Conrad, *l. c.*, 100.



and Wales the percentages of the childless women in the respective age-groups were:<sup>1</sup>

No. of years from time of marriage	Percentage of barren women among those who married at the age of					
	15—20	20—25	25—30	30—35	35—45	45 and over
25—30 years . . .	3.27%	5.48%	10.44%	18.83%	42.87%	97.04%
30—40 years . . .	3.23%	5.52%	10.28%	17.15%	38.27%	92.63%

The above reservations show that we should make many corrections in our previous calculations, both as regards the number of women who, by their fertility, keep the community in existence and as regards the actual period of fertility. But with the available statistical material, it is impossible to do so for Poland with the desired degree of exactitude. One thing is certain: in view of the pre-War increase of the population in the three divisions of Poland, the number of children born per married woman must have been higher than that given in the above calculations. The birth-rate in Poland was (and is) amongst the highest in Europe. But, except for France, the average number of children per marriage in Europe was usually about or over four. For instance, let us take Berlin, and thus, a large town: large towns as compared with country districts are distinguished everywhere in Europe by a lower birth-rate. In 1885, for every marriage of a woman contracted before her twentieth year of age and finally concluded by the death of the husband or by divorce, there were, on an average, 5.53 children. For every similar marriage contracted by a woman between twenty and twenty-five years of age, there was an average of 4.88 children, and in general, without taking age at marriage into account, 4.08 children.<sup>2</sup> In England and Wales (Census of 1911) for the total number of marriages where the woman was past child-bearing age (i.e., when the woman was forty-four years of age or over) and where she had married between the ages of fifteen and forty-four years, the average per woman was 5.01 children (8.43 children in marriages contracted at fifteen years, 7.16 at twenty, 4.79 at

<sup>1</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1911*, vol. XIII: *Fertility of marriage*, part I. 1917, 460—461.

<sup>2</sup> R. B ö c k h, in *Bull. Int. Stat.*, V (1890). 184.

twenty-five, 3.23 at thirty, 1.89 at thirty-five, and 0.7 at forty).<sup>1</sup> (Whilst on the subject we can state that in the middle of the XVIII century J. P. Süssmilch<sup>2</sup> had estimated the number of children per woman in Germany and England as four.)

2. Every woman in primitive society a wife.  
Barrenness at lower stages of culture.

At lower stages of culture, conditions also shape differently from our postulates.

There is one circumstance, however, which presents conditions at the lower stages of culture more in accordance with the postulates which we have put forward.

It is the absence of women who either do not marry at all or who marry at a late age: the only exception is a total idiot. K. E. Ranke, among the Indians settled in Trumac (Central Brazil), found among fifty-three persons over fifteen years of age only six unmarried: five men and one woman; the woman was between twenty and thirty years of age, but she was the only grown-up idiot whom he had met with in the course of his researches.<sup>3</sup> In general, "in the whole tribe", writes V. M. Egidi of the Kuni tribe in New Guinea,<sup>4</sup> "I did not find even one woman who had not been married at the proper time; even the specimens most disfavoured by nature were married." As regards the Solomon Islanders, "we may say that almost all women of marriageable age, i. e., almost from the age of fifteen, were married."<sup>5</sup> These statements may be applied without any reservations to all primitive peoples: a mature man among them may, for one reason or another, remain without a wife, but a woman will never spend her days in maidenhood, once she has left her childhood years behind her. At a higher stage of culture, among the peoples of Southern Nigeria, in the mass of population, unmarried and widowed adult women attained to only about 10% in the old days (to-day, the abnormal

<sup>1</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1911*, l. c., 342—343; 352—353.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Süssmilch, I. 170—172.

<sup>3</sup> K. E. Ranke, 128.

<sup>4</sup> V. M. Egidi, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 403.

<sup>5</sup> R. Thurnwald, III. 81.

conditions of life in the townships are evidenced by the comparatively large number of unmarried and widowed adult women, who reach respectively 27<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and 8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the total adult women and are earning their living in undesirable ways).<sup>1</sup>

Even among the Indians of to-day, in spite of a decrease in their numbers and the decay of their ancient customs, the percentage of single women is much lower than among the white population of the United States. The data in Table XVIII gives evidence of that difference. But it must be kept in mind that the percentages for Indians in general are averages of widely divergent constituent elements. Among those Indian tribes including over a thousand women in 1910, there were very different types: Croatan Indians were a loose artificial aggregate of mixed Indian and white blood; in the Athapascan stock there are such tribes as the Navaho and Apache, which have increased in numbers since they first came into contact with the Whites and to a great extent were full-bloods (99.3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in the Navaho population and 76.4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> among the Apache). Therefore in our table we take into consideration only both these extreme types (but with the addition also of the Eskimo of Alaska). Thus, among women of the ages given, the percentages of single women were as follows:

Table XVIII.

Percentages of single women among North American Indians

	Aged 15 - 19 years	Aged 20—24 years	Aged 25—29 years	Aged 30—34 years	Aged 35 - 44 years
Whites in U. S. A. <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	88.8 %	50.3 %	26.1 %	16.8 %	11.9 %
Indians in general <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	77.8 %	30.5 %	11.3 %	5.6 %	2.8 %
Croatan Indians <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	79.5 %	32.0 %	14.6 %		10.4 %
Athapascan stock: <sup>3</sup>					
'a) outside Alaska . . . . .	61.7 %	14.6 %	3.8 %		0.8 %
b) in Alaska . . . . .	53.4 %	12.0 %	6.8 %		—
Eskimo of Alaska <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	57.4 %	9.3 %	2.8 %		1.4 %

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Talbot 1926, IV. 137 (cf. *ib.*, II. 356: "there are no unmarried women" — probably among the agricultural population).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 163, Table 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 171—172, Table 66.



Only the existence of barren (childless) women at the lower stages of culture creates any deviation from our postulates. Unfortunately we have no suitable materials which would permit us to present this problem by the use of statistical tables. If we may draw conclusions from remarks scattered here and there in works based on first-hand observations, the number of childless women among races that are dying out is fairly high. (However, among the Fuegians, despite the fact that they were dying out, P. Hyadès and J. Deniker did not meet with even one childless woman over twenty-five years of age.)<sup>1</sup> But we do not know what this number was when primitive peoples lived untouched by the influences of higher culture, and births covered losses by death. There is evidence that then, apparently, barrenness, at least in some of the tribes, was not frequent. And thus, "an entire instance of sterility I have never known among Indian women," says J. D. Hunter.<sup>2</sup> Among the Indians in Carolina at the beginning of the XVIII century, J. Lawson "never knew any of their women that have not children when married."<sup>3</sup> According to Th. Forsyth, among the Fox and Sauk Indians the proportion of sterile women to those who bear children is about one to five hundred.<sup>4</sup> At about the same time (1819—1820) Dougherty wrote of the Omaha that among them: "sterility, although it does occur, is not frequent and seems to be mostly attributable to the husband, as is evinced by subsequent marriages of the squaws." It would seem that in 1882 barrenness in this tribe was a more frequent occurrence.<sup>5</sup> (Among Dakota women, however, about 1824 "sterility is by no means uncommon... but it frequently happens, that a woman, reputed barren, will bear children if she change her husband".)<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the XX century, of course at a very late date, A. Hrdlička had found, among the Indians of south-western United States and northern Mexico that women sterile by nature occur in every tribe, but the proportion is always small. Namely, on the First Mesa of the Hopi (about 500 souls in 1890) there

<sup>1</sup> P. Hyadès and J. Deniker, 188.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Hunter 1823, 203.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lawson. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Forsyth, 216.

<sup>5</sup> J. Owen-Dorsey, 264

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 415.

were in 1900 four women (i. e., about 3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the married women) who although married for more than ten years, had never been pregnant.<sup>1</sup> "Among the Navaho, Zuni and Papago women, sterility is rare. A few sterile women were pointed out to the writer among the Pueblo and the Pima, and several were living among the Mohave."<sup>2</sup> Official statistics on Indians in 1910 give, for seven tribes, percentages of women (aged fifteen to forty-four years) having borne no children, although married one year or more (of course, these percentages are higher than those of actual sterility). A general average percentage of Indian childless women is 8.6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>. It is the lowest among Salish tribes in Washington (3.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>), and the highest (17.5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>) among the Yuma; in five other tribes this percentage oscillates between 7.3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> and 10.3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>.<sup>3</sup> Sterility is more frequent in marriages between full-bloods (10.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>) than in mixed marriages (6.2<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>). "The proportion of issueless marriages decreases directly as the amount of white blood in the married couples increases."<sup>4</sup> Besides, the number of surviving children in mixed marriages (79.0<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>) is higher than in marriages between full-bloods (69.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>). Mixed marriages are also more fertile, the average number of children resulting from such marriages being 5.1 per woman, while the average progeny of the marriages of full-bloods was 4.5.<sup>5</sup> (This more frequent sterility of marriages among full-bloods is referred to not only in connection with Indians. For instance, on the Fiji archipelago "native women, almost barren when wedded to a native husband, are prolific when married to an European".)<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt, that this lower fertility in marriages between full-bloods also appears in many other places at the lower stages of culture. It is sometimes so intensive as to cause the decay of the race. Thus, among the Dyaks, there are two subdivisions of tribes all but extinct in the Sarawak territory: "one of the principal reasons for their decay and decrease may be attributed to marrying and breeding in and in ...their women refused to fructify... yet there appeared no signs of physical decay among them... few had

<sup>1</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 51–52.

<sup>2</sup> A. Hrdlička 1908, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 158.

<sup>6</sup> *Fiji Report*, 124.

more than one child, and many were barren.”<sup>1</sup> We can only point out that such factors are operating, but it is impossible to say anything more either about the relative frequency of such sterility among various stocks of primitive mankind or about its geographical distribution. But we know that among peoples whose way of life has been undermined by our civilization, barrenness is frequent and sometimes even very frequent, as with the Maori, where one woman in three is barren,<sup>2</sup> with the natives of California,<sup>3</sup> or among the Koita (New Guinea) where childless marriages are “not very uncommon.”<sup>4</sup> (But in some cases it is difficult to decide when barrenness, or rather childlessness, results from the artificial prevention of pregnancy, or from induced abortion.) It is interesting that among lower-stage agriculturists, not diminished in numbers in spite of contact with a higher civilization, the percentage of barren women is probably, generally speaking, considerable. For instance, among the Sakarang and Saribus (Dyaks) barrenness is frequent: childless women are even up to one in five.<sup>5</sup> The percentage in Nigeria is also considerable, especially in polygynous families. Among the Timne, in polygynous households there were 17.7% barren women among first wives, 19.3% among second wives and 21.6% among third wives.<sup>6</sup> Among the Ibo, in monogynous families, there were 14.6% of married women without children, but among the widows only 5.6% — a circumstance which shows that in some monogynous families many wives had not yet had time to become mothers.<sup>7</sup> It is a remarkable fact that the Indian Census of the year 1910 gives (for seven tribes examined in this respect) the highest percentage, namely as much as 17.5%, of childless women for the Yuma, who have for many generations been agriculturists, whilst in other, non-agricultural Indian tribes the figure does not exceed 10.3%, and goes down as low as 3.9%.<sup>8</sup> Actually, both among the Yuma as

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Brooke, I. 19; II. 335–336.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Brooke, II. 236.

<sup>3</sup> J. Baegert, 368.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Seligmann 1910, 80.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Brooke, II. 236.

<sup>6</sup> N. W. Thomas: *Sierra Leone (Timne)*, 20.

<sup>7</sup> N. W. Thomas: *Ibo*, I. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 160. Among the Pima, an agricultural tribe, out of 35 women past menopause there were three, i. e. about 8.5%, who had never borne a child, A. Hrdlička 1908, 42.



in Nigeria, the percentage of barren women is less than that given in the above statistics: the Census recorded every family, as it was found at the time of registration, hence there were some which had not yet had time to have children. But even taking this into account, the percentage of barren women among agriculturists would seem to be larger than with peoples at a lower stage of culture, i.e., if we may trust the data cited.<sup>1</sup> Yet we should not attach too much importance to our figures and we should refrain from hasty conclusions till more weighty confirmation comes to hand. This, however, is hopeless at present, since all races of lower culture have been too severely shaken and thus too far diverted from their ancient mode of life.

3. More rapid sequence of generations in primitive society than in Europe and its action on birth- and death-rates. Mortality in primitive society. Preponderance of adult women among warlike peoples. Deviations in the North and possibility of same in Australia.

It is perhaps superfluous to demonstrate that as regards the mutual numerical relations of age- and sex-groups, the birth- or death-rate, etc., primitive society differs very greatly from Poland, taken as representative by us of European vital statistics.

Firstly, mortality among primitive peoples is no doubt greater than that met with in Europe. Even in Poland, mortality has oscillated between fairly wide limits: in Poznan it was 18.7<sup>0</sup>/100; in Congress Poland 20.6<sup>0</sup>/100, and in Galicia 25.1<sup>0</sup>/100. These are average annual figures for the five years 1906—'10. But fifty years earlier, and thus in the years 1850—'60, it amounted in Poznan to about 36.0<sup>0</sup>/100, in Congress Poland (on account of epidemics) to 38.5<sup>0</sup>/100, and in Galicia to 36.6<sup>0</sup>/100. Even in the years 1896—1900 it reached 28.0<sup>0</sup>/100 in Hungary and 32.3<sup>0</sup>/100 in Russia.<sup>2</sup> (In the death-rates given, we have taken no account of still-born children.) It is more than probable that at lower stages of culture the death-rate is higher than the last rates quoted. But we are unable to support

<sup>1</sup> However, among 245 Araucanian families, T. Guevara found no childless wives, *Anthropologie*, XIX (1910). 591.

<sup>2</sup> J. Conrad: *Statistik* 1918, 186.

this supposition of ours by appropriate evidence and that for the lack of any trustworthy materials. We would call attention to one circumstance only, namely, that where a woman of twenty years of age has three or four children and soon, after a few years more, is considered old, the generations should succeed each other similarly more quickly and of course, *caeteris paribus*, the death-rate must be greater, — a phenomenon which has no harmful character, is the normal consequence of a quick succession of generations and an indispensable accompaniment of a high birth-rate. It would seem that all peoples at lower stages of culture show in that direction a more or less active tendency. We should like to indicate another circumstance, inseparable from those stages of culture, viz., that infants, and children too, at least in some cases, are exposed to very severe trials, either purposely by the parents or arising from conditions inherent in the native way of life. Let us take, for instance, the custom of bathing the infant in cold water. In Tierra del Fuego, soon after birth, infants were bathed in the sea in order to toughen them. It was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, but one which “eliminated ruthlessly all but the most vigorous and robust infants”,<sup>1</sup> — and was in effect the same as the Australian custom of murdering weak infants. It was a deliberately applied test. Then again the mortality of children — to take a case of another kind — is great during journeys from place to place, not only in Australia but also with the indigenous inhabitants of South America.<sup>2</sup> Those who have sustained and borne such tests should be distinguished by greater physical endurance. (The adult generations here should normally be stronger and healthier than in our civilization.) In short, mortality in the first years of life, in spite of the fact that the mother breast-feeds the child, must be greater. Again we cannot support this statement with appropriate statistical proofs, not having any reliable material. For instance, as regards the Australians, we should have to do with the declaration of G. Grey that mortality in earlier childhood was, in proportion to the number of births, greater than among civilized peoples.<sup>3</sup> As to this point,

<sup>1</sup> S. K. Lothrop, 163. A similar custom existed among the Abipones, M. Dobrizhoffer, II. 63. Elsewhere these cold baths take place when the child begins to walk, W. Strachey, 110 (the Indians of Virginia), A. Krause, 217 (the Tlingit).

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Bates 1873, 260.

<sup>3</sup> G. Grey, I. 251.

we have some figures for settled peoples. Thus among the children of the Samoa Archipelago the mortality was said to be enormous: formerly, probably no less than two-thirds of the race died in infancy and childhood, and even at the time when G. Turner stayed there, perhaps one-half of the new-born babies died in their first year of life. Factors were said to be active there which have already been shown by us to have so strongly influenced the Australian natives in this respect; thus, children were carried about with their bare heads exposed to the rays of a vertical sun; exposure to the night-damps and, above all, stuffing children with unsuitable food had the worst effect upon their health.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that the great child mortality on the Samoa Archipelago is partly due to the same factors which evoked a similar state of affairs on the near-by Fiji Archipelago.<sup>2</sup> In both cases this mortality would have arisen at a later date, and would have been in close connection with the abandonment of old customs. This supposition is backed up by the low child-mortality in some districts of Melanesia and New Guinea. For instance, in the vicinity of Port Moresby, mortality among children was very small: although occasionally epidemics swept off up to half the population, the victims were "the strong young men and women, — the very old and the very young apparently bearing charmed lives;"<sup>3</sup> but on the other hand, among the Kai, 60% of the children died in the first years of life.<sup>4</sup> (It is possible of course that a satisfactory explanation of these so widely divergent death-rates will be furnished by the specific local conditions, as a result of which some districts were marked by a high infantile mortality, whilst others had a very low death-rate.) Even at a higher stage of culture, in Africa, child-mortality at Ekoi is so considerable, that the births can hardly cover it, and amongst some Nigerian peoples only a half of the children survive — infantile mortality immediately after birth is not so great, but it reaches

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner 1884, 135.

<sup>2</sup> "The decrease of (Fijian) population is not due to sterility, but to infant mortality" (*Fiji Rep.*, 125). During a seven-year period the average percentage of child mortality in the first year of life came to 45%, and in 1891 this figure even rose to 58%, *Fiji Rep.*, Appendix IV. 108.

<sup>3</sup> H. H. Romilly 1889, 52–53. J. Pheil, 18, states that on the island of Karrawarra (New Ireland), in the course of eighteen months, thirteen children were born and four died, i. e., only 30% (J. Pheil erroneously gives 25%).

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Keyser, in R. Neuhaus, III. 29.



its highest level in the course of the first three or four years.<sup>1</sup> Among the Touba (in the region of Baghirmi) 50<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the children die in the first year of life.<sup>2</sup> (But a similar considerable mortality among the infants would not seem to be universal everywhere in Africa: for instance, among the Banyoro, only about 32<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the children died in infancy and another 32<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> before they reached maturity.)<sup>3</sup>

But let us return from child-mortality to mortality in general.

We have said that mortality among primitive peoples is greater than that met with in Europe. However, just as it was in regard to infantile mortality, so we are unable to support this statement of ours by suitable evidence, since, as stated, we have no trustworthy materials regarding the death-rate at lower stages of culture. If even we should have at our disposal some statistical contributions on the subject, such belong to later times when the primitive peoples had left the beaten track of their ancient, normal existence.<sup>4</sup> Once more we repeat, the rate of mortality during the period of savagery is certainly greater than that characteristic of Hungary or Russia during 1896—1900, making due allowance, of course, for primitive infanticide. (In order to cover the losses resulting from such mortality, either the birth-rate must be higher than we presume it to be, having accepted as a basis the annual birth-rate in Poland for the years 1906—'10, or, in view of the smaller number of children born on the average per woman, the percentage of women who left progeny must be larger.) Speaking of the death-rate at lower levels of culture, it is worthwhile noting that the mortality was there greater among males who had emerged from boyhood than in Europe; violent death reaped great

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Talbot 1912, 25 (the people of Ekoi "seem utterly indifferent to the existence of evil smells and to this cause the high death-rate among the children is chiefly due"), also Talbot 1926, II. 355 (malaria particularly is the chief cause of the mortality).

<sup>2</sup> R. Lamouroux, in *Anthropologie*, XXIV (1913). 680.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Attlee, quoted by J. Roscoe 1915, 49.

<sup>4</sup> And, as happens when small groups are investigated, we get figures divergent greatly from each other. For instance, let us take, from the New Guinea region, the island of Tamara and the tribe of Kuni. On Tamara, the annual death-rate within the period of observation was 34.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> (on the basis of R. Parkinson's figures, in *I. A. E.*, XIII (1900). 23) and 15.0<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> among the Kuni (according to the figures of V. M. Egidi, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 402, 404). It is worthwhile remarking that the population on the island of Tamara was dying out: during the period under observation there were 25 deaths and 23 births. Egidi himself makes clear the small value of these figures for our purpose when he declares that all the figures for the Kuni tribe would look different, had it not been the presence of the missionaries.

harvests among them, either on the occasion of armed expeditions or during hunting or fishing parties, etc. The adverse effects of these factors is often strikingly shown in one and the same ethnic unit amongst its various divisions of very differing modes of life: amongst the reindeer Chukchee there were a hundred and one women per hundred men, whilst amongst the maritime Chukchee there were a hundred and eight women to every hundred men, the maritime hunters were more exposed to dangers and risks of life unknown to the reindeer-breeders.<sup>1</sup> In general, a considerable percentage of the men leave the world prematurely. Such are the *faux frais* of the primitive community and for this reason men formed among the adult population a considerably smaller percentage than in our civilization, and were not able to compare, as regards number, with the women. "The proportion of the men to women (among the Indians) is comparatively small in consequence of the frequent and destructive wars, and their greater liability to disease. This disparity is scarcely perceptible in early life, but among those arrived at maturity and still farther advanced in life it is very obvious and varies in the different tribes from two or three of the former to four of the latter according as the causes prevail. In some tribes, the extremes differ considerably from this average, more especially for the less, and they are sometimes without men sufficient for the chase."<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the less populous tribes were the most affected by such a state of affairs: G. Catlin states, for instance, that with the more powerful tribes (which were, at the time of his studies, the Dakota and the Blackfeet), it was a fair calculation to count one in five as warriors. Among the Crow, the Minnitaree, the Ponka, and several other small but warlike tribes, the proportions were different: in some of them there were from two to three women per man, this being the result of the continual losses which these peoples sustained during

<sup>1</sup> Vl. B o g o r a z, 550—551. Among the Khasi there is a large excess of women between the ages of 15 and 35, and also of women over 60; the slight deficiency of women between the ages 35 and 60 is clearly accounted for by the feminine weakness of trying to appear young. But as regards the men, other circumstances caused the disproportion of the sexes: "the men go frequently on trading excursions, to the terais, and die of fever contracted there, large numbers are recruited yearly as transport coolies etc.", and casualties amongst these men would tend in some degree to increase the disproportion of the sexes, H. H. R i s l e y, 198.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. H u n t e r, 203—204.

their war expeditions and when hunting the buffalo on the Plains.<sup>1</sup> (However, this proportion was subject to some changes: with the Blackfeet, about the year 1848, the women were more than two-thirds, and even three-quarters of the population;<sup>2</sup> in 1858—'60 the men among the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre were 21.9%, the women 32.9% and the children 45.1%;<sup>3</sup> in about 1871 the number of women amongst the Cheyenne and Blackfeet was twice that of the men.)<sup>4</sup> The same applied at an earlier date: in 1718, among the Sauk, the Menominee and the Winnebago, the woman were said to be four times more numerous than the men.<sup>5</sup> Among the Fox in the years 1669—'70, the number of women and children is said to have been great. Father Allouez explained this large number of women by the custom of polygyny instead of explaining the existence of polygyny by the excess of women: each man had commonly four wives, but some would have six, and others as many as ten.<sup>6</sup> In 1715 there were 86.7 adult men and 107.5 boys per 100 females of corresponding age among the Creek.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the more extreme figures can be explained by the disastrous effects of the White invasion, which drove the tribes out from their old abodes, disturbed the former ways of tribal life, sharpened intertribal feuds and indirectly caused an excessive divergency in the mutual ratio of the sexes. In places where these influences were not so harmful, the differences

<sup>1</sup> G. Catlin 1841, I. 43 (among the Ponka, two-thirds of their number were women, *ib.*, I. 212).

<sup>2</sup> Le Petit, quoted by P. J. de Smet 1863, 256.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Vaughan, in *I. Aff.* 1858, 432, and *ib.* 1860, 308.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan 1871, 477.

<sup>5</sup> Official document in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX. 889. Among the Winnebago the ratio of women to men (excluding children) was as 100 to 70 in 1812, and as 100 to 69 in 1820, J. Morse, 59; among the Menominee there were 66.6 men per 100 women in 1820, J. Morse, 51.

<sup>6</sup> Allouez, in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 69.

<sup>7</sup> That is, the Ocheese, Talapoosa, Abihka and Alibamu, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. Rivers gives figures for still other tribes in South Carolina, in 1715. But they were, excluding the Cherokee and Yamasse, petty tribes, moreover being in an exceptional, transitional situation. For that reason the ratio of males to females oscillates greatly: among the Apalachicola (214 souls) there were 90.1, among the Apalache (638 souls) 113.1 and among the Savanos (233 souls) 57.7 adult men per 100 adult women; among the children this ratio was respectively 113.5, 118.1, and 66.6. The Yamasse, numbering 1,215 souls at the eve of their uprising, showed a preponderance of men over women in all ages (119.7 for the adults and 104.9 for the children per 100 females). For the Cherokee see the following foot-note.



in this respect should be not so great,<sup>1</sup> but they always existed. However, already at the beginning of the XVII century, when there could not yet be any question in the given region of a dissolution of tribal life on account of the White invasion, J. Smith notes that among the Indians of Virginia there were few men, by far the greater part of the population consisting of women and children.<sup>2</sup> With the Padoucas (Comanche), in 1724, the number of warriors as compared with the number of mature women was almost as one to two.<sup>3</sup> The ratio between the sexes in various age-groups was shaping on the same lines even in the XIX century, at least with those tribes which endeavoured as far as possible to keep to the old customs. This is shown by Table XIX, in which we have also included the returns of the Indian Census of 1910. The figures for that year demonstrate that quite other tendencies prevail among the contemporary Indians forced as they are to live in peace.<sup>4</sup>

Table XIX.  
Number of males per hundred females among Indians

T r i b e	Young gene- ration	Older gene- ration
Osage, Kansa and Pawnee (1811) <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	—	83.1
Dakota (1811) <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	—	54.5(?)
Iowa, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, Menominee (1811) <sup>6</sup> . . . .	—	86.0
Chippewa (1811) <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	—	64.3

<sup>1</sup> For instance, for the Cherokee, who were in incomparably better circumstances than the other peoples above-mentioned and had a more secured peace, the Census of 1721 showed in the adult generation 97.6 men per 100 women, B. Fernow, 275. In 1715 the Cherokee are said to have numbered among the adults 111.1 and among the children 94.0 males per 100 females, cf. W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. In the light of the Census of 1721 these figures must be regarded as quite unreliable, the more so as all data were in 1715 given in round figures arousing some suspicion by reason of their improbability.

<sup>2</sup> J. Smith, 360.

<sup>3</sup> Calculated on the basis of the figures of de Bourgmont, in P. Margry, VI. 446, and in du Pratz, III. 212.

<sup>4</sup> The figures given in our table have been computed on the basis of data furnished by various sources of reference. These sources are quoted by us in the foot-notes regarding every tribe mentioned in the table.

<sup>5</sup> Z. M. Pike, 258.

<sup>6</sup> Z. M. Pike, 136.

T r i b e	Young gene- ration	Older gene- ration
24 Cowichan etc tribes (Vancouver and mainland) (1839) <sup>1</sup>	121.1	70.1
Connolly's Lake, Bobine Post, McLeod's Lake, Fort George and Stuart's Lake (1839) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	149.4	93.5
Western Algonquian tribes (1847) <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	112.6	79.7
Siouan tribes (1847) <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	101.9	88.5
Ottawa (1847) <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	119.7	99.2
Cherokee and Chickasaw <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	109.2	92.5
Makah (1861) <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	100.0	91.5
Makah (1863) <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	116.7	87.0
Wallawalla, Cayuse, Umatilla (1864) <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	125.4	66.6
Chippewa (Pillagers and Mississippi bands) (1864) <sup>9</sup> . .	117.0	70.7
Dakota (1880) <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	108.0	73.3
Crow Agency (1880) <sup>11</sup> . . . . .	114.5	87.5
Kiowa, Comanche (1880) <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	105.7	72.0
Indians (full-bloods) in general (1910) <sup>13</sup> . . . . .	102.8	105.4

<sup>1</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, No. XII (followers and slaves have not been taken into account; the manuscript gives a detailed description of every family: the young generation in this census is given as sons and daughters) (MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, Nos. I—IV and VI; (the same reservation can be made as in foot-note 1).

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 488 (the item of the young generation includes boys up to the age of eighteen years and girls up to the age of sixteen; in the item of the older generation are included persons up to the age of sixty; above the age of sixty the returns give only a figure for both sexes together, and for that reason aged persons have not been included in Table XIX).

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 498. As regards an explanation of the items, see foot-note 3.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 478. As regards the explanation of the items, see foot-note 3.

<sup>6</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 508 (see foot-note 3).

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Swan 1870, 2—3 (there are figures for infants without data as regards the sexes, for that reason infants are not included in the table).

<sup>8</sup> Wm. H. Barnhart, in *I. Aff.* 1864, 230.

<sup>9</sup> A. C. Morril, in *I. Aff.* 1864, 560—561.

<sup>10</sup> Dakota bands, referred to in *I. Aff.* 1880, 141, 173, 180.

<sup>11</sup> *I. Aff.* 1880, 229.

<sup>12</sup> *I. Aff.* 1880, 193.

<sup>13</sup> *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 38 (the young generation is under 20 years of age, and the older generation is aged 20—50 years. Besides, there were 100.6 men per 100 women amongst persons aged 50 years and over).

Naturally, the percentages given in Table XIX are of very unequal values: those for the year 1811, are based on approximate estimates, others, for example, those regarding twenty-four Cowichan tribes, are taken from the exact and detailed census, carried out by the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company; still others, originating from the second half of the XIX century and regarding tribes who were already under the powerful influence of Whites, for that reason fail to carry conviction. But in spite of their great divergency, all agree in showing a considerable drop in the percentage of males as against females depending upon age: amongst children and youth, i. e., those aged up to about sixteen to eighteen years, the boys are in the majority; whilst in the case of the older generation, i. e., above the age of sixteen to eighteen years, the men are less numerous than the women.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in the 1910 figures, which covered tribes forced to lead a peaceful life on reservations, the conditions examined assumed an entirely different aspect.

However, the number of men as against that of women is declining not only amongst the Indians.

In our civilization the number of new-born males is larger than that of new-born females, but this proportion equalizes itself as the later years of life come, and finally in old age the women become more numerous. At lower stages of culture the numerical relation of one sex to the other in adult life advances still more adversely for the men and sometimes there are extremely great discrepancies. In short, in most cases the principle is that which T. Bridges perceived to obtain with the Yakgans in Tierra del Fuego: in childhood the boys considerably exceeded the girls in number but amongst the adults the women exceeded the men.<sup>2</sup> (The same was noted for the North American Indians by J. D. Hunter,<sup>3</sup> on the Fiji Archipelago by the Commission of

<sup>1</sup> We have in our table contented ourselves with quoting data of up to the year 1880 and for these data have tabulated only those tribes possessing a larger population. Of course, there are exceptions to the tendency shown by our table: in 1880 the Cheyenne and Arapaho had amongst the young generation 113.9 boys per 100 girls, and amongst the older generation 112.3 men per 100 women (according to the figures in *I. Aff.* 1880, 189). As the Indians abandoned their old mode of life, such exceptions probably became more and more numerous.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Bridges, 233.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Hunter, 204 (this disparity is scarcely perceptible in early life but amongst those arrived at maturity and still farther advanced in life it is very obvious).



1896,<sup>1</sup> and for the Aino of Yezo by R. Hitchcock).<sup>2</sup> In Table XIX, the excess of females indicated appears with varying intensity amongst the North American Indians, but always to a greater degree than in Europe. In order to afford comparative data, we quote below the corresponding percentages for two European countries.

A g e	Males per 100 females	
	Germany <sup>3</sup> (1900)	France <sup>4</sup> (1901)
0—15 years . . . . .	100.48	100.06
15—20 „ . . . . .	100.50	99.56
20—40 „ . . . . .	98.82	98.24
40—60 „ . . . . .	91.99	96.19
above 60 years . . . . .	82.10	86.73

We shall now turn to the Eskimo,<sup>5</sup> whose conditions of life even to-day do not differ overmuch from those of former times. With this race, during its hunting operations, a man is exposed to many dangers. Hence amongst the central Eskimo, although boys predominated amongst the children (they were to the girls as 151 to 100), in the adult generation the proportion was different: the number of men (bachelors, married and widowers) was to the number of women (spinsters, married women and widows) as 93 to 100.<sup>6</sup> A still more striking situation appears among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay (it is true that in this case we are not certain if the age-limit between children and adults is correctly drawn). There we have 154 boys per 100 girls, but amongst married people the number of men to the number of women is as 76 to 100.<sup>7</sup> And amongst the Eskimo of Greenland, who as regards gaining their livelihood, still hold closely to tradition, the men quickly become

<sup>1</sup> *Fiji Report*, App. IV. 110.

<sup>2</sup> R. H i t c h c o c k, 465.

<sup>3</sup> On the basis of figures in *I. A. Stat.*, I (1916). 44.

<sup>4</sup> On the basis of figures in *I. A. Stat.*, I (1916). 72.

<sup>5</sup> As regards South American Indians we lack any reliable data. There are only some references to the Xingu Indians. At the end of the XIX century, in the whole population there were 87.9 females per 100 males. The excess of males was greatest during the first two decades of life, i. e., to the age of twenty; after which it decreased rapidly with the higher ages, and after the age of forty disappeared to be replaced by a preponderance of females, K. E. R a n k e, 127.

<sup>6</sup> According to the figures given by Fr. B o a s 1884—'85, 426.

<sup>7</sup> On the basis of the figures given by Fr. B o a s 1901, 6—7.

less and less numerous as age advances. Thus, according to the Censuses of 1901, 1911 and 1921, there were per 100 females:

Age-groups	In 1901 <sup>1</sup>	In 1911 <sup>1</sup>	In 1921 <sup>2</sup>
0— 5 years . . .	106.3 males	99.2 males	98.3 males
5—10 „ . . .	98.5 „	103.1 „	100.0 „
10—20 „ . . .	99.2 „	99.7 „	100.4 „
20—40 „ . . .	82.8 „	83.2 „	90.0 „
40—60 „ . . .	68.9 „	72.9 „	77.9 „
over 60 years . .	46.3 „	51.5 „	55.8 „

From Polar regions let us turn to Melanesia.

“On Bougainville Island, even considering that when the pedigrees were drawn up, more girls than boys were forgotten, we must take it that the excess of boys was not at all inconsiderable. Already in the period of childhood the mortality of the boys was greater, and fighting and murder reduced them too, till there was a greater fall of population on the male than on the female side.”<sup>3</sup> As a rule, the women in Melanesia were formerly more numerous than the men. This has often been referred to by earlier writers. “I was surprised,” states P. Dillon,<sup>4</sup> “at the number of females on Tikopia, as it was at least treble that of the males.” The same state of affairs is also noted for later times; at the beginning of the XX century, in the central districts of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg), less affected by European influences, the women were twice as numerous as the men.<sup>5</sup> In the Kuni tribe (New Guinea) amongst the young generation there were 138.3 boys per 100 girls and amongst the adults 91.5 men per 100 women.<sup>6</sup> (But these relations have changed in character during recent times. Throughout the Melanesian and Polynesian regions where a tendency to depopulation is marked, the males are greatly in excess; a considerable deficit of females is noticeable in many places, and is, in

<sup>1</sup> *A. I. Stat.*, III (1919). 160—161.

<sup>2</sup> *Aperçu demogr.* 1925, 153. (Thus a permanent improvement is perceptible in Greenland. Probably this is the result of a slow change from the former ways of gaining a living.)

<sup>3</sup> R. Thurnwald, III. 81.

<sup>4</sup> P. Dillon, II. 134.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hahl, in *Globus*, XCI (1902). 312.

<sup>6</sup> According to the figures given by V. M. Egidii, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909). 402.

fact, most conspicuous where the population declines more rapidly.)<sup>1</sup> We shall consider more closely one of the Melanesian regions — the Fiji Archipelago, or more properly speaking, the island of Viti Levu. On that island there were tribes which, at the time covered by these figures, had already been under the influence of the missionaries for forty years: they had given up infanticide, ceased to make war and had renounced blood feuds and private murders (the results of this stand out sharply in Table XX). But there were tribes, at that time keeping to the beaten track of their former life, who were still under the influence of the bloody customs just mentioned. The ratios here were different in every tribal group and are given below.<sup>2</sup>

Table XX.

Number of males per hundred females (Fiji).

	Total population	No. of males per 100 females		
		Children	Adults	Aged persons
A. The hill district of the island of Viti-Levu (inhabited by heathens)	7,236 souls	121.5	97.5	93.2
a) one of the tribes after a war, in which it fought on the side of the English . . . . .	1,381 „	138.2	97.6	81.1
b) one of the tribes after a war, in which it fought against the English . . . . .	984 „	126.5	89.7	87.5
B. The Wainimala tribe (slightly under missionary influence) . . . . .	1,719 „	133.7	99.1	
C. Eastern tribes (Lau) which have been under missionary influence for 40 years . . . . .	6,708 „	129.4	125.0	

<sup>1</sup> G. Pitt-Rivers, in *Man*, XXVII (1927). 7—10 passim.

<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the figures given by L. Fison and A.W. Howitt, 172—176. Since that time Fijian conditions have changed. Namely, per 100 females the number of males has been as follows:

	1879	1881	1891
Amongst children . . . . .	122	128	113
„ youth . . . . .	126	145	170
„ adults . . . . .	103	95	104
„ aged persons . . . . .	92	93	91

*Fiji Report*, App. IV, 117. In 1879 the native labourers (nothing is said about their racial descent) were not included in the above figures, they were estimated then at about 3,000. In 1881 and 1891 they were included and so they exaggerated the relative number of males amongst Fijian youth.



We shall not add evidence from other parts of the globe. But we must make one reservation with regard to the figures already given: namely, that the numerical relation of the sexes to one another was in some cases exaggerated owing to the early age at which the girls married; a girl was a wife at an age, when boys would still be considered as too young for marriage and hence not included amongst the adults. Some commissioners of Indian Affairs in their reports have sometimes reckoned girls over fourteen as adults, but youths only from the age of eighteen.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this, the proportion of boys in the young generation is too high and in the same way the number of women among the adults is exaggerated. This circumstance is most excellently brought out into relief by statistics with regard to age in the Ahtena. The Census of 1839 found there among the children 181.6 boys per 100 girls, and among the adults 92.7 men per 100 women.<sup>2</sup> If we arrange the population of this tribe (given by Cox Ross for 1812—'18) according to the same categories, we should receive respectively 148.8 and 77.6.<sup>3</sup> But in this second case, i. e., in the years 1812—'18, a distinction was made among the children by Cox Ross between little children and growing boys and girls: the proportion of the male sex to the female among children was as 107.5 to 100, and amongst growing children 182.0 to 100. Here, in this middle category, the results of early marriage placing many growing girls in the adult class become evident. And it is just to such a factor that a great deal of the too accentuated difference in the proportion of one sex to another in the various age-groups may be sometimes ascribed.<sup>4</sup>

We have one reservation to make here.

Namely, we should not wish to leave the impression that the conditions in every tribe were as those described above. We have

<sup>1</sup> For instance, *I. Aff.* 1885, 264, 277, 290 and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, No. VIII (MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> Cox Ross 1832, 331.

<sup>4</sup> One more example. It results from the figures given by J. Anderson (*H. Y. Hind* 1863, II. 260, and G. M. Dawson: *Yukon*, 207 B), for the Athapascan population of the Mackenzie district, that amongst the children in 1858 there were 132.2 boys per 100 girls, amongst the youth 294.3 growing boys per 100 growing girls and amongst the married persons 88.9 men per 100 women: in the whole tribe, there were 2,035 women and 2,574 men, and amongst these the intermediate generation of growing youth had 574 boys to 195 girls. The girls getting married early, found their place in the adult generation whilst the male youths remained in the generation behind though possibly just the same age.

so far only considered tribal customs at the higher stages of hunting culture: tribes at these stages are by no means very populous. A few thousand individuals fix the upper limit. But that circumstance leads to the results appropriate to it: the smaller the size of the community the more intensive is the action of that indefinite factor which in the theory of large numbers goes by the name of chance. Hence, in view of the very small number of individuals in tribes at these stages of culture, deviations from the above ratios between the sexes are not only possible but even unavoidable. These deviations should be frequent phenomena especially with peoples led away from their former way of life, yet more particularly among the survivors of broken-up tribes. We can quote a striking example of the conditions which existed in this respect about 1860 among the northern tribes of the South American Pampas. These tribes were constantly attacked by the Gauchos: the married women, having no homes and seeing themselves every moment in danger of being captured by the Argentines, abandoned their husbands and fled into Araucania. Among the Pampeans, as a result, there was not more than one woman to four or five men; among the Araucanians, on the contrary, some of the men had five or six wives.<sup>1</sup> Such deviations must have existed, and that of necessity, in the former, normal life of tribes, especially where too numerous and too heavy duties were imposed upon the women, when they sought refuge in abortion or in infanticide. Such deviations are, as we may say, regular irregularities, inseparable when considering small numbers. Even in Europe the excess of new-born males over new-born females is only evident when we refer to large numbers. For in some cases, we have found in smaller parishes or towns, in Poland, an excess, in some years, of female new-born infants over male ones. It is with such deviations that we have to deal in North America, for instance in some Athapascan tribes: among the Takulli in 1835 the number of boys to girls was as 125 to 100, but the number of grown men to grown women was as 130 to 100.<sup>2</sup> It was as if amongst the Takulli there was active a social selection causing the quicker dying-out of the women especially, perhaps owing to the onerous duties imposed upon them.

<sup>1</sup> A. Guinnard, 121—122.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Anderson, 76.

There are authors who fully confirm the action of such selection in the North, and its highly unfavourable effects upon the longevity of the women. B. Ross<sup>1</sup> even states that amongst the eastern Tinnéh there are more girls born than boys and rather considers this as a necessary tendency of nature in that race, for the women live there, generally speaking, shorter than the men and, in particular, mortality is much greater amongst the girls than amongst the boys. But according to some writers, the deviations among the Athapascans, consisting in an excess of males over females in every age-group, have a simpler explanation: amongst the Loucheux, the numerical preponderance of men over women is said to be the result of the custom of murdering female infants<sup>2</sup> — an argument frequently met with. This explanation is, however, by no means so simple as it might seem to be. The murdering of girls, going so far as to produce such results, leads, e. g., among the Toda to conditions in which openly or occasionally the woman must have sexual intercourse with several men. This circumstance is not without its influence upon her fertility and perhaps even on the sex of the children, for a child of the male sex is apparently a “less expensive” product of the maternal organism than one of the female sex. It should also be borne in mind, that the woman in the North is not only burdened down by heavy duties but is also subject to seasonal lack of sustenance. And this circumstance may perhaps affect the sex of her offspring. Thus, such a permanent excess of persons of the male sex has perhaps deeper reasons than might superficially appear.<sup>3</sup> Without going farther into this question, we shall content ourselves by stating that amongst some peoples, living in a difficult and harsh environment, a tendency appears to

<sup>1</sup> B. Ross, *Smths.* 1866, 305.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Kirby, in *Smths.* 1864, 418; cf. W. L. Hardisty, *ib.* 1866, 312. The excess of men over women is evident in J. Work's statistics of tribes on the Pacific coast. But all his figures, which are always round ones, are of very doubtful value. However, as regards the peoples in Alaska the excess of males is confirmed by Douglas (J. Petroff, 37) in 1839: there were 1,238 boys and 1,201 girls, 2,125 adult men and 1,996 adult women (besides male and female slaves).

<sup>3</sup> The Toda are a people which affords an excellent example of such conditions. Among the Toda in 1873 there were 132 men per 100 women, W. E. Marshall, 96—97; there were 159.7 men per 100 women in 1838, 140.6 (?) in 1871; 130.4 in 1881; 135.9 in 1891; 132.2 in 1902. W. H. R. Rivers 1906, 469, 472—473, 477—478, 518, and this surplus is repeated in every age-group, *ib.* 469. It is usually explained by the murder of female infants. (Whilst on the subject it would be well to mention that there is an excess of men among many mountain peoples. In the Caucasus Mountains, in Swanetia,



exist for a larger percentage of boys to be born than girls and that there the action of selection among the adults likewise works against the women. It is possible that just as the dying-out of the adult men is an integral feature of barbarian military democracy, so the dying-out of the adult women is closely connected with the heavy duties and insufficient nourishment of some savage peoples. Naturally, a continually active selection of the last-mentioned kind does not presage a future favourable development. Such a tribe may only in the best eventuality merely vegetate without any chance of increasing its numbers.

Our previous remarks have referred to peoples at the higher stages of hunting culture. (We shall not consider polygynous peoples of still higher, agricultural culture, such as the Negroes. But this subject deserves closer examination. N.W. Thomas states that amongst the Timne in genealogies there were 61 and in the census 70 female births per 100 male births, and males surviving to females surviving were in the ratios of 100 to 55.6 and 100 to 64;<sup>1</sup> that among the Ibo, where out of a total of nearly 5,000 new-born babies there were 51<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> male and 49<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> female births, the sex ratio varying with the number of wives, men with one wife have a small excess of female children, whilst those with five, six and seven wives have three male to two female children.)<sup>2</sup> We have to see to what extent the ratio referred to above may be found amongst peoples in a state of savagery and, in the first place, amongst the Australians. The first question which comes up for consideration is how far the general principle, found to exist in Europe, of the preponderance of males over females among new-born babies and of a decrease of that preponderance with the years until in old age the women preponderate, applies to the Australians. G. Grey found amongst 222 new-born children, about 138 boys per 100 girls.<sup>3</sup>

the ratio of men to women is as six to five, M. Kovalevsky 1890, II. 7. A preponderance of men exists in the Khami and their neighbours, E. Riebeck, III (Anthropologisches), 2. But not having more abundant material available, we fear to draw a general conclusion from these statements and to consider that excess as characteristic of all mountain peoples).

<sup>1</sup> N.W. Thomas: *Sierra Leone*, I. 15.

<sup>2</sup> However, in Sierra Leone the same proportion (i. e., probably 51 male births to 49 female births) is found irrespective of the number of wives, N.W. Thomas, in *Man*, XXIII (1923). 179.

<sup>3</sup> G. Grey, I. 251 (the inconsiderable number of children leaves a great margin to chance.)

However, all the authorities known to us note a decided preponderance of adult men over adult women in Australia. According to E. M. Curr, there was in every tribe when it first came into contact with the Whites, "a permanent excess" of men over women amounting to as much as two to one;<sup>1</sup> and it was only the Whites who, by dealing quickly and bloodily with the men, created an excess of women.<sup>2</sup> Ch. Sturt found in the tribe on Cooper's Creek that the number of female children greatly exceeded that of the male though there were more adult men than women.<sup>3</sup> But there are statements which place this matter in a more favourable light. For instance, P. Beveridge, noting the preponderance of men over women, declares that this exists not because more boys are born than girls — the sexes equal each other at birth — but because the mortality among the women after the age of puberty is attained is far greater than amongst the men: this is caused by many factors, the most important of which is early marriage (at eleven or twelve years of age) and the treatment of the wives by the men as if they were no more than cattle.<sup>4</sup> But it should be borne in mind that all these statements proceed from times when the presence of Europeans had already begun to affect the ancient way of life of the aborigines.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the state of affairs was different earlier, at least in very many tribes, for in any case the size of the Australian tribal community, which was smaller than with the Indians, was

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Condition and Prospects of the Austr. Abor.* 1846, 4 (and W. Westgarth, 704), states that in N. S. Wales the number of men as compared with that of women was as 1.18:1 among the children and as 1.55:1 among the adults.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, 76—77. There are facts showing that the decrease of women was more intense than that of men, at least in some districts: the number of women as against that of the men, fell off as soon the invasion of the Whites rose in intensity. There were in eleven returns in 1836 (731 males and 541 females) 130.4 men per 100 women among the adults and 144.1 in the younger generation; in 1837 in the same region (692 males and 463 females) the corresponding figures were 156.7 and 128.3, *Abor. Pr. Pap.* 1839, II. 69. However, the change is over-great for a one-year period, and hence we must be very cautious in our conclusions.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Sturt 1849, II. 136.

<sup>4</sup> P. Beveridge 1889, 15. There was among Australian natives no chivalrous endeavour on the part of the men to protect the women during the midnight massacres: the victims of these slaughters were most frequently females, P. Beveridge 1883, 22. But we doubt whether this circumstance might greatly influence the sex-ratio.

<sup>5</sup> Besides, at least in some tribes, there was a greater number of male children reared owing to infanticide, of which girls were more frequently the victims than boys, C. W. Schürmann, 224.

still more sensitive to the action of "chance."<sup>1</sup> It is most likely that matters stood so as such a scrupulous observer, as E.J. Eyre was in his time, relates,<sup>2</sup> that in Australia, on the Murray River, wherever the influence of the Whites had not yet reached, the numbers of the two sexes were equal, but with the growth and spread of this influence the men began to exceed the women in number.<sup>3</sup>

4. Age-groups in primitive society. Percentages of children and youth higher than in our civilization.

The composition of the primitive community is different from what it is in Europe not only as regards the numerical proportions of the sexes to each other at various ages.

It is also different when we consider it from the point of view of age in general.

As compared with our civilization "the centre of gravity" moves towards the lower age-groups.

Of course, the categories of older people are unfavourably influenced.

This movement of "the centre of gravity" towards the younger age-categories is evident especially amongst peoples inhabiting the warmer zone, hence those amongst whom physiological development is faster: maturity comes earlier (our growing girls would be married women there and even mothers), and of course, senility ensues

<sup>1</sup> K. L u m h o l t z 1892, 173, though for later times, states that in the basin of the Herbert R. and on the south-western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, there were more women than men, but among some tribes situated farther inland the contrary was the case.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. E y r e, II. 417, 419. This author has accurately kept a list of all natives who attended the periodical issues of flour. He has tabulated 2,156 men and 1,881 women. There were 92.1 men per 100 women among the adults and 168.7 in the young generation. But there were some lacks in the list. Namely, some girls having assumed the duties of women were classed as such at an age when males would still be considered as only boys. Besides, more distant tribes frequently left behind a greater number of girls, as also younger wives and little children at home with aged relatives.

<sup>3</sup> Some figures: among the Wonunda Meening, at the moment of their first contact with the Whites, there were more lads than girls, the sexes were about equal in number amongst the children and equal amongst the adults, E. M. C u r r, I. 395. According to Labillardière, II. 32, 49 (about 1791—'93) in two Tasmanian bands there were 77.2 men per 100 women among the adults. But the total number (90 souls) was too small to permit any general conclusions.



earlier. And anyhow, when we come to the composition of the population as regards age, differences appear even in Europe among advanced countries such as France, England and Germany and more backward countries such as Russia and Bulgaria (in Table XXI we give data for those age-groups which are necessary to us for the development of our arguments).

Table XXI.

## Age-composition of some European countries

Age-groups	France <sup>1</sup> (1911)	England <sup>1</sup> and Wales (1911)	Germany <sup>2</sup> (1910)	European <sup>3</sup> Russia (excluding Poland) (1897)	Bulgaria <sup>4</sup> (1905)
Under 10 years	17.3 0/0	21.0 0/0	23.4 0/0	27.2 0/0	27.7 0/0
10—15 years	8.4 0/0	9.7 0/0	10.6 0/0	11.3 0/0	11.6 0/0
15—20 „	8.1 0/0	9.3 0/0	9.7 0/0	10.1 0/0	10.3 0/0
20—30 „	15.8 0/0	17.3 0/0	16.4 0/0	15.7 0/0	15.5 0/0
30—40 „	14.8 0/0	15.2 0/0	13.9 0/0	12.3 0/0	11.1 0/0
40—50 „	12.7 0/0	11.5 0/0	10.5 0/0	9.6 0/0	8.1 0/0
50 and over	22.9 0/0	16.0 0/0	15.5 0/0	13.8 0/0	15.7 0/0

The same differences as between the east and west of Europe are seen in the United States when we compare the age-composition of the population in the White, Black and Indian races. We shall also quote data on the age-composition of the population amongst the Negroes of Nigeria and the Bantu in the South African Union, and among the Indians of the Xingu basin (Table XXII).

And thus in the United States in comparison with the Whites, the Blacks and especially the Indians have a considerably larger percentage of children and youth and a somewhat smaller percentage of people over the age of fifty. But this percentage of persons of more advanced age among the Indians is characteristic of modern times, caused by the transition from the former warlike

<sup>1</sup> *A. I. Stat.*, I (1916). 111.

<sup>2</sup> *A. I. Stat.*, I (1916). 104.

<sup>3</sup> According to figures of the first general census of Russia in 1897: *Общій сводъ*, I (1905). 56—58.

<sup>4</sup> *A. I. Stat.*, I (1916). 108.

Table XXII.

## Age-composition among Indians and Blacks

Age-groups	United States <sup>1</sup> (1910)			Indians of Xingu basin <sup>2</sup>	South African Bantu <sup>3</sup> (1921)	South Nigeria <sup>4</sup>	North Nigeria <sup>4</sup>
	Whites	Blacks	Indians				
0—10 years	21.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	25.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	29.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	31.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	41.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	40.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	37.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
10—15 „	9.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	11.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	11.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	24.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>			
15—20 „	9.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	10.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	10.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	19.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>			
20—30 „	18.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	19.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	15.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	11.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	50.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	59.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	62.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
30—40 „	14.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	13.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	11.3 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	13.3 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>			
40—50 „	10.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	8.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	8.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>				
50 and over	14.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	10.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	14.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>		8.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—

customs to more peaceful ones.<sup>5</sup> A complete change has come to pass in this respect. It suffices to compare the figures for the Blacks in the United States and in Africa, or for the Indians in the United States and the Brazilian Indians, to perceive the considerable differences between two groups, in each case of the same race, the source of which is to be found especially in the change in the conditions of existence. Both amongst the African Negroes and amongst the Brazilian Indians the percentage of children is greater than with their kinsmen in the United States, but that of persons over fifty is smaller. We shall not take the African Negroes into consideration. They are the representatives of a higher stage of culture than that with which we are concerned in this book, namely of a stage in which the population has already begun to increase steadily and even, if conditions take a favourable form, increases at a great rate; moreover, the Blacks of the South

<sup>1</sup> *Census XIII: Abstract* (Wash. 1914), 123; the figures in the columns if totalled do not yield the full 100<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, since the age of some persons was not given.

<sup>2</sup> K. R. R a n k e, 125—126.

<sup>3</sup> *Aperçu demogr.* 1925, 195, 165.

<sup>4</sup> P. A. T a l b o t 1926, IV. 145.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, we should seek in vain among the Indians in 1910 for the great discrepancies in number between the two sexes which we reviewed in our analysis and which were the result of conditions where the warlike impulse had full play. In *Census XIII: Abstract*, 122, for 265,683 Indians in all five-year groups from birth to seventy years of age we find some surplus of males over females. The latter are more numerous only after seventy years of age.

African Union and of Nigeria have been induced or forced to live peacefully and abandon their former mode of life, which resounded with the clash of weapons. There remain the Brazilian Indians. These, too, live in other conditions than their grandfathers: the mere fact that it was possible to conduct fairly systematic statistical investigations among them shows that we are far from the former mode of life, in other words, that the peaceful atmosphere, inseparable in this case from the white civilization, has exerted its influence on them. Unfortunately, these Indians are the only race of hunting, or more correctly, hunting-agricultural culture, concerning which we have detailed material. We have no other figures of equal value as regards various stages of primitive hunting culture. And yet, in spite of the fact that the materials are of extremely doubtful value, we are convinced that the conclusion based on them is quite correct, viz., that amongst primitive peoples who have not been led out of their ancient way of life, children form a larger percentage of the population than is the case in our civilization (at least in the more advanced countries) and that the percentage of the aged is considerably smaller. Still, there are old folk even among the natives of Australia. E. M. Curr asserts there are old people of sixty and even of eighty and ninety years of age.<sup>1</sup> Tom Petrie, a trustworthy writer, states that the aborigines in Queensland used to live in many cases to seventy and eighty years of age.<sup>2</sup> According to J. Mathew,<sup>3</sup> "it would appear that former generations were fairly long-aged; almost every small community would have in it two or three men or women over seventy years of age, and here and there some centenarians would be met with." Unfortunately, we have doubts as to these figures. For even old peasants in Eastern Europe do not always quite know their age and it is the more difficult to believe information of this kind from a people who have no names for the figures which should signify so advanced an age, or to put faith in the impressions of colonists who seldom have a trustworthy basis for their assertions. But our doubts are concerned with the ages given and not with

<sup>1</sup> 50—60 years of age, E. M. Curr, II. 471; 60 years, *ib.*, III. 252; 70—80 years, *ib.*, I. 250—251, 336; II. 143, 190; III. 122, 544; 90 years, *ib.*, II. 402, 408; III. 70, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Tom Petrie, 36.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mathew 1899, 92.



the fact itself that old folk existed in Australia, white-haired and sometimes blind with age.<sup>1</sup> Yet there are also other statements, viz., "with all his physical strength the Australian savage is but a short-living being — it is extremely rare for a black man to attain the age of fifty. The women age at a very early period of life".<sup>2</sup> Or, "it being questionable whether any one of them (i. e., the Australians), in their natural state, attains the age of fifty years... By getting the approximate ages of persons at the time of the occurrence of events of which the dates were known to me, I conclude that a man about forty years of age is an old man with decrepitude fast stealing on him."<sup>3</sup> Such statements as above perhaps could be explained as referring to the results of the disastrous influences of the White invasion — "the generation born after contact with white people (is), on the whole, very short-lived... from numerous instances it would appear that former generations were fairly long-aged."<sup>4</sup> Generally speaking old men were rare. But "the period of old age must be as happy as any other time in the life of savage, if not more so. Aged men are always treated with great respect, they rarely take a part in any prey, they are privileged to eat certain kinds of food, which the young men may not touch."<sup>5</sup> The hard experience through which the natives went in infancy and childhood, as well as the difficult circumstances with which they had to contend in the course of their lives, removed the feeble and incapable, hardened the remainder, and left, as a final result, in advanced years, healthy, lively specimens.<sup>6</sup>

The children prevailed! They were a large part of the population. As to this great number of children among North American Indians there is evidence from a comparatively early date. In 1724, reference was made to a settlement of the Padoucas (Comanche): it contained 140 huts and had 800 warriors, 1,500 women and 2,000 children, i. e., the children composed about 46.5% of

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, II. 402, 408.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. Calvert, 30. Cf. P. Beveridge, 50.

<sup>3</sup> A. Oldfield, 242.

<sup>4</sup> J. Mathew 1899, 92.

<sup>5</sup> G. Grey, II. 248.

<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Veddas, according to the figures given by J. Bailey, 296, in the Bintenne district 5.2% of the population were over fifty, in the Nilgila district 12.5%. Even in the North, among the Innuits of Labrador, there are said to be old men who have reached the age of sixty and even seventy, L. M. Turner, in *Can. R. I.*, V. 106.

the whole population.<sup>1</sup> And when at about the same time, the chief of the Kansa visited the White men and brought with him the women and older children, the children constituted 45<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the party.<sup>2</sup> In 1778, the Tawehash are said to have numbered more than eight hundred men and youths, whilst the number of children of the both sexes and of women was very large<sup>3</sup> — we gain the impression that it was considerably larger than that of the men. All these tribes were then in a period of relative prosperity which had not yet been undermined by the White invasion. It is true that the figures given for men, women and children are round numbers; thus, growing boys among the Padoucas and Kansa were probably counted with the children, but even so, the percentage is very high, higher than in countries of European culture. That the figures themselves are probably far from exact does not lessen their value: at any rate, the persons who left these descriptions, got such an impression from intercourse with the Indians and hence we may trust the information received in this case. And such impressions we have from still earlier dates. Relations of Jesuits, referring to the Cayuga in 1672, noted that this tribe was then estimated to number more than three hundred warriors, and a “prodigious number of little children”.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of the XVIII century, the Huma were said not to have probably exceeded three hundred and fifty warriors, but there were “beaucoup d’enfants.”<sup>5</sup> Similarly, not giving full credence to the figures quoted for the Winnebago in 1812 and 1820 to the effect that children composed 80.0<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and 62.1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the tribal population,<sup>6</sup> nor to the corresponding figure of 61.5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in 1820 in the case of the Menominee,<sup>7</sup> we can nevertheless affirm with certainty that these tribes were very well endowed with children. Unfortunately, outside the North American continent we have no such evidence at our disposal. At most we have very vague information about the Australian aborigines, information which dates from the XIX

<sup>1</sup> de Bourgmont, in P. Margry, VI. 446; du Pratz III. 212

<sup>2</sup> du Pratz, III. 163.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mezières, II. 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Jes. Rel.*, LVI. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Iberville, in P. Margry, IV. 177.

<sup>6</sup> J. Morse, App. 51.

<sup>7</sup> J. Morse, App. 59.

century, that the native camps swarmed with children.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the primitive peoples, at least the North American Indians and probably the savage Australians, had amongst them a considerable percentage of children, partly owing to the fact that adult men for the most part died early, or because, in general, very few persons reached old age. It is only amongst peoples whose ancient way of living has been cut off, that both children and unmarried persons form a strikingly smaller group in the tribe.<sup>2</sup> Even amongst primitive peoples who have already come within the sphere of influence of our civilization, without that influence being so intense as to transform them into absolutely demoralized wrecks, the percentage of children is still a considerable one. With regard to this we could quote abundant but far from exact data. This material disappoints in the first place by the lack of clear definition as to what the authorities in question meant by the term "children". Yet it is obviously possible considerably to extend or contract the meaning of the term. As a rule this term is used in its wider meaning: for instance, in one case, growing boys aged sixteen were reckoned among the children but not girls of that age, for they had often already become married women. W. H. Keating<sup>3</sup> states that the Dakota reckoned the youths as men while they were yet very young: probably every youth of about sixteen was already looked upon as a warrior. Commissioners for Indian Affairs, too, in so far as they take into account in their reports the age of the Indian population, sometimes include males under eighteen and females under fourteen among the children: all those are adults who, according to their sex, are, respectively eighteen or fourteen years of age or over.<sup>4</sup> We may presume that also in other such returns, a category which includes persons of the male sex having 14—16 years of age is covered by the general term

<sup>1</sup> P. E. Strzelecki, 254—255.

<sup>2</sup> Australian examples illustrate this excellently. In the Larrakia tribe, which, in spite of the White invasion did not decrease in numbers, the adults formed 44<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> and the children 56<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> (E. M. Curr, I. 251). On the other hand, in six tribes strongly affected by the incursion of the Whites, the adults were about 76<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the population, and the children about 24<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> (the above is based on Curr's figures, II. 189 (Barkundji), 256 (Narrinyeri), 306 (Karrandie), 360 (Yanda); III. 45 (Mackay Port), 79 (Barcoo R.).

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Keating, I. 382.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, in *I. Aff.* 1885 and 1890; we give these two years as examples. In H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 468—508, males up to 18 years of age and females up to 16 years of age were considered as children.



"children". In any event, we will not take into account cases which are open to too great doubt in this respect, nor as regards the North American Indians, returns after the years 1860—'70, for, even though they may give the ages of the population with more exactitude, they are for too late a date. In Table XXIII we give percentage data on children regarding which there is a greater degree of reliability; moreover, for purposes of comparison, we quote the corresponding percentages for Russia in 1897 (Russia having been a state which is distinguished in Europe as having one of the highest percentages of children) as also for Germany, which occupied an intermediate position in that respect.

Table XXIII.

Percentage of children among primitive peoples  
(compared to Germany and Russia)

I. Children twelve years old and younger:

Germany (1910) . . . . .	29.8 %
Russia (in Europe) (1897) . . . . .	33.6 %
Wonunda Meening (Australia) (time of first White settlers) <sup>1</sup>	50.0 %
Maneroo district (Australia) (1842) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	26.2 %
(1846) . . . . .	28.2 %
Some Cowichan tribes (1839) <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	33.4 %
15 tribes (chiefly in Fort Nisqually district) (1839) <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	33.6 %
Tlingit tribes (1839) <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	31.2 %
Milbank Sound tribes (1839) <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	30.3 %

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 395 (besides, there were 12.5% of youth of both sexes, and 37.5% of adult persons. These percentages afford ground for doubt as to the accuracy of the figure given in the text). *Report on the Conditions, Capabilities and Prospects of the Austr. Abor.*, Melbourne 1846, 4 (and W. Westgarth, 704) estimate the number of children, probably under twelve years of age, in several districts of N. S. Wales and Victoria at 31.2% of the total population (the population of individual tribes is given in a table, which shows distinctly that some tribes were in a state of decay).

<sup>2</sup> J. Lambie, in *Au. Rec.*, XXI. 744, XXII. 650, XXIII. 492, XXIV. 270, XXV. 14, gives the population of the Maneroo district, showing age and sex, but here, too, the figures already indicate the beginning of decay.

<sup>3</sup> Warre and Vavasour, 9 (tribes Nos. 9—13).

<sup>4</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, No. XIII. It is true that we have no certainty that the census refers to children of up to 12 years of age, but we take it to be so on the basis of analogy with the other tribes returned in the same census and given in a preceding foot-note. The percentage we obtain shows that we are right.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488; P. Kane, 222—223. But Douglas (I. Petroff, 36) found as much as 37.2% in the same year. This contradiction may perhaps be explained not only by a different arrangement of age-groups, but also by a severe epidemic of small-pox which at that time was raging among the Tlingit. But further, the doubt arises if the percentage given applies also to children under twelve years of age.

<sup>6</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489. P. Kane, 222. For doubts as regards the age, see preceding two foot-notes.

II. Children up to about eighteen years of age for the boys and sixteen for the girls:

- |    |   |       |
|----|---|-------|
| 1. | Germany (1910): boys up to 18 years of age inclusive,<br>girls up to 14 . . . . .                                       | 37.9% |
|    | Germany (1910): boys up to 18 years of age inclusive, girls<br>up to 16 . . . . .                                       | 39.9% |
|    | European Russia excluding Poland (1897): boys up to 18<br>years of age inclusive, girls up to 14 years of age inclusive | 41.9% |
|    | European Russia excluding Poland (1897): boys up to 18<br>years of age inclusive, girls up to 16 years of age inclusive | 43.8% |
| 2. | Tasmanians (1791—1793) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .   | 56.6% |
|    | Australians: Larrakia tribe (about 1880) <sup>2</sup> { children . . . . .  | 26.0% |
|    | youth . . . . .   | 30.0% |
|    | Veddás of Nilgila Bintenue districts (about 1860): <sup>3</sup> children  | 40.7% |
|    | Yakgans of Tierra del Fuego (1884): <sup>4</sup> under 17 years of age  | 35.8% |
|    | or  | 41.3% |
| 3. | Greenland Eskimo (1921): <sup>5</sup> boys up to 18 and girls up to<br>14 inclusive . . . . .                           | 46.0% |
|    | Hudson Bay Eskimo (before 1900) <sup>6</sup> . . . . .  | 42.8% |
| 4. | Ahtena, Naskotin, Tautin (1812—1818) <sup>7</sup> { children . . . . .  | 16.6% |
|    | youth . . . . .   | 27.2% |
|    | Ahtena (1886) <sup>8</sup> . . . . .  | 38.2% |
|    | Takulli (1839): <sup>9</sup> sons and daughters . . . . .   | 39.6% |

<sup>1</sup> Labillardière, II, 32, 49 (two bands, 90 souls in all: among the children, there were several girls who had arrived at the age of puberty).

<sup>2</sup> E. M. C u r r, I. 251 (The Larakia are said to have shown no decrease in number at the time when the information about them was collected). At the Moorundee issues, E. J. E y r e, II. 375-376, found that there were 35.9% children (930 boys, 551 girls and only 52 infants) in the total population. These figures might arise in some degree from girls assuming the duties of women and being classed as such at an age when males would still be only considered as boys: the principal reason, however, must be ascribed to a greater number of girls left behind by the more distant tribes.

<sup>3</sup> In the Bintenne district there were 133 children in a population of 308; in Nilgala, 22 in a population of 72, J. B a i l e y, 296.

<sup>4</sup> There were 358 children and besides 55 orphans in a population numbering about a thousand. We get two figures for the percentage of children depending whether we count the orphans or not, Th. Bridges, 223. In J. Weddell 1827, 184, there are few figures: in the total population of a band (80 persons) which Weddell met with by chance, 32.5% were children and young folk.

<sup>5</sup> On the basis of figures in *Aperçu démogr.* 1925, 153.

<sup>6</sup> Fr. B o a s 1901, 7. But among the Central Eskimo Fr. B o a s 1884-'85, 426, found, after a diphtheria epidemic, only 29.80/0.

<sup>7</sup> R o s s C o x: *Adventures*, 331.

<sup>8</sup> H. T. Allen, in *Smiths* 1886, I. 259.

<sup>9</sup> The census of 1839 in A. C. Anderson, 76. The category of "sons and daughters" is repeated in the census of 1839 for many tribes — a very indefinite term. It may be that grown-up sons and daughters up to the time of marriage are here included. In New Caledonia, however, unmarried sons engaged in hunting were reckoned amongst the adults (MSS. of this census).

Athapascan tribes of New Caledonia (1839): <sup>1</sup> sons and daughters	43.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Athapascan tribes of the Mackenzie district (1858) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	42.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
5. Kaigani and Haida (1839) <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	48.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Chimmesyan tribes (1839): <sup>4</sup> boys and girls . . . . .	36.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
29 Kwakiutl tribes (1839): <sup>5</sup> boys and girls . . . . .	57.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
24 Cowichan and Clallam tribes (1839): <sup>6</sup> sons and daughters	53.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
6. Indian tribes, chiefly of the North American plains;	
Padoucas (Comanche, 1724) <sup>7</sup> . . . . . at least	46.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Kanza (at the beginning of the XVIII century) <sup>8</sup> . . . . .	45.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Kanza, Osage, Pawnee (1811) <sup>9</sup> . . . . .	30.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Dakota (1811) <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	53.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Sauk, Fox, Iowa (1811) <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	49.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Winnebago, Menominee (1811) <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	51.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Chippewa (1811) <sup>10</sup> . . . . .	52.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Menominee (1820) <sup>11</sup> . . . . .	61.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub> (?)
Winnebago (1820) <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	62.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub> (?)
Mdewakanton (1839) <sup>13</sup> . . . . .	46.3 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Six Nations in Canada (1842): <sup>14</sup> children of 0—15 years . . . .	41.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Chippewa, Potawatomi and Ottawa in Canada (1842): <sup>14</sup> children of 0—15 years	41.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

<sup>1</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, Nos. I—VIII. These Indians are referred to in Warre and Vavasour, 9, as No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The census of 1858 in H. Y. Hind 1863, II. 260, and in G. M. Dawson 1887, 206B—207B.

<sup>3</sup> P. Kane, 223—224 (Kygarney and Queen Charlotte Island), H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489; G. M. Dawson 1878—'79, 173B.

<sup>4</sup> P. Kane, 221—222 (Nass Indians, Skeena Indians and Chimsyans), H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 487.

<sup>5</sup> P. Kane, 224—225, H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488. They are inserted in Warre and Vavasour, 9, as No. 1. The figures are somewhat different in the MSS of the *HBC. Ind. Census* of 1839, No. XIV and in the printed copy, but the differences in the percentages are minute. The figures for the population are themselves given in round numbers and are very questionable, whilst the percentage found for the children is no doubt very far from the actual state of things and is excessively large. Just that very largeness is significant; the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, estimating by what they saw and having daily intercourse with the population, saw so many children that they did not hesitate to set down figures for them which in the final result yielded a high percentage.

<sup>6</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, No. XII; the census was carefully taken in every household. The percentage is large, probably because growing, but unmarried sons were included. In Warre and Vavasour, 9, these tribes are classified as No. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Bourgmont, in P. Margry, VI. 446, du Pratz, III, 212.

<sup>8</sup> du Pratz, III. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Z. M. Pike, 258.

<sup>10</sup> Z. M. Pike, 136.

<sup>11</sup> J. Morse, App. 51.

<sup>12</sup> J. Morse, App. 59 (children among the Winnebago in 1812 are said to have even numbered 80.0<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>: this figure is doubtful, if it was not a result of exceptional conditions).

<sup>13</sup> L. Taliaferro, in *I. Aff.* 1839, 494.

<sup>14</sup> *Can. Returns of Indians* 1832 (MSS).



Chippewa (Pillagers and Mississippi bands) (1864) <sup>1</sup>	40.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Blackfeet (1858) <sup>2</sup>	45.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
7. Agricultural Indians of South America: boys up to 14 years of age, girls up to 12 years;	
Moxos (1831) <sup>3</sup>	45.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Chiquitos (1830) <sup>3</sup>	38.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
(of which, children under 3 years)	26.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
8. Melanesia	
Tamara Island (about 1900) <sup>4</sup>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle; margin-right: 5px;">{</div> <div> <div>children</div> <div>young people</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div>36.7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub></div> <div>14.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub></div> </div>
Kuni tribe (New Guinea) (about 1909) <sup>5</sup>	40.9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Lamassa (New Guinea) (about 1909) <sup>6</sup>	43.9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Hill district of Viti Levu Island <sup>7</sup> (in general)	35.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
a) A tribe after war in which supported the English	31.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
b) A tribe after war in which was against the English	32.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Impossible to state even approximately the age of the persons included in the category of children:	
Yamasse (1715): <sup>7</sup> boys and girls	37.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Apalachicola (1715): <sup>8</sup> boys and girls	36.9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Creek (1715): <sup>9</sup> boys and girls	38.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Cherokee (1715): <sup>10</sup> boys and girls	32.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Cherokee (1721) <sup>11</sup>	31.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

We give data regarding the Indians only as far as 1858 although in later years the returns were more often made, and, of course, increasingly exact information about the number of children was furnished. But the Indian tribes in the second half

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Morrill, in *I. Aff.* 1864, 560—561.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Vaughan, in *I. Aff.* 1858, 432; *ib.*, 1860, 308.

<sup>3</sup> D'Orbigny, 38-39.

<sup>4</sup> R. Parkinson, in *I. A. E.*, XIII (1900), 23,

<sup>5</sup> V. M. E g i d i, in *Anthropos*, IV (1909), 402.

<sup>6</sup> E. Stephen, in Fr. Graebner, 18.

<sup>7</sup> L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 172—173.

<sup>8</sup> W. J. Rivers 1874, 94.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the Ochesee, Talapoosa, Abihka and Alibamu, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94.

<sup>10</sup> W. J. Rivers 1874, 94: the figures for the Cherokee, on the basis of which we calculated the percentage of children, are round figures and do not arouse confidence. Rivers also mentions the Apalache and Shawnee (Savanos) — the percentage, of children in these two tribes was respectively 18.8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and 21.4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, that of women was 38.0 and 49.8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. We do not doubt the reliability of these figures, but the tribes in question were undoubtedly in an exceptional situation, and for that reason we have omitted them in the text.

<sup>11</sup> Census of 1721, given by B. Fernow, 273—275.

of the XIX century were much reduced in numbers and had been moreover forced to abandon their old mode of life. (However, we could quote more than one example of striking convergence of the percentage figures: the differences in the figures in question are only trifling and we believe that they might be studied to advantage.)<sup>1</sup> Whatever doubt we may have as to every one of the figures in Table XXIII separately, as a whole they clearly show that the percentage of children in the total population at lower stages of culture is in no wise smaller than that which we find existing in European countries, and even in those which had, in this respect, the highest percentages. Sometimes the figures we find even exceed the highest European percentages. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. It is true that we have collected data for but a small number of tribes and hence the doubt arises whether we may make such far-reaching generalizations on the basis of the material amassed. Yet it seems to us that this tendency (i. e., towards large percentages of children among peoples at a lower stage of culture) is general, in so far as we have not to do with dying-out peoples. (It should be noted that we do not concern ourselves with the shaping of the percentages at lower stages of culture depending on the climate, the more so as we have absolutely no data which would enable us properly to ascertain what influences are exerted by the specific conditions of the torrid or temperate zones in this respect.) Moreover, the high percentages of children in the population characteristic of the earlier stages of civilization, and even of nations in contemporary Europe which are backward in their cultural development, are, as it were, a continuation of corresponding percentages which appear in lower phases of culture.<sup>2</sup> Deviations from this principle have more the nature of sporadic happenings,

<sup>1</sup> Whilst we should prefer not to use this material, yet as a matter of interest, we should quote one of these convergencies, comparative data for the Ahtena etc. (cited in Table XXIII) being also given:

	children	youth
Ahtena, Naskotin, Tautin (1812—1818) . . . . .	16.6%	27.2%
Moqui (1890) ( <i>Ind. Pop.</i> 1890, 183) . . . . . up to 6 years	14.4%	6—18 years 29.5%
19 pueblos (1890) ( <i>Ind. Pop.</i> 1890, 420) . . . . . „ „ 6 „	12.7%	6—18 „ 32.4%
Some Dakota bands (1885) ( <i>I. Aff.</i> 1885, 242) . „ „ 6 „	14.3%	up to 16 „ 26.4%

<sup>2</sup> As an example of the intermediate stages we cite the Namaqua. With them, younger children form 30.0% of the population, young people 10.6%, G. W. Stow, 253; among the Java population 51.5% are "children", J. Jacobs and J. J. Meijer, 46.

or of exceptional events, and they occur as a symptom of racial decline.<sup>1</sup>

But if we probe deeper — to the real nature of the facts — we must emphasize the great difference which exists on the one hand between the factors which raise the percentage of children in countries belonging to our civilization, but which are culturally backward, and, on the other, those which cause similar numerical results amongst peoples at a lower culture. In our civilization the considerable number of children born and reared per woman, has caused this high percentage. On the other hand, the number of children per woman at the lower stages of culture is smaller. It is true that the smaller number of older persons which is characteristic of lower culture, has its effect on the age-group composition of the population and increases the percentage of children. (For instance, among the Xingu Indians (Brazil), the average life of a tribesman is 17.6 years, i. e., the number of his days is but two-thirds of the average duration of life of a contemporary German.)<sup>2</sup> Thus it is that the percentage of persons of more advanced age is there comparatively smaller (and that of children larger) than in Germany or, in general, in Western European countries. But that circumstance is not sufficient to explain the percentages of children which we have quoted. There is another factor in action here. For example, let us take Greenland, a country the inhabitants of which, in the course of the XIX century, passed from the mode of life of the other Eskimo races to a level of culture and of custom considerably differing from it. Moreover, under the influence of the Whites, monogyny prevails to-day among them and in the ranks of the women between twenty and forty-four years of age (who numbered 18.2% of the population in 1921),<sup>3</sup> a certain percentage either has not married at all or has married at a later age than formerly was the custom, so that the ratio of married

<sup>1</sup> Even amongst the Toda, of whom it has long been said that they were dying out as the result of infanticide, at the beginning of the XX century 23.9% of the population were children under 11 years of age; 16.8% were young people aged from 11 to 20, W. H. R. Rivers 1906, 469. France might have, to a certain extent, envied these figures in 1911 and England did not exceed them.

<sup>2</sup> K. E. R a n k e, 129.

<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the figures in *Aperçu demogr.* 1925, 267, 480; *ib.* 1927, 125, 322..



women and of widows is only 13.3% of the population. This number of married women evoked in 1921, in spite of a death-rate of 38.8‰, an increase of 3.2‰ in the population of Greenland, the birth-rate being 42.0‰. In order to render such an annual increase of the population possible, each woman should, in the course of the twenty-five years of her fertility, give birth to 8.5 children. But when, in accordance with former custom, every mature girl was immediately married and, as a result of polygyny, there were no old maids and, *ipso facto*, the proportion of women giving birth to children was larger, a corresponding increase in the population could be attained if each woman gave birth to 6.2 children. In short, a relative abundance of children, in spite of the smaller average number of progeny borne per woman at the lower stages of culture, is explained by the fact that the percentage of adult women (in other words, married women and widows) is, in the primitive community, higher than in Europe.

5. Percentages of married women in primitive society. Fecundity of women not fully utilized. In spite of lesser number of children per woman, birth-rate higher.

Of course at the lower stages of culture so far considered the percentage of women who are in their period of fertility, i. e. married, is different from that which is characteristic of our civilisation: it is always higher.

Amongst the tribes of the South American Pampas, this high percentage of adult women was so striking that in the XVIII century it evoked from a missionary the declaration that, however small a party of men might be, there was always a great multitude of women with it.<sup>1</sup> We have quoted a few specially extreme examples of this in our work. Below we cite more figures concerning this subject (Table XXIV), and, in giving the percentage of adult women, we shall distinctly state, so far as our sources permit us to do so, their condition, whether married, widows, etc.

<sup>1</sup> M. Dobrizhoffer, II. 125, the author even uses the term: "an infinite multitude."

But even where women in general are mentioned, we must also understand that they are married women (or widows) — at the lower stages of culture, adult unmarried women are almost unknown. For instance, amongst the Central Eskimo in 1883, as against a hundred and two married women and fifteen widows we find only two unmarried women.<sup>1</sup> For purposes of comparison, we shall quote the percentage of women over seventeen years of age in Poland and in Germany as also the percentage of married women there (including widows and divorced women).

Table XXIV.

## Percentages of married women

## I. European nations.

1. Percentage of women 18 years of age and over:	
In former Galicia (South Poland) (1910) . . . . .	27.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ „ Congress Poland (Central Poland) . . . . .	28.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Poznań (West Poland) (1910) . . . . .	28.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Germany (1910) . . . . .	30.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
2. Percentage of married women (including wives, widows and divorced women):	
In former Galicia, 18 years of age and over (1910) . . . . .	20.9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ „ „ aged 18—44 years (1910) . . . . .	12.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Poznań . . . . .	20.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Germany, 18 years of age (1910) and over . . . . .	22.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
aged 18—44 years (1910) . . . . .	12.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

## II. Primitive peoples.

1. Yakgans (1883): <sup>2</sup> married women . . . . .	25.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
widows and spinsters . . . . .	6.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Larrakia (Australia) (about 1880): <sup>3</sup> women . . . . .	24.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Maneroo, females above 12 years of age: (1842) <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	29.2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
(1846) <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	28.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Tasmanians (1791—'93): <sup>6</sup> women . . . . .	24.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
2. Hudson Bay Eskimo (1901): <sup>7</sup> women . . . . .	32.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Central Eskimo: <sup>8</sup> married women . . . . .	31.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
widows . . . . .	4.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas 1884—'85, 426.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Bridges, 223: the Yakgans were a dying-out tribe.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, I. 251.

<sup>4</sup> J. Lambie, in *Au. Rec.*, XXXI (1924). 744.

<sup>5</sup> J. Lambie, in *Au. Rec.*, XXXV (1925). 14. The Maneroo Blacks were in 1842—'46 in a state of decline: the children were only about 26<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>—28<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the population.

<sup>6</sup> Labilliardièrè, II. 32, 49 (only two small parties are covered by this percentage).

<sup>7</sup> Based on Fr. Boas 1901, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Based on Fr. Boas 1884—'85, 426.

3. Ahtena, Naskotin and Tautin (1812—'18): <sup>1</sup>	married women	27.0 %
	widows . . . . .	3.1 %
Ahtena (1886): <sup>2</sup>	women . . . . .	26.7 %
Athapascan tribes of New Caledonia (1839): <sup>3</sup>	{ married women	27.6 %
	{ widows . . . . .	0.8 %
Athapascan tribes of the Mackenzie district (1858): <sup>4</sup>	{ married women . . . . .	21.7 %
	{ other women (not married) . . . . .	4.2 %
Takulli (1839): <sup>5</sup>	women . . . . .	26.2 %
4. Tlingit tribes (1839): <sup>6</sup>	women . . . . .	29.4 %
Kaigani and Haida (1839): <sup>6</sup>	women . . . . .	26.0 %
Chimmesyan tribes (1839): <sup>6</sup>	women . . . . .	29.9 %
5. Indians of Milbank Sound (1839): <sup>6</sup>	women . . . . .	34.0 %
29 Kwakiutl tribes (1839): <sup>7</sup>	women . . . . .	23.4 %
24 Cowichan and Clallam tribes (1839): <sup>8</sup>	wives . . . . .	27.5 %
15 tribes, mostly Nisqualli (1839): <sup>9</sup>	women . . . . .	33.7 %
Makah (1861—'63): <sup>10</sup>	women . . . . .	34.2—34.9 %
6. Indian tribes, chiefly of the Plains: women;		
Padoucas (Comanche, 1724) <sup>11</sup>	. . . . .	34.9 %
Kansa (at the beginning of the XVIII century) <sup>12</sup>	. . . . .	27.3 %
Kansa, Osage, Pawnee (1811) <sup>13</sup>	. . . . .	37.8 %
Sauk, Fox, Iowa (1811) <sup>14</sup>	. . . . .	27.5 %
Dakota (Sioux) (1811) <sup>14</sup>	. . . . . (?)	31.0 %
Chippewa (1811) <sup>14</sup>	. . . . .	28.4 %
Winnebago (1812) <sup>15</sup>	. . . . .	28.5 %
Winnebago (1820) <sup>15</sup>	. . . . .	22.4 %
Menominee (1820) <sup>16</sup>	. . . . .	23.0 %

<sup>1</sup> H. T. Allen, *Smiths*. 1886, I. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Cox Ross, 331.

<sup>3</sup> HBC. *Ind. Census* 1839, No. I—VIII.

<sup>4</sup> J. Anderson, quoted by H. Y. Hind 1863, II. 260; G. M. Dawson, 1887, 206B—207B.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. Anderson, 76.

<sup>6</sup> Based on P. Kane's figures, App. and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 289; Douglas (I. Petroff, 36) found 30.4%.

<sup>7</sup> HBC. *Ind. Census* 1889, No. XIV (followers are not counted). The value of the percentage given is doubtful, as the absolute figures are round numbers and the estimate was made without a census having been taken.

<sup>8</sup> HBC. *Ind. Census* 1839, No. XII (slaves not included).

<sup>9</sup> HBC. *Ind. Census* 1839, No. XIII (slaves not included).

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Swan 1870, 2—3 (two estimates, corresponding to two succeeding censuses). The tribe was in a state of decay.

<sup>11</sup> Bourgmont, in P. Margry, VI. 446; du Pratz, III. 212.

<sup>12</sup> Bourgmont, in du Pratz, III. 163.

<sup>13</sup> Z. M. Pike, 258.

<sup>14</sup> Z. M. Pike, 136.

<sup>15</sup> J. Morse, App., 59.

<sup>16</sup> J. Morse, App. 51.





It is true that the averages calculated on the ground of such heterogeneous and uncertain material as that collected in Table XXIV have no great value, but they may be of service when comparing the tendencies inherent in primitive culture on the one hand and in the conditions of our civilization on the other. On the basis of Table XXIV we get as an average for the number of women (married women and widows), 29.4% of the total population.<sup>1</sup> Thus the relative number of married women (and widows) differs there very little from the percentage of all women over seventeen years of age in the three pre-War divisions of Poland and in Germany. But these percentages, though identical, are very different from each other as regards their composition. In Poland and Germany, considering only women 18 years of age and over, the married ones constitute 16.6% to 17.9% and the widows (and divorced women) 3.5% to 4.1% of the total population. The remainder were unmarried women. In primitive society the whole of this body of women is formed of wives and widows (whilst the percentage of widows on the average differs but little from that in the European countries for which figures have been given, actually considerable differences exist in this respect between individual tribes). As a final result, the percentage of women who, in primitive society, enter into the bonds of matrimony and have or had the opportunity of leaving progeny, is approximately one and a half times as great as in Germany or in Poland. But such a quantitative comparison of percentages covering different stages of social evolution may be misleading. For the differences are not only quantitative but also qualitative, so far indeed that even if the percentages of married women were the same for primitive stages of culture as for modern civilization, their possible significance (i. e. the number of children born) would be of necessity different.

The most important factor to be considered is the age at which girls can marry.

Let us take a concrete example, namely the Xingu Indians. A girl there marries as a rule between thirteen and twenty years

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<sup>1</sup> Separating from others in Table XXIV those tribes in which married women are differentiated from widows, we find that in them the former are 25.3% and the latter 4.2% of the total population.

of age.<sup>1</sup> This means that there are in the tribe no or almost no unmarried women over the age of twenty. (In more temperate zones the age at marriage with primitive races is somewhat greater, but even there early marriage is likewise universal.) A woman becomes a wife comparatively early and there is every probability that her child-bearing capabilities will be taken advantage of during her youth. In our civilization a young woman must sometimes wait many years before she enters the bonds of matrimony. Her child-bearing possibilities are made use of comparatively late. It should be borne in mind that the average duration of life at lower stages of culture is shorter. Both this fact and that of early entrance of young women into matrimony are the cause of the category of young wives forming a much higher percentage of married women than in our civilization, whilst the percentage of older women, especially of elderly and aged women, is relatively small. Unfortunately, the exact composition of this percentage of married women as regards age is unknown. We can only refer to conjectures, which we shall base on the figures already calculated by us. We repeat them in this place with very strict reservations as to their value. On the basis of Table XXIV we have estimated the average percentage of adult women (wives, widows and divorcees) at approximately 29.4 %. From this percentage should be deducted the aged women, i.e. those past child-bearing age. These came to approximately 7 % of the whole population. The remaining 22.4 % represent women of child-bearing age, namely 16.2 % are women aged 15—29 years and 6.2 % aged 30—39 years.<sup>2</sup> Thus, if other factors (inherent at lower stages of culture) would not enter into play<sup>3</sup> and not keep down the number of children born, then the reproductive possibilities of even the same percentage should be greater at the stages of culture just discussed than in our civilization. In short, the child-bearing capabilities of young women are more fully taken advantage of in primitive society.

We must now consider more closely the question of the critical age at which a woman ceases to bear children.

<sup>1</sup> K. E. R a n k e, 129.

<sup>2</sup> These figures have been calculated on the basis of data covering the Xingu Indians (Table XXII) and the Fijians (p. 259), but with other figures also taken into account.

<sup>3</sup> Such factors exist: for instance, long suckling of infants and, with some peoples, obligatory connubial abstinence during that period.



The reasons for this may be of many kinds. A woman ceases to have children on account of the physiological disability caused by her age. But customs and social conditions may be such that they render it impossible for her to have any more children. Theoretically, a woman at lower stages of culture sometimes retains reproductive capability in full over a long period. Amongst the eastern Tinné she can bear children from the fourteenth to the forty-fifth year of her age.<sup>1</sup> However, in reality, she has few children and her possibilities as a bearer of children are not fully taken advantage of. This fact can be observed in various degrees on the whole scale of lower stages of culture. For that reason, we are not particularly concerned with the age at which the menopause ensues: in the case of primitive peoples we have very meagre and unreliable material as regards this point. A much more important question is what limits are fixed by social institutions and customs upon the bearing of children. Let us take the case of a relatively high stage, namely, the Monbuttu. A Monbuttu girl matures between her tenth and twelfth year. The critical period, according to some authorities, is between twenty-five and thirty. Other authorities state that, on the average, it is about the fortieth year.<sup>2</sup> These great differences in estimates as to the length of the period of child-bearing perhaps arise from confusing the results of the physiological crisis with those of social customs. Probably physical incapacity to bear comes on only about the fortieth year of life but, as a result of social customs, a woman ceases to have children when she is twenty-five to thirty years of age. And in our analysis we are not so much concerned with the determination of the period during which a woman is capable of child-bearing, as with its social equivalent, i. e., how far social custom renders possible a due use of the child-bearing capacities of women and how far they are wasted by enforced childlessness. This waste is especially inseparable from the constitution of the polygynous family. It sometimes occurs (or rather there is a general tendency towards this) that a girl is married very early and even, according to our European customs, prematurely. She has children at an age when she would still be looked upon amongst us as a "flapper" who has barely emerged from childhood. And when,

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<sup>1</sup> B. Ross, 305.

<sup>2</sup> Overbergh: *Mangbetu*, 586.

after a few years, her charms fade, in spite of the fact that she is still capable of child-bearing, she is deprived of the opportunity of becoming pregnant. Her husband renders her the honour due to the mother of his children, but often does not share her bed. A woman in Africa can already be the mother of several children at a very early age. Vanden Plas observed among the Kuku seven young wives, the eldest of whom was twenty years of age; two of the seven (one of thirteen and another of sixteen) were childless, the others had already borne as many as twenty-one children, i. e., 4.2 per woman.<sup>1</sup> This early fertility is followed by a similarly early old age. With the Basoga, for instance, a woman becomes a mother for the first time at fifteen, and when she has attained the age of thirty she looks as if she were sixty.<sup>2</sup> The chief symptoms of this old age are external: the body has lost its elasticity, the face is covered with wrinkles, the woman's charms have ceased to attract her husband though her capacity to bear children continues to exist. But a husband who is polygynous, neglects such a wife, for she has lost, in his eyes, the charm of freshness.<sup>3</sup> Among the Bekerewe a woman who has been three times confined is put aside as being old,<sup>4</sup> although perhaps she is only at the age when an Englishwoman marries. In circumstances such as this, the period, during which social custom permits the fertility of a woman to be made use of, begins very early, but probably lasts on an average not more than fifteen years. The examples given above are taken exclusively from the black races which are at a higher stage of culture and strictly speaking are not embraced by this work. But polygyny is not a peculiarity of the Negro peoples or of the level of culture which they have reached. It also exists at lower social stages, in Melanesia, sporadically with the Australian tribes and the American Indians, where sometimes, as on the north-eastern

<sup>1</sup> V a n d e n P l a s, 207.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. C o n d o n, in *Anthropos*, V (1910). 938.

<sup>3</sup> In a polygynous family such as that Tasmanian one in which a man, already grey-haired, had three wives aged respectively thirty, seventeen and ten (T. G. Lloyd, 44—45). A Geimbio man had six wives, aged from fifteen to fifty, B. Spencer 1914, 48 (foot-note). In both these cases, aged wives would undoubtedly be neglected by their husbands.

<sup>4</sup> E u g. H u r e t, in *Anthropos*, VI (1911). 93. A Baluba woman at thirty-five years of age is already senile and ceases to bear children, R. P. C o l l e, I. 259; the same is true for the Touba, R. L a m o u r o u x, in *Anthropologie*, XXIV (1913). 683.

shores of the Pacific, it assumed considerable dimensions.<sup>1</sup> In all these cases a waste of the child-bearing powers of a woman, similar to that which takes place in Africa, was probably the rule, though perhaps not to such a great extent. Such tendencies, although undeveloped, probably exist even amongst the races of the lower stages of culture, where monogyny prevails. And here the girl may be married at too young an age. For instance, Koch-Grünberg refers to an Indian married woman in Brazil who, barely fourteen or fifteen years of age, was the mother of two children, and her little daughter was at least three years old.<sup>2</sup> A girl among the Coroados is married when she is eleven or twelve years old, and when she is twenty to twenty-five she is an old, repulsive woman.<sup>3</sup> In this case the difference between the polygynous and monogynous constitution of the family is that in a monogynous family the husband cannot so easily separate from his prematurely aged wife, but undoubtedly she is burdensome to him and he tries to find some way out of the situation.<sup>4</sup>

The preceding examples, both those drawn from Africa and from South America or Australia, show eloquently how varied are the social customs which delimit the functioning of woman's reproductive power and how this is sometimes largely wasted. Owing to this, the period during which a woman has children

<sup>1</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census* 1839, No. XII, 1-22, gives, for twenty-two Cowichan and Clallam tribes, detailed statistics for 1,052 households. Among these households, 64.6% were monogynous, 1.8% were widowed. The remainder were polygynous. These are average figures for the total number of tribes; some tribes contained more polygynous households, e. g., in the Lummi (Wholemie) tribe where of 69 households 18.8% were monogynous ones, the rest were polygynous (of the latter about 30% contained four or more wives apiece).

<sup>2</sup> Koch-Grünberg, I. 248.

<sup>3</sup> G. Königswald, in *Globus*, XCIV (1908). 30. According to Spix and Martius, I. 380-381, women of twenty years of age had already among the Coroados etc. borne an average of four children, but there were seldom more than four children per family to be observed.

<sup>4</sup> Then again waste takes place in a different way: the woman bears children only when she is already well advanced in years. Namely, amongst the Lengua and other peoples of the Gran Chaco, it was said to be the custom to rear only those children which a woman bore towards the very end of her period of fecundity. (There are also references to Australia, that in some districts only those children were allowed to live who were born when their mother was about thirty or over that age.) In case of pregnancy occurring at a younger age, abortion was induced or the infant was murdered. It is true that in the instances just given, a woman is a wife not only in name but also in fact: still, as regards her offspring, she is wasted. It is just with this waste that we are concerned: when referring to the waste of the child-bearing powers of women we have in mind the unduly small number of her progeny which is reared.



is sometimes very short. For instance, the Sauk and Fox girls seldom arrived at the age of sixteen years without being married; they were usually married at fourteen and often at that age they already bore a child on their backs. They usually ceased to bear at about the age of thirty.<sup>1</sup> Hence the period within which they bore children lasted for fifteen to sixteen years. There were even cases in which this period seems to be still shorter. With the Nootka, a girl married at about sixteen, but seldom bore children after the age of twenty-five.<sup>2</sup> The period of fertility thus lasted barely ten years — the reasons matter little: most probably they were to be found in the attitude of the women, namely, that they did not wish to have the trouble of rearing children. We will not consider other aspects of this waste of fecundity by primitive peoples. It varies too greatly in intensity, depending on tribal environment, for us to be able to express its results in any comprehensive and simple formula. In principle, however, we are ready to assert that at the lower stages of culture, women usually have children at a much earlier age than in our civilization and partly as a result of this, grow old early. But this early maternity has a very important influence on the rate of increase of the population. As in Africa, i. e., at a comparatively higher stage of culture, so amongst the Indians of the Xingu basin, the eastern Athapascan tribes and in many parts of the Australian continent, generations succeed each other faster than with us.<sup>3</sup> A woman of thirty may there be a grandmother. This circumstance does not fail duly to influence the growth of the population; for, an inconsiderable increase during one generation may cause, after the passage of several centuries, more considerable results than it would cause in Europe were the same average number of children per woman to be born here. Further, although on an average a woman has fewer children than a European woman, yet because of the larger percentage of married women there the birth-rate could be, in general, higher. If it be presumed that

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<sup>1</sup> Th. Forsyth, 216.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Sproat, 94.

<sup>3</sup> In the Gran Chaco, amongst the Lengua and other tribes, the rate at which generations succeed each other is considerably slower: for one generation in that region there would be two in the Xingu River basin. But such slower succession of generations is probably somewhat exceptional at the lower stages of culture. The principle is rather one of early maternity and a hastened succession of generations.

a woman has usually in all but two children during her period of fertility which lasts barely ten years, and the number of married women is 25 % of the total population, the annual birth-rate is approximately as much as 50 ‰. A. d'Orbigny drew attention to this fact: in spite of the smaller number of children born per woman amongst the Moxos and Chiquitos, owing to the higher percentage of married women the birth-rate in the years 1828—'30 amounted to 66.3 ‰ and 71.2 ‰ respectively.<sup>1</sup> This high birth-rate is accompanied by another consequence: since the population at the stages of lower culture is, generally speaking, stable in number, the high birth-rate must be accompanied by a similarly high death-rate.

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Finally, we shall give a few figures showing, if a community is neither to increase nor diminish its population, how many children on an average a woman should bear at various durations of fertility, as also in the case of various percentages of married women in the population and of various death-rates.<sup>2</sup> We have tabulated them in Table XXV. We consider there the average number of children (born) in two cases, viz., when the "social" period of fertility of the woman lasts a) 25 years and b) 15 years. In the first case these are women aged fifteen to forty years and in the second

<sup>1</sup> A. d'Orbigny, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Wishing to calculate these figures, we cannot apply the mathematical formulae which are available to modern statistics. We must content ourselves with a very crude formula, the use of which by us is justified solely by the paucity and disconnected nature of the data at our disposal. This formula is as follows:

$$\frac{L \cdot F}{T} - M = C$$

where  $L$  is the average number of children given birth to during  $T$  years per woman;  $F$  is the number of women who are in their period of child-bearing per 1000 inhabitants,  $M$  the number of persons who die per 1000 inhabitants per annum, i.e., the annual death-rate whilst  $C$  is the number of persons (also per 1000 inhabitants) by which the population increases annually. (If we equate  $C$  to zero, then the value we get for  $L$  will be the number of children which a woman, on an average, gives birth to, and which will cause neither increase nor decrease of the population.) This equation, of necessity proceeding from the postulate of stable and inelastic social relations, only very roughly expresses the functional interdependence among the number of births per woman, the percentage of child-bearing women, the duration of fertility and the death-rate. Unfortunately we have been forced, in view of the insufficient materials in existence, to use this same equation when dealing with the pre-War divisions of Poland (p. 218 sqq.).

case aged fifteen to thirty. We have calculated their average percentages in the primitive population and found respectively 22.4 % and 16.2 %. Besides, in order to bring out the difference which exists between peoples of lower culture and Europe, we have included one of the pre-War divisions of Poland, i. e., Galicia, in our calculations, and under each heading we have given for this region two figures, one covering the total percentage of women in their period of fertility and the other giving the percentage of married women.

Table XXV.

Average number of children per woman if population to remain stationary

	Galicia (South Poland)		Duration of fertility in primitive society	
	women aged 18—44 years	married women aged 18—44 years	25 years (women aged 15—29 years)	15 years (women aged 15—39 years)
1. Percentage of population	18.5 %	12.6 %	22.4 %	16.2 %
2. Annual death-rates:	children	children	children	children
25.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	3.6	5.3	2.8	2.3
40.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> . . . . .	5.8	8.5	4.5	3.7
50.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> . . . . .	—	—	5.6	4.6
60.0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> . . . . .	—	—	6.7	5.5

A comparison of the figures in Table XXV (in most cases we should take into account the figures corresponding to a fifteen-year period of fertility and about 16.2 % as the ratio of married women) with the figures for children which we found for primitive peoples in the course of our considerations, bears eloquent witness to the fact that the fertility found to exist amongst them suffices to cover the existing death-rate, especially if we remember that the figures tabulated in our tables usually denote not the number of births but the number of children reared. And in spite of any possible doubts we may have as to individual data on the fertility of primitive women, yet the theoretical deductions (the final numerical results of which we have just tabulated) support the probability that these data give an adequate idea of the real aspect of vital statistics at lower stages of culture. Naturally, there

<sup>1</sup> The average annual death-rate for Galicia in the five years 1906—'10.



exist various deviations, some of which lead to the extinction of the tribe, whilst others assure it a high birth-rate. The second eventuality appears amongst some polygynous peoples. For instance, amongst the Eusanich (Sanetch) in 1839<sup>1</sup> the wives constituted as much as 39.5 % of the total population. Such extremes are proper rather to the higher stages of barbarian culture when a warlike and victorious tribe has a sufficient number of young women at its disposal and observes the custom of extensive polygyny.

6. General review of the growth of population at lower stages of culture. Shaping of such growth in Australia. Vital statistics of the Kurnai. Petty tribes unable to meet all the social exigencies of life. Centres of growth and trends of emigration.

In Table XVII we tried to express the average number of progeny at lower stages of culture and thus, both the average number of children born per woman and the number of children left alive to be reared.

These figures, considered from the point of view of pre-War Europe, are low: on an average two children were reared among the Eskimo, a maximum of three among the Australians, at the most four with the North American Indians, and there was always the possibility that mortality, so great in general during the first years of childhood, would make considerable ravages amongst the little folk. It appeared that those races, at least the Eskimo and the Australians, were condemned to extinction on account of their low degree of fertility. But a more thorough analysis has convinced us that this low fertility should not be taken too tragically. The considerably greater percentage of married women and the usually swifter succession of the generations in such communities bring it about that this apparently low fertility suffices to cover the losses caused by mortality. But it only suffices to cover the losses. At least, from our analysis we gain the impression (which we are unable to support with more convincing evidence both because of the paucity of the material at our disposal and because of its

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<sup>1</sup> *HBC. Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 5 (the followers are not taken into account) (MSS).

inaccuracy), that population at lower stages of culture, and thus, especially in the state of savagery, is stationary in number upon the region it inhabits. At these stages of culture, a stand-still in the density of population would be the rule and for whole centuries the number of souls in a given region would remain the same or, to be more exact, oscillate about a fixed average. Aino legends significantly express this state of things. In those tales there are constant references to two children: "I had two children and my elder brothers had also two children each." "I was a great rich man, more than any other rich man, and I had two children."<sup>1</sup> Although we have no direct evidence on the point, we venture to make the assertion that such regions as Tierra del Fuego, Australia, Tasmania and certain parts of North America, having attained an appropriate population at a certain stage of their development, did not depart from that standard for centuries. We have said that the population was stationary. We assume that during the long centuries of their existence the lower stocks of mankind had sufficient time to saturate by their members the areas they inhabited. Naturally, before such saturation could take place, a given people had prolonged periods during which its population increased steadily — at first the rate of increase probably was more intensive, later weaker and weaker until the saturation point was reached.<sup>2</sup> Once this point was attained, there were only oscillations, sometimes upwards, sometimes downwards, but they were only within narrow limits and the average standard was continually returned to. And this had to continue until the conditions of gaining food were changed, till man improved his methods or his tools, thus securing a greater supply of food, or there took place in the inanimate environment changes for good or bad which affected the human community. We emphasize changes of the latter kind since the climate of the Australian continent has probably become less and less favourable: in the course of time, it has probably been becoming more and more arid and together with this change the plant life has grown poorer, the amount of game has decreased, and thus the number of people was bound also to decrease. There can be

<sup>1</sup> B r. P i ł s u d s k i, 241, 230. Cf., *ib.* 220.

<sup>2</sup> The logistic curve of P. F. Verhulst (and further extended in scope by R. Pearl) appears to be the best adapted expression of the successive phases of this growth.

no doubt that such a change in the climate must have affected man (in so far as this increased aridity of the climate actually took place): for people have lived on the Australian continent since time immemorial and their institutions and customs were formed there in several centres which were to some extent independent of each other. Of course the "fossil continent" must have long ago reached the limit of its population, i. e., the number of its population has oscillated at about the same level for long spaces of time (if we leave climatic eventualities out of consideration and assume that the humidity or dryness of its climate and that the level of technical culture were always the same as to-day). Taking five generations to the century in Australia, we find that we are separated from the commencement of the Christian era by approximately a hundred generations — a period of time perhaps not great enough for any considerable change in the climate. As a result of this we should assume that in the course of that time the population of the Australian continent likewise remained comparatively stable. But even an insignificant increase of the population in each generation, taking place during two thousand years, would necessarily have created quite a different state of affairs. So as to get a distinct idea of this, we shall make a few calculations, in which as a starting point we shall take the figure of 300,000 inhabitants, as that representing the number of the native population of that continent at the moment when it first came into contact with our civilization. Let us assume that the population increases by 4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in a generation (i. e., annually by 1.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub>).<sup>1</sup> In comparison with the growth of the population of Congress Poland in the XIX century, this is an extremely small increase: the population of Congress Poland, which during 1815 — 1915 increased fourfold, would, assuming that the rate of increase was the same as in Australia (i. e., 1.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>00</sub> annually), require for such an increase about thirty-five generations — about 700 years in Australia, or about 900 in Poland. With this rate of increase per annum, the population of the Australian continent two thousand

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the supposition that the population increased at a uniform rate is contrary to the statement made before, viz., that the growth of population in the past proceeded so that if we were to express it by an equation, it would be that of a logistic curve. This is a supposition made only for the simplification of our arguments. (Annual permille figures on this page and the next have been calculated by the compound interest law).



years ago would have been about 6,000 inhabitants. The very low value of this figure affords ground for belief that it is incorrect. Any rate of increase considerably larger than that given above, even though not exceeding that found to exist in Europe, would for the Australia of two thousand years ago give such very low figures that they would be out of the question: for instance, with an increase of 8 % in a generation (or 3.8 ‰ annually), we would get for about the beginning of our era less than a hundred and fifty inhabitants as the whole population of the Australian continent. Even at other rates of increase lower than those quoted, such as an increase of 2 % (0.99 ‰ per annum) or 1 % (0.49 ‰ per annum) to the generation, the figures we get (in the first case about 40,000 and in the second about 110,000 inhabitants), are considered by us to be quite unlikely, especially as regards the first figure. An increase per generation of 0.50 % or 0.25 % (or annually 0.125 ‰, i. e. 12.5 per 100,000 souls of population), or lower still, would correspond more closely with Australian conditions during the past two thousand years as they have been supposed by us.

It would be worth while to realize how vital statistics shape in an Australian tribe; for instance, what is the balance of births and deaths, the number of persons in the different age-groups and thus, the various possibilities of social life. We shall submit the Kurnai tribe to such a survey. It is true that we have only the total figure of population and we have no details for this tribe, even such as the percentage of children on the one hand and of adult men and women on the other. We shall make use, however, of comparative material which has come into our hands during the course of our considerations. We must remember the stability of relations which statistics have disclosed to us and which is also more or less binding in the primitive community.<sup>1</sup> Our attempt, though it will doubtless contain more than one mistake in details will in its general form probably agree with the actual state of things.

The Kurnai, as we have already stated, were settled to the number of a thousand to a thousand five hundred on an area of

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<sup>1</sup> Naturally, we must take into consideration that in view of the small sizes of primitive communities and other special conditions there must have been frequent deviations from such stability.

about 14,000 sq. miles. They consisted of nineteen divisions. A division thus numbered on an average from fifty to eighty persons, according to which estimate of the Kurnai — the lower or the higher — is closer to the truth. (In the further pages of this work we shall take into account the lower estimate only.) Year after year the girls between the ages of twelve to fifteen were married by symbolical elopement. It was the custom for the older women of the tribe then to kill a few of the birds, known as “brothers of men.” This was done in order to provoke a fight between the eligible youth of both sexes. Fighting was aggravated on the next day by the men killing some of the “bird-sisters” of the women. The general confusion afforded opportunity for the young folk to come to an understanding and arrange for an elopement. Open wooing was looked upon as wrong, as if the tribe in theory condemned the act of marriage (the origin of such a strange custom at that stage of culture can be disregarded by us), and the young man had to run away with the girl. They were chased and woe to the culprits if they were caught. But after about a year the pair returned to their native group — their misdeed had been forgiven. The average annual number of such marriages in the tribe was probably at least between twelve and thirteen. Doubtless these events for several days engaged the whole attention of the nearest groups and perhaps of the whole division, if not clan:<sup>1</sup> the men to the number of about a score, would pursue the pair, while the women, who had killed the “bird-brothers” of the men and had evoked the fight between the two sexes, would remain in a state of excitement as to what the fate of the runaways would be. But such an occurrence within a division happened on an average approximately twice in three years. After her return the young girl joined the married women. There were from a hundred and eighty to two hundred and twenty married women of child-bearing age in the whole tribe, i. e. 18 0/0 to 22 0/0 of the population. In order to simplify our calculations, we shall accept 20 0/0. If during her period of fertility, lasting probably about twenty years, a woman gave birth on an average to five children, then the average number of births per

<sup>1</sup> There were five clans in the Kurnai tribe.

year would be fifty. Hence the annual birth-rate would be very considerable: it would be  $50\text{ }^0/_{00}$ ,<sup>1</sup> — a rate almost unheard of in Europe, but a necessary consequence of the large number of women active in child-bearing.<sup>2</sup> And since there is every reason to presume that the Kurnai, having once attained the saturation point of population in their district, did not increase further or if they increased it was to an extremely small extent, the annual mortality must have corresponded to the birth-rate, i. e., it must have been equally large, equally unheard of in Europe,<sup>3</sup> but completely compensated for by the abundance of births. The fate of the new-born child was not always a fortunate one. The Kurnai drew this singular distinction, that they never knew of an instance of parents killing their children, but only “of leaving behind new-born infants”: the new-born child was left lying in the camp, and the family moved elsewhere, the unfortunate baby dying of hunger, crawled over by flies and ants and probably devoured by wild dogs.<sup>4</sup>

The question arises how many of the children reached the age of ten years — we take this age since it will better than any other enable us to make a closer examination of the matter.

1. We have given in Table XXII some percentages for the total number of children under ten years of age. This figure

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would be better to take a fifteen-year period of actual fertility and the figure of five children. The succession of the generations would be faster and the birth-rate larger, i. e., about  $66\text{ }^0/_{00}$ .

<sup>2</sup> The highest birth-rate in Europe known to us was in the Moscow district during 1885—1904: it never once fell below  $50\text{ }^0/_{00}$ , and reached its highest, namely  $56.2\text{ }^0/_{00}$ , in 1902, P. J. Kurkin: *Санитарно-статистические таблицы: II. Статистика детской смертности* (2nd. ed., Moscow 1926), 38. Probably the eastern provinces of European Russia, even if they did not exceed this figure, at any rate had not a lower birth-rate than the Moscow district, cf. A. v. Fircks, 153. In certain years, between 1862 and 1874, Poznań and Prussian Mazovia attained  $48\text{ }^0/_{00}$  and even  $51\text{ }^0/_{00}$ ; in Serbia, in Apulia, and in Sicily, the average birth-rate for five-year periods between the years 1871 and 1895 sometimes reached  $44\text{ }^0/_{00}$ , A. v. Fircks, 151, 152. With the Bantu, in the South African Union, the annual birth-rate must have been over  $50\text{ }^0/_{00}$  (according to the census of 1921,  $50.06\text{ }^0/_{00}$  of the population were children under one year of age, *Aperçu démogr.* 1925, 165).

<sup>3</sup> Or rather, known also in Europe, but only during epidemics: for instance the average death-rate amounted to  $74.4\text{ }^0/_{00}$  and  $62.4\text{ }^0/_{00}$  in former Galicia during a cholera epidemic and the revolutionary movement in 1847—'48; to  $60.1\text{ }^0/_{00}$  and  $53.6\text{ }^0/_{00}$  in 1855 and 1873 owing to a cholera epidemic; to  $63.2\text{ }^0/_{00}$  in Hungary (the cholera epidemic of 1873); to  $79.4\text{ }^0/_{00}$  in Finland during the famine of 1867. But all these cases are disasters, — exceptional, not normal states of affairs.

<sup>4</sup> L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, 190.



oscillates about 31<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, as, for instance, in the basin of the Xingu. Thus, according to this percentage the total number of children under ten years of age in the Kurnai tribe might have been about three hundred and ten. But if, in the course of ten years, out of the number of children born (an average of fifty annually), none died, then at the end of ten years there should be five hundred. The difference between these latter figures and the preceding one (i. e., three hundred and ten) results from the mortality among the Australian children. Thus, about 38<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the Kurnai children born during ten successive years would die before reaching the age of ten years, always, of course, if conditions in that tribe were approximately identical with those in the Xingu basin. We should, however, remark that with the Xingu Indians the generations seem to succeed one another more quickly than in Australia. Moreover, in Australia there are other factors which cause a higher rate of infantile mortality: chief amongst them is the roving mode of life which on the one hand favours infanticide and on the other increases the mortality, independently of child murder. Thus, the percentage of children under ten years of age should be greater in the Xingu basin than in Australia. In other words, by taking the Brazilian figures as a measure of Australian relations, we should get for the Kurnai too high a figure for simultaneously living children of up to ten years of age. There should be less than three hundred and ten, and then the mortality in the age-group in question would be larger and would probably amount to 40<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> if not to a higher percentage of the total number of a corresponding body of children. This mortality is the average mortality of all children referred to. The mortality of only those children who have attained their tenth year is, of course, higher than this average: during the period between their birth and the attaining of this age a higher percentage than 40<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> must have died amongst them, perhaps 45<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and even 50<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. In short, at the most, twenty-five to thirty children would reach the age of ten.

2. The Australian aboriginal woman on an average rears 2.7 to 3.2 children out of five children born.<sup>1</sup> Of course a certain

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 135.

percentage of these reared children die, especially during the first years of life. Hence the number of children who attained the age of ten years, must have been, on an average, less — at the most about 2.3—3.0 per woman, i. e. 40 %—54 % would have died before attaining that age, and more probably the higher figure rather than the lower. Of fifty infants born in a given year, at the most only about twenty-three to thirty would survive to reach the age of ten.

3. Table XXII (the Xingu River region) leads us to conclude that the percentage of ten-year old children would be over 2.4 % and under 3.1 % of the whole community. (As we have already shown, this is probably too high a percentage for Australian conditions.) In other words, from among our group of infants of the same age there would remain after ten years, at the most twenty-four to thirty-one boys and girls, i. e., about 48 % to 62 %.

Thus, starting from various suppositions, we have attained results which are not too greatly at variance. After ten years, barely 40 %—60 % of the babies born during a given year would be still living. The first figure may be too low, the second too high. In any case, probably not more than 50 % of the infants born in a given year, reached the age of ten. The number of ten-year old Kurnai children probably oscillated between twenty-three and twenty-seven. In other words, before the infants grew into ten-year old children, they underwent a drastic selective process, which even resulted in about 50 % of them dying before they reached that age. We have presumed that women of child-bearing age are 20 % of the population. The mortality of children was probably greater owing to infanticide when a higher percentage of the population were women of child-bearing age than when this percentage was 20 %. This fact itself is in accordance with primitive conditions, at least as concerns the “leaving” of children in a forsaken camp, i. e. infanticide. Infanticide was ostensibly the affair of the mother alone, but actually it was indirectly a matter of wider significance. For a petty group, forced to rove continually, sometimes over long distances, and often obliged for various reasons to strike camp quickly, it was not indifferent whether one, or several women bore children on their backs. It was always possible to help one, and this help might

be given by other women without such a burden. The delay resulting from this, however, had its limits. The situation took on a different aspect when several women were burdened with children. The halts had to be longer and the delay was more felt. The question of the child ceased to be one between the child and its mother, — it became a question for the whole group. Hence, the more women in the tribe had the prospect of nursing a child before them, the more extensive must the practice of infanticide have been, and in general it grew at a greater rate than the number of women expecting children. It is impossible to state to what extent infanticide among the Kurnai was practised: though we may presume that, above all, frail children, who would have anyhow died a natural death, were killed, or those whose mothers had died in child-birth. These were, however, rare occurrences: it seldom happened that a mother died so and this would not happen in the whole tribe more than once during twenty to thirty years; the necessity of doing away with a crippled or weak child likewise was not common. The victims, as we already know, were mostly the offspring of over-young mothers or babies born while the preceding children were still being suckled. As to mortality in general during the first year of life, it makes no difference to our arguments whether it resulted from natural causes or from infanticide. In some tribes it probably amounted to 40 % and even more.<sup>1</sup> This would be a considerable death-rate. Amongst the Kurnai about twenty-three to twenty-seven male and female children born in the same year would have reached the age of fourteen: girls about twelve to fourteen, who soon, by elopement, would have commenced married life, and perhaps eleven to thirteen boys, for whom there then waited the greatest ceremony existing in the Australian communities — the ceremony of initiation.

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<sup>1</sup> In India 49.8% of the male children die within the first ten years of life and another 3% before the end of their fourteenth year. (Among female children the mortality is somewhat lower). Cf. J.W. Glover: *United States Life Tables*, Washington 1921, 212. Taking from this source the mutual relations of the annual number of children who die during the first ten years of life, we arrive at the conclusion that, among the Kurnai 15 children out of 50 would die in the first year of life, three in the second, two in the third, five in the remaining years till the tenth — a total of twenty-five. But this analogy as applied to Australia is risky. Probably first-year mortality in Australia was greater and accounted for twenty or even more children among the Kurnai.



Such were conditions in one of the Australian tribes. Obviously, since our calculations are based entirely on hypothetical suppositions, they can in no manner be claimed accurately to express the actual vital statistics of the Kurnai: our figures are to a certain extent conjectural and are intended more to serve as indications of trends. The Kurnai were one of the larger tribes in Australia, but there were not so very many such tribes on the "fossil continent". On an average an Australian tribe numbered 300—600 persons. There were sometimes even very small tribes: the Dieri numbered a hundred and thirty, the Ominee and three neighbouring tribes together eight hundred souls. In a group of twenty-one tribes in Victoria, as described by J. Dawson, the average number per tribe was a hundred and twenty persons. We must continually bear in mind the small size of the tribes and the small number of persons in the sex- and various age-groups when we consider the customs of the Australian aborigines. Only when we realize this can we appreciate the social importance of some customs and all their consequences. For instance, among the Dieri there was the custom called "pirauru", i. e., of having allotted accessory husbands and wives. Each man had, besides his own individual wife, a larger or smaller number of allotted wives, to whom he had access on occasions determined by custom, and every woman had, besides her own individual husband, some accessory husbands. On the evening of the ceremony of circumcision, the men were always assigned by the great council of the tribe additional women to be their accessory wives, and the women more husbands: as the tribe was divided into two exogamous intermarrying moieties, the total number of adult men in each moiety did not exceed twenty-five to thirty, and the number of women in the opposite moieties from which the accessory wives were assigned to them was approximately about the same. Actually, however, the size of these groups was somewhat smaller on account of further regulations and prohibitions. The size of both groups was so far inconsiderable that in the course of time all the corresponding women of one moiety could be numbered among the accessory wives of every man of the other moiety, and every man of the second moiety could be the accessory husband of every woman of the first moiety. The community received a new link in the form

of subjective friendships, affections and intimacies, not only among adults, but also probably in their relations with children — it was in consequence as if transformed into an extended family. But these results were only possible owing to the small number of tribesmen: if there had been corresponding groups of accessory husbands numbering a few hundred each, the result would only have been a great abuse of sexual intercourse, so that the tribesfolk would not have possessed such strong ties of affection, since it would be impossible to exhaust for each person the existing store of accessory husbands or wives which he or she could have, and which, among the Dieri, was limited to twenty-five or thirty persons of either sex.

But the most important result of the small size of the tribal community — a consequence inseparable from very petty tribes — is the absence of self-sufficiency in satisfying the requirements of social customs.

In Australia, small tribes are necessarily unable to be completely independent.

Let us take, for example, the ceremony of initiation — the most important solemnity in the life of every male native.

Among the Dieri, just because of their small number, so few males of the same age were qualified for the ceremony, and sometimes only one person, that it quite naturally lost the collective character which it had in larger tribes where, for several weeks running, a number of boys were gathered together under the custody of a body of older men, the whole tribe camping somewhere in the vicinity. Here, in the case of the Dieri, one boy would be circumcised, subjected to the “terrible rite” and to the scarification of his back, whilst the group of older men was limited to the few persons directly active, in one way or another, during these ceremonies.

As regards marriage, conditions were still worse.

The organization of some Australian tribes is very complicated. The tribe is usually divided into two intermarrying moieties, these moieties again are each divided into two or even four classes, every one of which can marry only within strictly defined classes of the other moiety. To these regulations we must add others resulting from the existence of totems, which became interwoven with the class organization. In these circumstances, even

in the largest tribe, a man cannot always find a woman who may become his wife. It even comes to pass that he has to get engaged to the probable, i. e., still unborn daughter of some woman and that only because this daughter will belong to a class within which he has the right to marry. The smaller the tribe the more often these awkward contingencies occur. There remains only one way out: union with a woman with whom tribal law strictly forbids marriage. This cannot be done in proper and accepted form. The man elopes with the girl and they keep in hiding for a long, even very long time. The tribesmen become so entangled in the meshes of the rules and prohibitions created by themselves, that there is no issue but that furnished by such a revolutionary act. No doubt, the dissolution evoked by the appearance of the Whites, which so fundamentally changed the former ratio of sex and ages, had perforce to multiply such conflicts between the passions of individuals and the demands of tribal customary laws.

In both cases, and thus when the ceremony of initiation has to be endowed with a collective solemn character or when marriage requirements are in question, a small tribe has only one resource — to confederate with its neighbours in a more extensive, temporary alliance, which finds its expression in the inter-tribal ceremonies of initiation and in a more lasting co-ordination of their rules and marriageable classes. These are the origins of the “nations” so numerous in Australia. They are necessary corrections of the scattering of the population into petty tribal communities.

We started with the supposition that, in the course of ages, the Kurnai did not increase in number. Still earlier we assumed that at least since the beginning of the Christian era the number of the population of the whole Australian continent has not altered very much. We should make one correction as regards this, i. e., that the population of Australia was more or less stationary for centuries, but in certain districts of the continent some changes actually took place. Probably such was the case in Gippsland, the country of the Kurnai. In this tribe, as elsewhere on the “fossil continent”, infanticide existed. In some tribes, infanticide tended to a very serious extent to regulate the increase of the



population. But this regulation was by no means the purpose for which the infants were murdered. It was done, as the result of motives which tended towards some other aim: the question was above all, to free the mothers from an excessive burden of duties, and the women took this course under the influence of factors which we have already considered. As to the idea that, as a consequence of such action, they restrained the increase of the population and maintained equilibrium between the food supply and the number of persons in the tribe, it probably never entered their heads in a conscious form. "The idea of overpopulation never entered their heads," declares E. M. Curr, writing of the Bangerang,<sup>1</sup> and J. Gillen and B. Spencer<sup>2</sup> repeat the same regarding the natives of Central Australia. It is only A. W. Howitt who asserts that the Meening got rid of infants because if their numbers were to increase too rapidly there would not be enough food for everybody.<sup>3</sup> But every time that a year brought a larger food supply and specially when the lean season was distinguished by a lesser degree of want and permitted the tribe to camp longer in the same place, more especially particularly when several such years succeeded each other, then the necessity for getting rid of children became less burning than in years of scarcity: the instinct of motherhood got the upper hand and infanticide was for the time being less extensively practised. That there might be a lack of food in the future did not trouble the people at all. When the children grew up and began to feel the need of larger territories for hunting in, the tribe tried to occupy areas belonging to others. There is evidence that in Australia, too, some tribes applied pressure for the purpose of getting possession of land belonging to other tribes. When one of the divisions of the Wallaroi tribe had so much increased its numbers that its hunting ground was too strait for it and a scarcity of food ensued, it requested an adjacent sub-tribe to surrender a part of their territory. Negotiations were begun but yielded no results. The two sections assembled their forces and met. It was agreed that an equal number from

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<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr: *Recoll. of squatting in Victoria*, 263. But Curr: *Austr. Races*, I. 76, asserts, that in many tribes there is great fear of a want of food arising from overpopulation, although he does not definitely connect infanticide with this fear.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 264.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 748.

each side should fight it out.<sup>1</sup> In this case the pressure was a local one. But there were movements in which a greater number of tribes was involved. In former times the Dieri held the country now occupied by the Wonkanguru, having been themselves expelled from their own country by the Wonkatyeri, who had been driven out of theirs in turn by the Wonkamala.<sup>2</sup> But the Dieri also undoubtedly had in turn to expel another tribe from its territory and give rise to new evictions, just as the first link in the chain, the Wonkamala, probably left their country because they were forced to do so either by the increase of their people or under the pressure of some other tribe. Such tribal changes no doubt frequently occurred. For instance, the Marowra tribe who about 1890 lived at the junction of the Murray and Darling rivers, had been found in 1851 far up the Darling and moving down.<sup>3</sup> In any case, at the beginning of such a series of migrations there was either an increase of population, which had forced a tribe to seek additional territory, or a disastrous drought which had affected a tribe, causing a lack of food on its ancestral lands. In the latter eventuality the search for new territories was of necessity of a more energetic character. In the former case where the growth in population was the primary cause of a tribe's territorial expansion the process was slow and extended over long periods of time, the more so that the increases themselves were insignificant in one generation and at no one time gave reason for very strong pressure on neighbouring tribes. In exceptionally favourable conditions an increase in population was always quite possible, but it took place in one or a few petty group-communities and this therefore could affect only a small territory. A. F. Cudmore relates, that a man took refuge with one or two lubras in a dense tract of mallee which covered about 500 sq. miles of the country; after thirty years he was the father and grandfather of about twenty-eight men, women and children.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Fraser 1892, 37, and in *J. Roy. N. S. Wa.*, XVI (1882). 224 (foot-note).

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt 1904, 45.

<sup>3</sup> J. Fraser 1892, 38. W. D. Campbell and W. H. Byrd, in *J. Roy. W. Au.* 1915, 55—56, wrote of the complete extermination of one tribe by another in West Australia.

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Cudmore, in *Au. A. Adv. Sc.*, V (1893). Probably such events occurred more frequently: we venture to state that the narration of Singleton and Tolmer (*G. T. aplin* 1879, 60) refers to a similar case.

At higher stages of evolution such matters were settled in a more intensive manner.

In order to examine this difference, we shall consider the North American Indians.

The North American Indians had some technical achievements which helped either to decrease the intensity of want during lean seasons, or even rendered possible the feeding of a continually increasing number of tribesmen, provided the increase took place slowly. Thus, the Indians knew how to preserve meat by drying it in the sun — a circumstance which permitted them to feed the population during the lean seasons. Again, in many parts of that continent, there were the beginnings of agriculture; at its lowest the harvesting of "wild rice" growing in the water of lakes, at its highest, a sometimes very industrious and thorough cultivation of various plants. In connection with the last-named circumstance (and also on the Pacific coast on account of the abundance of fish) human settlements were relatively permanent, i. e., existed for many years in the same place. A few districts remained at a lower level of culture, either because they were unfavourably situated as regards climate, such as the barren lands of northern Canada, or because they were inhabited by backward stocks, such as the roving Karankawan or Attakapan tribes in Texas on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. So in more hospitable regions, the motives which so greatly affected the fate of the infant in Australia disappeared. A mother reared a larger number of children and even had to rear them so as to fill up the gaps made by war and by the dangerous life of the warrior in the ranks of the adult generation. In any case, districts existed in North America (we disregard the contributory causes) in which the increase of the population was clearly marked.<sup>1</sup> Streams of migrants, pushing towards new territory, had their origin in those districts although this migration was not necessarily the consequence of "over-population" — wherever a more advanced knowledge of agriculture existed, there was usually enough virgin soil to take possession of.

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<sup>1</sup> These natural centres were few in number. According to L. H. M o r g a n 1877 (New York), 108—109, there were three such regions: the valley of the Columbia, the peninsula between Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan, and the lake region of Minnesota. Cf., *ib.* 106 - 107.



The manner in which tribes migrated to new settlements may be learned from the history of the Cheyenne in their movement to the west. There was no contemporaneous tribal migration: the different camps did not unite in a forward movement. A village or camp followed its own ideas as to where it wished to go and moved independently of the others. The trend of the whole movement being westward, a group moved on, established itself at a point and remained in its new seat for many years, perhaps for a generation or two. Meanwhile some villages behind it advanced westwards, passed the first village and stopped somewhere still farther to the west. The migration consisted of a succession of such particular movements, the tail of the long procession often becoming the head, and the different camps or villages moving successively and passing each other.<sup>1</sup> These customs probably also obtained amongst the Franks and Burgundians when they invaded Gaul, with the Slavs when they occupied the Balkan peninsula, as also probably amongst the Australian tribes. It might have often occurred that a part of a tribe, finding itself far removed from the main body, formed an independent tribe in course of time. The origins of the Dhegiha group of the Siouan family bring this out clearly. Its ancestors formerly lived as a tribe on the Ohio and Wabash rivers. A portion of this tribe went down the Mississippi river and formed the Quapaw tribe, another went up that river and formed the Omaha tribe. The Osage, Kansa and Ponka separated themselves after some time from the Omaha.<sup>2</sup> Similar events had place at numerous points of the North American continent. The linguistic map of North America testifies to these movements and to the pushfulness of some linguistic stocks as a fundamental cause of these changes.<sup>3</sup> Some stocks occupied vast territories and produced (for instance, the Athapascan and Siouan stocks) branches which had moved far from the ancient seats and in course of time were separated from their kinsmen by tribes of other linguistic families. On the other hand there are families reduced to very small territories. For instance along the Pacific there is a multitude of small linguistic families, restricted within an

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Grinnell 1923, I. 21—22.

<sup>2</sup> J. McGee, *B. Am. E.*, XV(1893—'94). 191 sqq. Cf. L. H. Morgan 1877 (New York), 106.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. Powell: *Ind. ling. families*.

extremely small area. It is as if the pressure from the east had cast them out towards the uttermost limit, — towards the coast. But perhaps another explanation might be partially at least more applicable especially to North California, viz., that the petty tribes inseparably connected with the period of savagery were defended by the Rocky Mountains from ethnical invasions; being secured as regards food by the abundance of fish, they grew in numbers and remaining in one place, carried on into a period of higher culture the linguistic differentiation of savagery. We have doubts as regards the past of many Pacific tribes; we have none, if we refer to the petty tribes on the Gulf Coast — they are undoubtedly border peoples (*Randvölker*), and thus peoples impelled towards the coast by the pressure of more pushful stocks. In any case, in North America, the increase of population was larger in some regions and smaller in others; there can be no question of a state of permanent equilibrium in this respect, except at a few points where the level of culture was exceptionally low, the climate inhospitable, or the soil barren. If the European invasion had been delayed for several centuries, it would probably have met in certain parts, with a higher native culture, based on the tilling of the soil and making use of picture-writing. For instance, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, as O. Peschel supposed, there would perhaps have originated a specific mediterranean civilization, just as civilizations appeared around the mediterranean seas of the Old World (in Europe and Asia).

## VIII. SMALL SIZE OF TRIBES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

1. Reciprocal relations of group-community and tribe in the distant past. Tribes arose out of the seasonal gatherings.

The lower the stage of culture, the more man depends on the food immediately and directly supplied him by the spontaneous productivity of nature. The lowest races do not put aside any stores for the hard times which occur either seasonally or at longer intervals of time, when nature, sunk in sleep or rendered powerless by drought, considerably diminishes her gifts. Hence at that stage of culture the size of the population of a given district depends on the amount of food which man has at his disposal there during the annually recurring lean seasons. The stronger this dependance, the more striking is the contrast between the abundance of food existing at one season of the year and its scarcity at another. It may occur at that period of culture that, during some months of the year, man has a superfluity of food but, when such happy periods of plenty pass, he is harrassed by severe and unavoidable famine.

But when the plentiful season passed, days of fasting and sometimes of famine came on.

It was just this seasonal period of scarcity that to a greater extent decided the size of the population of a district than did the surplus of food during the seasons of plenty.

As we already know, this difference between the abundance of food at one period of the year and its scarcity at another could not fail to have its effect also on the mode of social life.

(In Australia) "the number travelling together depends, in a great measure, upon the period of the year and the description of food that may be in season. If there is any particular variety more abundant than another, or procurable only in certain localities, the



whole tribe generally congregate to partake of it. Should this not be the case, then they are probably scattered over their district in detached groups, or separate families. At certain seasons of the year, usually in the spring or summer, when food is most abundant, several tribes<sup>1</sup> meet together in each other's territory for the purpose of festivity or war, or to barter and exchange, or to assist in the initiatory ceremonies, by which young persons enter into the different grades of distinction amongst them."<sup>2</sup> In other words, the periods of scarcity, either seasonal or occasional, are those when the group-community — that institution of every-day life, composed at the most of a few score persons — comes into prominence and, in consequence, monopolises the attention of the cursory observer. That group-community, with its wide scope of activities and interests, fully embraces all the ordinary requirements of man and covers all the possibilities of his every-day life. But at the time of year marked by abundance of food and facility in obtaining it, the tribal bond which exists among the groups (at all times fragile and in the seasonal lean period almost imperceptible), appears distinctly and markedly. It finds its expression in the gatherings: there the numerical strength of the tribe is shown, and tribal solidarity is consolidated. The group-communities during the gatherings make the tie binding them together closer, their consciousness of tribal solidarity is strengthened and, above all, they intoxicate themselves with the delights and pleasures of more extensive social life and, for that reason, gatherings can be called a kind of social narcotic. The abundance of food excites all the passions: sexual intercourse, which in the every-day life of the group-community is necessarily restricted by more regular relations, has a freer field during the assembly. Amusements and dances sometimes last day after day during the whole period of the gathering and this gives a special charm to that intercourse of many group-communities. The gathering is, as it were, one unbroken succession of excitements, delights, indulged desires and sometimes even of orgies. Till, at last, it ends: the tribe again scatters into small groups. After the days of abundance and sometimes of frenzy, when the tribesman has returned to the daily routine of

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<sup>1</sup> That is, local divisions of the tribe.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyr e, II. 218—219.

life, he will count the months and even days separating him from the time when he will again be able to enjoy such pleasant leisure, such gluttony, such amusements and such sexual licence.

The group-community on the one hand and the tribe on the other are thus, as regards social relations, the expression of that contrast which exists between the seasons of scarcity and those of abundance. Thus two series of sequence arise: one natural, namely, the succeeding seasons of the year with their changes in food-supply (that is, times of plenty and of want); the second, a social one, i. e., the every-day life in a small group with its rarely occurring opportunities for more extensive social intercourse. One of these series, namely the social one, is conditioned by the other one, the seasonal sequence of abundance and of scarcity of food. The latter series, the fundamental one, was forced upon man by external factors, as an omnipotent power not only independent of him but also weighing down upon him like fate, and to which he has to submit himself in absolute helplessness and impotence. But the first series, in its most developed component feature, namely the gatherings during seasons of abundance, increasingly absorbed the elements of human consciousness and social organization. The gatherings came into being in the dim past, and were consolidated in a spontaneous and instinctive manner: spontaneously, too, when the superfluity of food was over, they fell apart into small groups. They were a product of the instinctive need of sociability, and were not inspired by any conscious idea of tribal solidarity, which was however, inherent in them and was later on to be formulated in the mind of man. In course of time, the loose spontaneous gathering became a regular tribal festival. That meant: a gathering, the participants of which were conscious of the fact that together they formed one larger community and hence they had recourse to ceremonies (such, among others, as the initiation of the youths), which were intended to strengthen the sense both of solidarity and of duty in every individual. From this consciousness the tribe arose, i. e., a social unit clearly impressed in the mind of every member. It is obvious that the way leading from seasonal gatherings to tribal organization was a long one: long periods of time elapsed before, from the instinct which urged men to gather together, appeared the first inklings of consciousness that these

gatherings were the expression of some more permanent unity, and finally before these beginnings yielded the full consciousness from which the ideology of the tribal organization arose. This tribal organisation can be scientifically examined only in that form in which we find it amongst existing races of the lowest culture; i. e., in a comparatively late form, since even contemporary peoples at the lowest level of culture have behind them many thousand years of attainment, and although they may have a very rude social structure, it is by no means a primary one.

In the course of these studies our principal object has been to ascertain the number of individuals united in such a tribal organization. We know that this number is very inconsiderable with the lowest races and it is, even with those at higher stages of primitive culture, not very great. And however far we look into the past, provided we do not seek beyond the level of technical knowledge characteristic of, say, the Australian aborigines (whom we have pre-eminently and even exclusively in mind when we speak of the lowest stage of culture) there are no data to show that the number of individuals in the tribe was greater than it is at present. Even former times were not marked by stability: some tribes disappeared following famine, disease or war; others separated themselves, as small groups, from a mother-tribe and, in the course of time, gave rise to new tribes, their speech was split up into dialects, their social organization evolved according to its fundamental conceptions as far as possible, and sometimes created, as in Australia with its intermarriage customs, hopeless situations for many of the tribesmen. But the population of the tribe remained as to numbers within more or less the same limits. The technical knowledge of the Australians and their level of culture are nevertheless, when compared with the distant past, at a fairly high level, abundantly endowed by the experience of ages, with traps, hunters' fences, dams for catching fish, clubs, spears, boomerangs and so on. And owing to those technical achievements, between that distant past and contemporary culture (even the material culture of the Australian aborigines) an abyss exists which we should not even for a moment forget. Just because of these acquirements, the former sharp contrast between periods of surplus food and periods of want must have lost much in force (lean



seasons were certainly more severe than amongst contemporary representatives of savagery). This circumstance caused that in the past, when people had not even the meagre technical knowledge possessed by the Australian aborigines, the tribe, both as regards its size and its cohesion, must have been different from what it is now. The group-communities into which the tribe was divided in every-day life, were probably not much smaller but their number in a given district must have been lower, and hence the gatherings were not so numerous, solidarity was weaker and moreover sociability was to a greater extent based on instinctive elements. Naturally our deductions are only correct in so far as the natural environment in which man at that time lived did not differ as regards food-supply from present-day conditions. But we must realise that of contemporary races at the lowest stage of culture, the Australians and Bushmen live in relatively inhospitable regions (we disregard broken-up remnants such as the Veddas, the Negrillo races of Africa and the Negritos of Malaysia). It is only with far-reaching reservations that we may, on such a basis, draw conclusions about the *primaeval* period and apply them to human races, especially to such which then inhabited regions more abundantly endowed with the necessities of life. Undoubtedly the greater abundance of food must have acted favourably on the number and density of the population inhabiting a given region. But, when referring to the "community" of that time, we should not exaggerate the results of abundance of food: under such favourable conditions the group-community may have numbered a few score persons instead of a dozen or so, but that would be the only difference. Or rather, it was not so much that the every-day groups and the tribes were larger, as that they were located closer together, as were also the centres round which they collected from time to time, but likewise never in great numbers, although the gatherings became more frequent. In any case we believe that the size of the Australian and Andamanese or Bushmen communities constitute a limit which has not been exceeded in the course of thousands of years by similar groups having the same standard of technical achievement as the Australian natives or the Andaman Islanders. Any increase was still less possible for communities which were at an even lower stage

of technical culture and had a more scattered population. It should rather be presumed that the gatherings of such communities were smaller if these lived in a similar natural environment as the natives of Australia.

2. Results of small size of tribes. The significance of individual personality in primitive society.

The very small size of a primaeval community, or of contemporary tribal groups amongst the races at the level of technical knowledge possessed by the Australian aborigines or even by the North American Indians, could not fail to influence its social life, and that in the most varied manner.

We have mentioned how strongly the European invasion affected primitive races. Before it completely destroyed a race, the equilibrium of the natives as regards their sex- and age-composition would be seriously disturbed. For instance, L. E. Threlkeld<sup>1</sup> found amongst the natives in one of the districts of New South Wales twenty-eight men, two women, two boys and not a single girl. We could quote innumerable instances of this kind; the only difference would be in the figures themselves, both absolutely and relatively. And such a drop in the number of persons in a given sex- or age-group is not only a simple decrease of the population: it is also a serious upheaval of all the basic elements of collective life. The European invasion exercised such a disastrous influence only because it encountered small communities in which the loss of even a score of persons was a serious matter. It is just this very small size of the primitive community, i.e., of the tribe, that renders and has always made it possible for various influences and factors to affect the community in such a way as radically to change its further development. What the European invasion did very quickly in some tens or scores of years, had been done by various factors to a very slight degree, insufficient to undermine the existence of a tribe, but enough to influence tribal customs. What occurs in statistics in the case of small numbers also takes place in the case of small communities. With small

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<sup>1</sup> L. E. Threlkeld, in *Abor. Pr. Pap.* 1839, II. 70.

numbers we have chance, accidents and unforeseen occurrences: every minute circumstance may exercise an unexpected influence. To bring out into relief this behaviour of large and small numbers, we can indicate the case of the sex of new-born children. The proportion of male and of female children in a single family occurs in every possible combination: in some families only boys are born, in others only girls, whilst in others there are boys and girls in the most varied proportions. In every family we find a different ratio of the sex of the children born. But if, instead of taking individual families separately, we examine the numerical relation of the male to the female infants born in a province, or, better still, in a whole country then we get quite a different result: instead of unpredictable proportions, a stability, amazing to the uninitiated, appears in the mutual numerical relation of one sex to the other amongst infants — one which caused J. P. Sussmilch, in the middle of the XVIII century, to declare that in social life, apparently so chaotic, die göttliche Ordnung is inherent. For every 100 new-born female infants there are approximately 105 new-born males. In every family, examined separately, the sex of the children is a matter of chance. We cannot perceive any fixed rule there as regards the numerical relation of the male and the female children; or rather, the only rule which exists is the most extreme diversity. This diversity, inseparable from small numbers, is already less marked when we take a somewhat larger group of the population into consideration, such as a village or a small town; it is still less marked when we consider a district, and it disappears when we take a whole country, where the relative numbers of new-born infants oscillate about the ratio of approximately 105 males per 100 females. In other words, that which we usually call chance is inherent in small numbers: in their case everything is accidental and chaotic. The final results are most varied and cannot be foreseen. And it is just the small communities that, because of their size and owing to various conflicting influences, yield consequences which are different in every individual case. These consequences are sometimes dangerous to social life since they undermine tribal customs<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Australia the change in the sex ratio, in view of the inter-marriage-laws existing in some tribes, forces the breaking of these laws by elopements;



and in any case always evoke a differentiation in the structure of tribal life and in the trends of further development. We have noted the results of the European invasion in New South Wales: it completely disturbed all equilibrium in the proportions of the different sex- and age-groups in the tribes. Even minor events assume there the intensity of important factors which can give a new stamp on social life. Let us take, for instance, one of the average Australian tribes (usually numbering 300—600 members). The simultaneous loss of ten persons is there an event which quantitatively considered, would have the same significance as the simultaneous death of from 630,000 to 850,000 inhabitants in the present Polish state. And such catastrophes, diminishing an Australian tribe by some ten persons, might, of course, occur not infrequently. An unfortunate war-expedition, a victorious night attack by an enemy, a bush-fire, a sudden flood or any of a host of other events might easily cause the death of such a number of tribesmen; in addition, there were famines, such as that which forced the Birria, for instance, to devour all their children, or the epidemics which probably occurred from time to time even in primitive communities. And, what is most important, conditions of primitive life sometimes created such situations that there was the simultaneous loss of about a dozen or a score of persons of the same sex and approximately of the same age. This applies to the males especially.<sup>1</sup> Then such a misfortune affecting a community assumed the dimensions of a tribal disaster. It destroyed the numerical equilibrium between the sexes and if on a larger scale must have affected the structure of inter-sexual relations. But perhaps still stronger than the influence of such events is that of many factors which, too minute and numerous to be detailed, still by their continuous action, impair from day to day the existing equilibrium of the two sexes as regards age and number. Yet the results of the influence of these minute factors are quite

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elopement in these conditions is a very revolutionary act. The situation is the more aggravated the smaller the tribe, since then it more often happens that a tribesman cannot find a proper consort for himself.

<sup>1</sup> As regards such catastrophes, we have information concerning the North American Indians. For instance, a storm which swamped most of the Sewee canoes with their able-bodied men, and a tempest owing to which a party of five-hundred Winnebago warriors perished when on Lake Michigan.

clear and evident: there are great divergencies in the numerical relation of persons of opposite sex even in the tribes of one and the same stock. We have already referred to this. It is impossible for such differences, if they assume a stable character, not to affect the structure of the family: it is certain that polyandry so frequently noted in some hill tribes of India, has been due to the small number of women, just as in the tribes where women are more numerous, the only solution is in polygyny. But relations are not always stable; thus, over longer periods of time the same sex does not always prevail in number amongst the adult generation. It may happen that from time to time in any generation slight oscillations to one side or the other may take place. Without any doubt such oscillations must have some effect; apart from the every-day, regular conjugal relations, these oscillations favour loose intercourse between the sexes, going even so far as promiscuity during festivals. In any case, the numerical inequality of the two sexes influences the family structure and married life. In our opinion, many phenomena of marriage custom owe their origin to the improper proportion of the sexes to each other: it is not just to see in them an inheritance from earlier forms of the family (polyandry in Tibet). There is no doubt likewise that any disturbance in the due equilibrium between the various age-groups will in some way influence tribal customs, e. g., the authority enjoyed by the old men and by the traditions preserved by them, the more detailed working up or the decay of the ceremony of initiation, — that tribal sacrament which so closely binds the tribesmen together and so greatly strengthens the authority of the older generation in the tribe.

On the other hand, the influence of individuals in the primitive tribe becomes stronger and that, again, is because the tribal community consists of an inconsiderable number of souls. For every tribesman has in the Australian tribe the same social value as 65,000—85,000 persons in Poland — so many thousand persons so constituted that every one of them is, as regards capabilities, appetites and aspirations, an exact replica of every other. Such a number of citizens, conducting themselves in social life in a uniform manner, displaying the same qualities of mind, good or bad, and, of course, making these qualities evident by deeds of the same

calibre, would be a great power. And in the Australian community a single tribesman is such a power. Even a greater one, for, in European social organization a man is cramped by the bonds of material conditions, is transformed, as it were, into the eyes, hands and tongue of such inanimate things as an estate, a workshop or a shop and lives as the slave of an organized accumulation of material wealth; in such conditions, changes occur largely through the spontaneous pressure of interests and passions. Human consciousness, if directed to social matters, is only one but not the most important, of the factors shaping the social organization of civilized nations. But in primitive communities where such material bonds, i.e., the power of inanimate objects, scarcely exist, tradition, emotional elements, consciously expressed conceptions (in general, factors of a subjective nature) and, finally, a common origin, have quite another weight than in civilization, and primitive man, to a greater extent than we, by his conscious active behaviour, transforms the community in which he lives.<sup>1</sup> In such a social environment an individual of exceptional capabilities and energy, — it matters little whether directed for good or bad, whether he has a conservative or an innovating nature, whether mystically inclined or soberly, is peaceful or warlike, moderate or licentious even to cannibalism — if he can win the obedience of or strike terror into those about him, can leave marked traces of his individuality on the life of his tribe. On account of the small dimensions of the primitive community, such persons appear in a tribe very rarely and at long intervals, but this circumstance does not affect the situation in view of the great periods which the human race has behind it. In any case, as centuries passed and at considerable intervals of time, such personalities would appear in primitive communities; the most varied and conflicting characters succeeded each other in every tribe in the most haphazard sequence, so that communities often lacked some types or others. In a word, the chain of human individualities, exceptional and ordinary alike, was in every tribe through centuries composed necessarily of dissimilar links. And in consequence of this, the final result of such varying influences was often to leave particular, differing traits on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statements of B. Spencer and F.J. Gillen 1899, 12, that in tribes studied by these explorers, the old men introduce new customs at the tribal gatherings.



psychology of even neighbouring tribes. And other factors acted in a similar manner, i. e., they differentiated the psychic character even of adjacent tribes. We continually come across examples such as the following: amongst the group of tribes in Washington and Oregon, the Cathlamet are the most peaceful, the Tillamook are the greatest "villains", the Clatsop are the most honest and the Chinook are the greatest drunkards.<sup>1</sup>

3. Extreme variety of primitive custom. Land-tenure system on New Guinea as an instance of such variety. Some conclusions.

We have emphasized a few factors which at the lowest stages of culture have caused social custom sometimes to assume a different character even amongst kindred tribes. But we have not dealt exhaustively in the analysis with the many circumstances which enhance differentiation, such as the minor but numerous and permanent influences of natural environment which finally result in placing a particular stamp on a whole stock according to the specific natural features of the region it inhabits. We likewise have not referred to a number of other factors, still less tangible, yet no less active, such as acquired experience, occasional friction within the tribe, etc. Even in Europe every family has its own behaviour, amusements, favourite dishes and so on in spite of the powerful influence of uniformity exercised by our social environment. The same applies to an even greater extent to communities at lower stages of culture: every tribe has its particular customs, moulded it is true, in accordance with the same fundamental conceptions of kin, but, even so, greatly different in details and in its realization of such conceptions.

Every region inhabited by primitive peoples furnishes interesting instances of such fluidity of custom.

We shall only consider British New Guinea, and that solely as regards the land-tenure system there.

Thus, in the Turi-Turi tribe (as also in the Kadawa tribe) all the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, actually belongs to

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<sup>1</sup> COX ROSS 1831, I. 302.

the chief: this right of the chief descends in the male line and only when there is no male heir of that line does it descend to the nearest male relative in the female line, but always to a man; every tribesman has the right to clear as much land and to cut as much wood for building canoes or dwellings as he needs. The fishing grounds (coast) are common to all adjacent tribes; the fruit- and sago-trees are the property of the planter, although the land they are grown on belongs to the chief; a part of the tribal land may be sold to another tribe, but not the cocoa trees on it. The women have the same rights of planting as the men; the crop belongs to the woman but when she marries, the right to use the land passes to her nearest male relative. Land is not leased or lent.<sup>1</sup> In the Turiturirubi tribe, cultivated or planted land is personal property, but uncultivated land is held in common by the tribe, and anybody may take trees, grass, etc., from it for building purposes, or make clearings at pleasure; fruit- and sago-trees are also common property if they grow wild. The father can divide ground amongst his sons; if he fails to do so the eldest son or, failing a son, the eldest daughter, divides up the land; it is only when there are no sons that daughters inherit it. A woman may clear a piece of land for herself and, even if she gets married to a man of another tribe, it remains her property and passes on to her children, although these latter may live with their father's tribe. There is no record of selling or exchanging land. The trees on a given site may belong to a person other than the owner of the land.<sup>2</sup> In the Sinaugolo tribe there is no common-land at all, the whole area having been divided amongst the male population as hereditary property; a father can divide the land amongst his children, or not, as he thinks fit; but if he does not do so the land becomes the property of his eldest son and he in turn gives a portion to his younger brothers. A daughter inherits if she is an only child, but on her marriage, should she possess any relatives, the land reverts to them; should she be without relatives, her husband takes possession of the land until the eldest male child of the woman is able to walk. Land is sold but not exchanged: they do lend or lease it but for planting only, the fruit- and sago-

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<sup>1</sup> J. B. Cameron, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892-'93, 67-69.

<sup>2</sup> B. A. Hely, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892-'93, 69-70.

trees are the property of the person to whom the land belongs.<sup>1</sup> In the Motu tribe, no land is held in common, each family has its own plantations and is very particular about them; the eldest child, irrespective of sex, inherits the land from the father, and he or she, if willing, divides it amongst his or her brothers and sisters; if not, they cultivate their husband's or wife's land; but when a heiress-daughter marries into another tribe the land passes to her nearest relatives. All fruit-, sago- and cocoanut-trees belong to the person who has planted them, not to the owner of the soil; land is sold, lent, leased and exchanged.<sup>2</sup> In the Ariparuamu tribe, even hunting grounds are hereditary and descend in the male line. The land is inherited in equal shares by the children, irrespective of sex; when an unmarried woman dies her land is inherited by her brother; land cannot be bequeathed to any person outside the tribe. Land is sold, lent, exchanged and leased. Fruit-trees are usually the property of the person to whom the land belongs.<sup>3</sup> In the Siburubi tribe (Wabuda Island), the whole land available for hunting is held in common (even the game killed on anyone's land is divided between the hunter and the owner); everybody has the right to clear there. All children, irrespective of sex, inherit land in equal shares. When a woman marries within the tribe her land becomes her husband's property and is inherited by her children irrespective of sex; a woman who marries a man of another tribe, retains the land whether she remains in the tribe or joins her husband's tribe; in the latter case as a rule, she comes back to plant and to reap the crops; the land is inherited by her children, who may also live in either tribe.<sup>4</sup> The Nemunemu tribe does not sell or exchange land, but it can be lent for planting. Water-areas are tribal property, and there are no private hunting or fishery rights (in almost all the tribes we have hitherto considered, the waters within the bounds of a holding are private property, as also, within its limits, the right to hunt and fish). Planting lands are allotted. Individual property descends not to the owner's children but to his sisters' children.<sup>5</sup> In the Kwaipo tribe, individual

<sup>1</sup> A. C. English, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892—'93, 71.

<sup>2</sup> F. E. Lawes, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892—'93, 73.

<sup>3</sup> B. A. Hely, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1897—'98, 85.

<sup>4</sup> B. A. Hely, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1897—'98, 84.

<sup>5</sup> W. E. Bromilow, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1892—'93, 72.



ownership is recognised, but a number of persons may own a portion of land for planting and their common right to that be recognised. Fruit-trees are the property of the owner of the land: a man owns fruit-trees only on his own land. The owner of land has the exclusive right to the game and fish on it. The eldest son inherits; the woman owns the land if she is the only child, but if she marries, the land reverts to her relatives; if she has none, her husband takes possession of it until her eldest son begins to walk, when it goes to him.<sup>1</sup>

Quite a medley of custom! And it would be more complicated still if we were to make use of all the material concerning New Guinea at our disposal. This diversity has been created by various factors; by that intangible but real "something" inherent in the activities of man, by that other "something" contained in the petty events of every-day life, by a more tangible "something" existing in the natural environment (and thus: proportions, quality and distribution of various kinds of soil and vegetation, the different nature of the game, etc.), and, further, by some apparently unimportant other causes which can only be determined by a detailed study on the spot. One such cause was disclosed by the British enquiry on the New Guinea customary law of land-tenure. Thus it was reported that, in two tribes in which the land is the property of the chief and the tribesmen are only the tenants, reasons of a peculiar kind existed for this system. A few generations before, these tribes, being harrassed by their neighbours, forsook their former abodes and settled in a new place. The chief led his people to these parts and settled it there — these vicissitudes had evidently had such a character that they favoured the seizure by the chiefs and their descendants of all the land occupied by the tribe. And so finally as a result of these numerous and varied factors, instead of the general outline of the structure of primitive society which evens up actual differences and emphasizes permanent, constant traits (the method sometimes so abused by students when dealing with the lower stages of social evolution), a great variety of relations, customs and institutions is attained. This aspect of primitive society, although of great interest, has hitherto been too

<sup>1</sup> A.C. English, in *N. Gui. Rep.* 1895-'94, 64. These same customs hold in the Humeni and Saboia tribes, but common-lands exist also.

neglected. The social organization peculiar to lower stages of culture cannot be covered by a uniform outline, except by one from which, if we may say so, life is absent and only a vague frame-work of gentile organization, of bloody vendetta, etc., remains. This frame-work is of little service: it does not take into account the existence of the many independent and differentiated directions of social evolution, the extreme fluidity of social custom at that period of culture, and finally, the variety of the forms into which the conceptions of the gentile principles incorporate themselves. If these points are disregarded, we receive an inelastic outline-plan which gives an erroneous idea of the reality. In other words, it falsifies it.

Yet that variety in the directions of evolution has its limits.

In the first place, elements exist in the primitive period which, although inherent in the nature of man or in his activities, yet shape themselves according to a logic of their own and appear as a kind of spontaneous natural factor, forcing on man a special social organisation. In the era of civilization the influence inherent in the organized accumulation of material acquirements of human activities, constitutes a power of this kind. Such an influence is lacking in the period of savagery: there is then no cultivation of land, no cattle-breeding, no division of the country into individual holdings and the "adscriptio" of tribesmen as owners or workers to such holdings; there are no immense factories where complex motors and no less complex machines are used and there is no material bond, which keeps people together, no extensive division of labour, there are no social arteries and nerves in the form of modern means of transport and communication, and no stream of products exported and imported. Primitive man is not worried by the need of preserving accumulated wealth or of acquiring new means of production. His material possessions are very few: at the lowest stages of culture a man has no property except what he has on or by him; there are no accumulated commodities or complicated means of production. Social organization evolves freely in accordance with the natural factors which also exist in the animal world and which are reflected with such eloquence in Polish folk-lore. The Polish peasants relate that after the final Judgement-Day, in the life hereafter, Eve's children will be placed between her legs, her daughters' children between their legs and so on from

generation to generation — an immense triangle will be formed containing the whole of mankind, arranged according to descent in the female line. Thus primitive society is ruled by the conceptions of kin. These conceptions exist in primitive society as the natural basis of social unity forced upon it by the physiological functions of the human organism. The tribe is a congregation of persons based on kin, and the social (gentile) apparatus is of use to regulate intermarriage among its component groups. But the principle of kin is realised in different ways and gives rise to various tribal structures. A tribe may be a complex of territorial clans ruled by paternal or maternal law, or again a collection of totem-gentes, or, as in some Australian tribes, it may consist of two moieties (phratries) divided into totems, but interwoven with the “generations” or, to use the ordinary expression, “classes”. There may be two (or four) such “classes” in each moiety: each class of a moiety is restricted to marry within its equivalent class in another moiety, children constitute a new class, grandchildren take the class of their grandparent (and again this inheritance is either by paternal or by maternal line) and so on.

Then, descent is always an active force. Undoubtedly, the tribes which have come from the same stock and whose languages have a common origin will have many customs in common the number of which will decrease as more and more generations separate them from their common ancestors. The small dimensions of the primitive communities favour the appearance of differentiations, but centuries are required before these differentiations can radically change tribal custom. This is so self-evident that we shall not even cite examples in support of this statement.

Finally, we must not forget the reciprocal influence of tribes upon each other and their mutual acculturation. This may proceed very slowly, but it takes place and the North American Indians furnish notable evidence of this. Along the Pacific coast, in British Columbia, amongst tribes of different stocks, there are very many customs the presence of which can only be explained by mutual acculturation. And gentile totemism, so general to the east of the Rocky Mountains, has in tribes of different linguistic stocks so many points in common that these resemblances cannot be ascribed to accidental coincidences during the evolution of these



tribes. We are forced to presume that these resemblances in gentile totemism are to a considerable extent caused by acculturation.

We shall not examine more closely the fluidity of primitive custom (this fluidity is different in intermarriage regulations from what it is in the organization of public service bodies or again in regulations concerning land-tenure even in the case of hunting lands etc.). We have been concerned mainly with a single matter: we have desired to show that the excessive and sometimes exclusive use of too far-reaching generalisations is inadvisable and even disadvantageous. Such treatment of the subject undoubtedly takes the fundamental features into account and has been most useful in attaining an understanding of primitive society. It has furnished the key to the closed book of that society and thanks to it we have been able to reach deep down into the structure of primitive social life. It is further possible that, basing ourselves on the results of such treatment of the subject, we may be able to probe still deeper. We have been enabled to realise that it overlooks the manifold differentiation of the fundamental conceptions of primitive social life and disregards the individuality of ever-throbbing and ever-changing life. The society of even the lowest contemporary races has had enough time to develop in its own way and to produce an apparently simple but actually complicated social structure. These communities are primitive, but not primary.



## APPENDICES





## APPENDIX I.

### AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

We give below the population of the Australian tribes which were included in Table VI. Before making a detailed examination of the figures in question, some comment on the value of the material collected would not be amiss.

Numerous reservations crop up in this connexion, this being especially the case with regard to tribes of under five hundred souls population.

In the majority of cases, the data for these tribes originate from the correspondents of E. M. Curr, individuals, with but few exceptions, who were fundamentally far from any systematic scientific interest in the phenomena observed by them. In the best of cases, they were persons who were willing to relate what they had seen during their personal contacts with the natives. They saw, or rather encountered, a certain number of bands forming integral parts of tribes: this was usually enough for them, and more often than not they treated such bands as tribal communities. In this wise, a portion of the Arunta, living in the vicinity of Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station was taken to be a separate tribe; portions or local bands of the Nguluma tribe, living near Nickol Bay, were considered to comprise the whole tribe, which was really twice as populous as the estimate furnished by A. K. Richardson would lead to believe; the Brabrolung, one of the Kurnai clans, figures as a separate tribe. It has not always been possible, however, to unearth and remove such misunderstandings. And so, more especially as regards tribes with a population of under 500 souls, the possibility is very great that we may have included in our list such names which are only designations of portions of tribes. For instance, we have included such tribes as the Wonunda Meening and the Yircla Meening: it is by no means excluded that these are only local divisions (or clans) of one and the same tribe. The same probably applies to the Kumbukaburra, who with five other burras, are perhaps not an allied aggregate of tribes but just one tribe. This is one side of the matter. Then comes the second: it is not impossible that the figures of population in certain cases embrace only a part of the entirety of the tribe, i. e., they are lower than the actual population. An example of such error is afforded by A. R. Brown who succeeded in rectifying a similar mistake made prior to him with regard to the tribe on Nickol Bay.

Another difficulty to be overcome is to ascertain where the limits of a tribe end and those of a nation begin. The category of tribes with over 2,500 head of population quoted in our table really embraces only nations.

In New South Wales there were five or six such nations, and every one of them comprised from five to twenty tribes.<sup>1</sup> We have given three such nations in our list: the Wiradjuri, the Kamilaroi and the Barkunji; as regards the Berriat nation, as also an anonymous aggregate of which we have given only one tribe (viz., the Tatathi), we have been obliged to pass them over, since we have no statistical data regarding them at all. A nation is a group of kindred tribes who are on friendly terms and whose languages are somewhat, but not altogether similar:<sup>2</sup> the tribes of such a group often arrange initiation ceremonies under a mutual understanding; sometimes the distance separating the groups (as, for example, with the Kamilaroi) probably proves an obstacle to the tribes meeting in full force. Such nations are likewise probably to be found amongst the 1,000—2,500 population category of our table. At least this is so according to the sources from which we profit. These would be the Bangerang and the Jajowerang, whilst even Curr would probably have treated the Kurnai in this manner if he had been obliged to formulate his opinion clearly. We cannot issue any definite opinion whether these were really nations or only large tribes, on the basis of the material we have at hand. But we draw attention to this difficulty as also to the caution which is indicated and even essential when studying the data given hereunder.

It is perhaps superfluous but we add that the inclusion of another hundred or two hundred Australian tribes, omitted from Table VI, must have to a certain and perhaps even to a great extent (we can state nothing on this matter) changed the aspect of our table, i. e., the mutual ratio of the various categories.

### *1. Tribes numbering less than 500 souls*

1. **Aldolinga**, Krichauff Ranges, Centr. Au. About 160 souls some years before 1886, F. E. H. W. Krichauff, in *Pr. Geo. (S. Au.)*, II (1886—'88). Probably, the Aldolinga formerly had a somewhat larger population, but no doubt they did not exceed 500 souls.

2. **Boetherboolok** (Butherabuluk), see **Nerboolok**.

3—23. Twenty-one associated tribes in Western Victoria, described by J. Dawson. The large gatherings of these twenty-one tribes must have numbered 2,520 natives (an average of 120 in a tribe). In the estimation of some of the earliest settlers, this calculation of the average strength of each tribe is too low, but the statements of the natives were the most reliable for J. Dawson 1891, 3—4. At the annual great meetings of the associated tribes there were usually four languages spoken so distant from one another that the young people speaking one of them could not understand a word of the other three. The other tongues spoken at the meeting might be termed dialects of these four languages. Such a very distant language was spoken by

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, 345—346.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, 345.



500—600 souls on an average. (According A. W. Howitt 1904, 69, there were at least ten languages, or perhaps more correctly dialects, and it is reasonable to assume that there was probably the same number of tribes. The tribe then should have numbered 250 souls on an average).

24. **Dieri** (Dieyerie) and their neighbours: Yantruwunta, Yaurorka, Ngameni, Wonkanguru, Karanguru, Yelyuyendi on the lower Cooper Creek and at the corresponding shore of Lake Eyre. W. J. Pauli, in E. M. Curr, II. 18, states that this country was first occupied by the Whites in 1876, at which time the Ngameni (Ominee), Wonkanguru (Wongonoroo), Karanguru (Kuranyooroo) and Yelyuyendi (Yarleeyandee) tribes aggregated 600—800 souls. S. Gason in E. M. Curr, II. 44, and in J. D. Woods, 257, estimated the Dieri in 1874 at 230, the Yantruwunta, Yaurorka, Ngameni and Wonkanguru jointly at 800 souls. The Dieri boasted of their superiority over their neighbours, frequently speaking of them as their children and of themselves as the fathers of all these tribes, A. W. Howitt, in *J. A. I.*, XX (1891). 33. The above-named tribes were scattered over an area of 100,000 sq. miles; "the aborigines may be said to be numerous when the nature of the country is considered. I estimated them at about 1200", A. W. Howitt in R. Brough Smyth, II. 300—301. H. Basedow, XIV, could hardly muster 300 wretched and decrepit people in the Lake Eyre region amongst the Dieri, Ominee, Yaurorka and Yantruwunta tribes, but states that only forty years earlier the four tribes had numbered many(?) thousand and the white settlers had asked for greater police protection.

25. **Doora**, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Mt. Remarkable, S. Au. The Whites came in about 1849; the tribe is said to have numbered 50—100 souls, by 1880 it was reduced to 8. The area of their country was 900 sq. miles. The smallpox visited them in about 1830, J. C. Valentini, in E. M. Curr, II. 136.

26. The tribe around Geelong, on the Barwon River, Victoria. The tribe, when the first Whites settled, was composed of at least 173 souls; in 1853, only 34 remained and by 1863, jointly with the Colac, there were but 28 souls, Green in R. Brough Smyth, I. XIX, 41, 43. The name of the tribe was probably Witowurrung (R. Brough Smyth) or Wudthaurung (A. W. Howitt 1904, 70). The native population of this region has much declined in numbers: in the districts of Melbourne, Geelong, Portland, in short, in Australia Felix, entire tribes, who about 1830 had numbered 300—400 souls, were extinct by 1848, J. C. Byrne: *Emigrant's Guide to N. S. Wales etc.* (8th ed. 1848), 70.

27. **Kaitish**, a tribe in Central Australia, north of the Arunta. Gillen and Spencer 1912, 324, referred to them as a small tribe and to the Arunta as a powerful one. Apparently they were not more numerous than tribes Nos. 24 and 25.

28. **Karanguru** (Karanyooroo), see Dieri.

29. **Keidnamutha** (Unyamootha) a fierce and warlike tribe in the Beltana country. The country was first occupied by the Whites in 1857;

the tribe numbered 152 souls in 1865 and 50 souls in 1883, S. Gason, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 119.

30. **Koongerri**, Kungarditchi and Birria, in the country adjacent to the junction of the Thomson and Barcoo rivers. The Whites settled in 1874; these three tribes jointly numbered 1,200, the Birria being the most powerful with about 500 souls, J. Heangney, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 375, 378.

31. **Kukata**, see **Parnkalla**.

32. **Kumbukaburra**, Main Range between the Belyando and Cape rivers. The country was first occupied by the Whites in 1862, when the tribe was estimated at about 400 souls. By 1880—'83 it had been reduced to a half of that number, J. Mac Glashan, in *E. M. Curr*, III. 18. According to A. W. Howitt 1904, 62, they were probably a portion of a larger tribe (namely, of the Wakelburra).

33. **Kungarditchi**, see **Koongerri**.

34. **Kuyani** (Kooyiannie), Beltana Country. The area of their country was about 5,000 sq. miles. The tribe numbered about 50 souls in about 1883, *E. M. Curr*, II. 118. This tribe must have always been small and not exceeded some hundred souls, as was the case with the Dieri and other tribes of this part of Australia.

35. **Majanna**, at Shark's Bay, W. Au. When the country was first occupied by the Whites in 1874, the Majanna were estimated at 200 souls. No signs of smallpox previous to the advent of the Whites were then observed. No decrease has been noted among them, at least up to 1883. Fr. Barley, in *E. M. Curr*, I. 306.

36. **Milya-uppa**, at Torrowotto Lake. The Whites settled there in 1863, the tribe at that time numbering some 200 souls; by 1872 the tribe had fallen to 150 and by 1879 only about 60 remained, J. A. Reid, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 178.

37. **Mooloola**, between Brisbane and Gympie on the coast. In 1863 when the country of the tribe was first occupied by the Whites, the Mooloola were thought to number 300 persons; they were only 40 in about 1880. The smallpox raged in their country during the early days of colonization, R. Westaway, in *E. M. Curr*, III. 138. The tribe was exogamous; probably it was part of a larger (intertribal) community.

38. **Moorloobulloo**, at the junction of King's Creek and the Georgina R. (Moorloobulloo is probably the name of the country, and Koonkoole-nya the name of the tribe, as E. W. Roth 1897, 41, at Mooraboola, located a tribe of that name). The Whites first settled in 1876, at that time the strength of the tribe was about 250 souls; this number was reduced to 180 by 1883. No signs of smallpox previous to the advent of the Whites are reported, J. O. Machatie, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 366. They were exogamous, presumably being part of a larger (intertribal) community.

39. **Muliarra**, on the Upper Sandford, W. Au. The country was first occupied by the Whites in 1874, the tribe at that time numbering about 250 souls, at which figure it remained to about 1880. The tribe in about 1864 was ravaged by a terrible outbreak of smallpox, and so many died that the living were unable to bury the dead, and their remains were devoured by wild dogs, L. Gifford, in E. M. Curr, I. 375—376. Previous to the epidemic the tribe perhaps exceeded 500 souls.

40. **Mungerra**, Upper Cape River, Queensland. When the Whites first occupied the country, the Mungerra were estimated at 350 souls, their country being about 300 sq. miles in area; their numbers in about 1883 being 150 souls, M. Armstrong, in E. M. Curr, II. 464.

41. **Mycoolun**, between the Gregory and Leichardt rivers, Queensland. The country was first settled by the Whites in 1864, the tribe then numbering about 400 souls, reduced to 200 by 1883, M. S. Lamond, in E. M. Curr, II. 322.

42. **Natrakboolok**, see **Nerboolok**.

43. **Nerboolok** (*Nira-baluk* in A. W. Howitt 1904, 71) and their neighbours: **Bootherboolok** (*Buthera-baluk* of A. W. Howitt, *ib.*, 70), **Ngooraialum** (perhaps *Ngaruk-willam* in A. W. Howitt, *ib.*, 70) and **Natrakboolok** (we could not identify this name with any in A. W. Howitt), small tribes in Victoria. These tribes were very mixed up by intermarriages and formed a sort of petty nation, but spoke the dialects of at least two languages. E. M. Curr, III. 525—524, estimated about 1883 the total number of the four tribes at 600 souls, the *Ngooraialum* mustered then 200, the *Natrakbooluk* 100 and the *Nerboolok* 200 souls. There is no doubt that, previous to the advent of the Whites, the numbers of all these tribes were larger, but probably no tribe exceeded 500 souls. The tribes belonged to the Kulin "nation," A. W. Howitt, *ib.*, 70, 71.

44. **Ngameni** (*Ominee*, *Auminee*, see *Dieri*).

45. **Ngannityiddi**, see **Parnkalla**.

46. **Ngooraialum** (*Ngaruk-willam*), see **Nerboolok**.

47. **Nukunnu**, see **Parnkalla**.

48. **Oonomurra** (perhaps *Woonamurra* of E. W. Roth), the Flinders and Cloncurry rivers, Queensland. When the Whites first entered on the extensive territory of this tribe in 1865, the *Oonomurra* were estimated to number only 200 souls, by 1880 their numbers did not exceed 100 souls, A. Mc.Gillivray in E. M. Curr, II. 340.

49. **Parnkalla**, and their neighbours: **Kukata**, **Willuro** (or **Nauo**), **Nukunnu**, **Ngannityiddi**, peninsula of Port Lincoln, S. Au. All these tribes seem in general to have been on tolerably good terms with each other. According to C. W. Schürmann, 249—251, any attempt at computing the numbers of the natives was futile as he never heard of a whole tribe being collected together at one time; but assuming each tribe as con-



taining 200 souls, the real numbers would by no means be exceeded. By 1843 there were in the Port Lincoln district 60 natives in regular contact with Europeans, and 340 in irregular contact (probably the Parnkalla and Nauo), Moorhouse, quoted by E. J. Eyre, I. 371. A. W. Howitt 1904, 47, referring to these tribes, related that the Kukata was a large tribe and spoken of by the Dieri as a fierce one, but its numbers probably did not exceed 500 souls.

50. *Pitta-Pitta*, at Boulia, Queensland. E. W. Roth 1897, 41, did not suppose (in 1897) that the whole tribe numbered more than 200 souls. At that time the natives in north-west Central Queensland were dying out but it is very doubtful whether the Pitta-pitta formerly exceeded 500 souls.

51. *Ringa-ringa*, on the Hamilton River, Queensland. Some portion of their country is reported to have been first settled in 1868 and afterwards abandoned, being finally re-occupied in 1876—'78. The Ringa-ringa were 300 souls strong in about 1880, perhaps somewhat reduced by the usual consequences of the coming of the Whites, R. N. Collins in E. M. Curr, II. 350, 351.

52. *Ringa-rungawah* (*Rungo-rungo* in E. W. Roth 1897), Roxburgh Downs station, Queensland. 120 souls in about 1880, J. Craigie, in E. M. Curr, III. 350. Perhaps at that time their numbers were already reduced but the tribe, like all of its neighbours (Nos. 38, 50, 51 and 52), was insignificant in numbers and probably formerly did not exceed 500 souls.

53—55. *Tharamirttong*, *Worargery* and other tribes, to whom rations were distributed at Tangamballanga (N. E. Victoria). Over an area of about 2,000 sq. miles there were three or four "powerful" tribes, each of which, within the memory of old settlers, numbered 200—300 souls. In 1842, 40 blacks were all who remained, Henry B. Lane (report), quoted by R. Brough Smyth, I. 38. The basin of the Mitta-mitta River, the country of these tribes, is marked by a white spot on the map of Victoria, in A. W. Howitt 1904, 72 (map).

56. *Unmatjera*, a small tribe, Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 324.

57. *Wajook*, in the York district, W. Au. The district was occupied by the Whites in 1834. The tribe seems always to have been a small one and numbered 80 souls when first known: there only remained 40 by 1879. No traces of smallpox, so abundant in the North, were noticed in this tribe by the white new-comers, E. R. Palmer, in E. M. Curr, I. 336, 338.

58. *Willuro* (Nauo), see Parnkalla.

59. *Woewurung* (*Wurunjerri-baluk*, A. W. Howitt 1904, 70). on the Yarra River, Victoria. In 1838 there were 205 souls (W. Thomas in R. Brough Smyth, I. 32) and in 1863 only 22 (Green, *ib.*, I. 43). The tribe seems to have been more populous previous to the year 1838, it then probably numbered somewhat over 500 souls.

60. *Wonkanguru* (*Woongoonooroo*, *Wongkaooroo*), see Dieri.

61. **Wonunda Meening**, Eyre Sand Patch, W. Au. The Wonunda, when first the Whites settled amongst them in 1877, numbered about 80 persons over an area of 4,000—5,000 sq. miles. As far as can be ascertained, the smallpox was unknown in the locality, W. Williams, in E. M. Curr, I. 395—396. The Wonunda Meening were exogamous, and they probably were one of the sub-tribes of the Meening nation (see Yircla Meening.)

62. **Woollathura**, on the Murray River, at and below Moama, Victoria. A small tribe, Strutt in R. Brough Smyth, I. 38.

63. **Worargery**, see **Tharamirttong**.

64. **Yanda** (Yunda in E. Walter Roth 1897, 41), at the head of the Hamilton River. The territory of the tribe, estimated at 2,000—3,000 sq. miles, was first occupied by the Whites in 1878, the Yanda are said to have numbered then only about 100 souls. There remained by 1880 only 50, E. Eglinton, in E. M. Curr, II. 360. It is possible that in 1878 the tribe was already reduced, but the Yanda seem to have always been insignificant in numbers and probably never exceeded 500 souls.

65. **Yangeeberra** (probably the Yankibura, A. W. Howitt 1904, map No. 3) on the Barcoo R. The country was occupied by squatters in 1861; the original number of the Yangeeberra, which is thought to have been about 170 souls, was by 1883 reduced to 50 all told, A. Ahern, in E. M. Curr, III. 72.

66. **Yantruwunta** (Yandrawontha), see **Dieri**.

67. **Yarleeyandee** (Yelyuyendi), see **Dieri**.

68. **Yaurorka** (Yarrawaurka), see **Dieri**.

69. **Yelina**, on the Burke R., Queensland (perhaps the Yellunga of E. W. Roth). The Whites settled in 1877, the number of the Yelina was estimated to have been about 200 souls in 1877 and 1883, E. Eglinton, in E. M. Curr, II. 346. By 1897, the Yellunga were fast disappearing, E. W. Roth 1897, 41.

70. **Yirkla** (Eucla) Meening. The Whites came in 1872. The numbers of the tribe were then pretty much what they were in 1880, i. e., only 30 souls, their country being about 4,200 and even up to 7,000 sq. miles in area, W. Williams in E. M. Curr, I. 400. They were one of the tribes of the Meening (Mining) nation. Of the Meening, E. M. Curr had only positive accounts of ten "tribes" (the Wonunda Meening numbered about 80 souls). These ten tribes may have numbered about 1,000 or even more souls.

## 2. Tribes numbering 500—1000 souls

1. **Birria**, see **Koongerri** and **Kungarditchi**.

2. **Booandik**, at Mount Gambier. About 1850 they numbered 900 souls and by 1880 were reduced to 17, D. S. Stewart, in Fison and Howitt, 30, 42.

3. **Byellee**, at Keppel Bay, Queensland. The country was occupied by the Whites in 1855. The tribe at that time numbered about 300 persons, by 1882 reduced to 32. About the beginning of the XIX century smallpox visited them and carried off large numbers, E. M. Curr, III. 114. It is possible they formerly exceeded 500 souls.

4. **Dalleyburra**, at the heads of the Thomson River, Queensland. Approximately 500 souls about 1863, R. Christison quoted by M. M. Bennett, in *J. A. I.*, LVII (1927). 401. In 1878, according to R. Christison, there were about 300 souls in all, Beddoe, in *J. A. I.*, VII (1878). 146.

5. The **Halifax Bay** tribe, divided into seven "sub-tribes" (bara) over an area of 450 sq. miles. In 1865 the country was first occupied by the Whites, and the tribe was estimated at about 500 persons. In 1880 there were in all 200 persons, J. Cassady, in E. M. Curr, II. 424.

6—10. The tribes of the **Hastings R.** district. Five tribes gathered at an initiation meeting, numbering about 700 adult men, Ph. Cohen, in *A. Au. J.* 1897, No. 4., 97; in one of many ceremonies a body of 300 warriors advanced against the lads, *ib.*, No. 6., p. 115. Each tribe numbered over 500 souls on the average.

11. **Kanoloo**, at the head of the Comet R., Queensland. The country was occupied by the Whites about 1860. At that date the tribe is said to have numbered about 500; it was reduced to 300 by 1869 and to 200 by 1879, Th. Jesephson, in E. M. Curr, III. 96.

12. **Kariera**, on the coast of W. Au., over an area of 3,500—4,000 sq. miles. According to A. R. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). 146, the Kariera in 1863, when the Whites first came, probably numbered about 750 souls; in 1913 there were 80—90 souls.

13. The tribe at **Kojonup** and **Eticup**. The country was occupied by the Whites in 1859, at which period the tribe was thought to have numbered about 500 souls; by 1880 there remained about 200 souls, W. H. Graham, in E. M. Curr, I. 348.

14. **Larrakia**, Port Darwin district. The population of the tribe, in all 500 persons, over an area of 1,024,000 acres, was said in 1880 not to have decreased since the advent of the Whites, but the smallpox about 1860 cut off so many of the tribe that the dead had to be left unburied, P. Foelsche, in E. M. Curr, I. 250—252 *passim*. Previous to the epidemic they appear to have been more numerous, but probably they did not exceed 1,000 souls.

15. **Mardudhunera** (Maratunna), on the coast of W. Au. They occupied an area of about 3,500 sq. miles, A. R. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). 176. If the density of population was amongst them the same as with their neighbours, the Ngaluma and the more distant Kariera, they would have numbered about 700—800 souls.

16. **Moorundie**. Dr. Walker referred to 200 adult persons in 1864, but there were only two children among them, G. Taplin 1879, 31.



17. **Narboo Murre**, Logan Creek. One of several associated tribes speaking dialects of a common language; in 1863, when the Whites settled there, the Narboo Murre were estimated at 500 souls; in 1880 there were 100 souls. a Resident, in *E. M. Curr*, III. 36. It is possible they were a local branch of a larger tribal community.

18—22. About 1870—'73 the country from Newcastle Bay to Cape York was occupied by five large tribes mustering about 800—1,000 fighting men or about 3,000 people of all ages; by 1898 the tribe which held the country from Somerset to Cape York was extinct and the others were represented by no more than 100 survivors, Archibald Meston: *Report on the Abor. of Queensland* 1896, 2. Each of these tribe probably numbered about 600 souls on the average.

23. **Ngaluma** (Gnalluma), at Nickol Bay, W. Au. According to A. K. Richardson (in *E. M. Curr*, I. 396) the Nickol Bay tribe numbered 250—300 souls in 1864, when the Whites first settled there; smallpox killed off very many of them in 1866. A. R. Brown, *J. A. I.*, XLIII (1913). 171, states that A. K. Richardson had taken into account only part of the tribe: it is probable the whole Ngaluma tribe included twice as many persons as that part of it referred to by Richardson. The extent of the tribal territory was about 2,500 sq. miles.

24. **Ngurla**, at the mouth of the de Grey River, W. Au. The Whites settled this country in 1864 and since that period till 1880 the tribe, which consisted in 1880 of several hundred souls, has increased rather than diminished in numbers. Large numbers died of smallpox in 1865—'66, Ch. Harper, in *E. M. Curr*, I. 288. 290.

25. **Paroingi** (Barinji), the lower Paroo River. The Whites first occupied the Paroo country in 1863, the tribe is thought to have then numbered about 500. About 1850 smallpox exterminated half the tribe, G. Scrivener, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 182.

26 **Pegulloburra**, Cape River, Queensland. The Whites settled in 1863, the squatters began to murder the natives and by 1868 there remained only 125 able-bodied men, the numbers of the women and children being considerably greater. Six burra or related tribes, namely, the Pegulloburra, Yukkaburra, Mungooburra, Wokkulburra, Mungolloburra and Goondoodooburra, over an area of 10,000 sq. miles, numbered in 1880 at least 200 men and a much larger number of women, Chatfield, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 471, 468. Perhaps these burra were local branches of the same tribe, or of a nation.

27. **Tatathi**. On the Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee River and on the adjacent parts of the Murray River were scattered the tribes of "a considerable nation" for which A. L. P. Cameron, 346, did not succeed in finding any common distinguishing name. It consisted of the following tribes: Ithi-ithi, Wathi-wathi, Tatathi, Muthi-muthi, Keramin and perhaps some others. (L. E. Threlkeld, IX, gives the following names for the associated tribes: Yerry-yerry, Marra-marra, Ynyu, Tatathi, Watty).

A.W. Howitt 1904, 52, reported the Tatathi as a strong tribe: like them, the Bangerang, numbering about 1,200 souls, were also a strong tribe according to Howitt. The Tatathi apparently must have at least numbered some hundreds. According to the third report of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines, R. Brough Smyth, I. 44, estimated this tribe, jointly with the Leitchi-leitchi tribe, at 180 souls in 1863. The Yarra-yarra numbered only 39 souls in 1863, Goodwin in R. Brough Smyth, I. 43.

28. *Tooolooa* (Dandan), at the watershed of the Boyne River. The country was occupied by the Whites in 1854 when the tribe was estimated at 700 persons; this number was reduced to 43 by 1882, E.M.Curr, III. 122.

29. *Torraburri*, on the Barcoo River. In 1862, when the Whites first settled in the neighbourhood, the tribe numbered some 700 persons but was reduced to 136 souls by 1880, E. M. Curr, III. 79.

30. *Turrbal*, on the Brisbane River. About 400 souls in 1852; about 1904 they became extinct. They were really a large group of allied tribes, A.W. Howitt 1904, 595.

31. *Wonnarua*, on the Hunter River and its tributaries over an area of 2,000 sq. miles, N.S.Wales. In 1841 the tribe numbered 500 souls, R. Miller in E. M. Curr, III. 352; *Au. A. J.*, I. 152, estimated them at 500—600 souls at about the same time. By about 1880 the tribe was almost extinct, E. M. Curr, III. 352.

32—36. *Yaralde*, Lake Albert and Lake Alexandrina, South Australia. One of the associated Narrinyeri tribes. In 1877 G. Taplin wrote down the names of 613 members of the Narrinyeri tribes; thanks to this list, A. R. Brown, *J. A. I.*, XLVIII (1918). 230, found that in 1877 over 400 of the Yaralde tribe were living and estimated the original number of the tribe (before 1820, when an epidemic of smallpox carried off the natives in hundreds) at not less than 600. Other tribes of the Narrinyeri federation were: the Tananalun, Portaulun, Koraulun and the Encounter Bay tribe. These tribes each numbered on the average about 600—800 souls (see: Narrinyeri). According to Moorhouse (E. J. Eyre, II. 371), in 1843 there were 230 Encounter Bay natives in regular contact with the Whites and about 100 in looser relations.

37. The Yorke's Peninsula tribe (*Narranga?*). About 1847, when the Whites first settled there, the tribe numbered some 500 souls; it was reduced to about half that number by 1856, and in 1880 it numbered less than 100 souls, W. Fowler, in E. M. Curr, II. 143.

### 3. Tribes numbering 1,000—2,500 souls

1. *Arunta*, "probably the largest tribe in Central Australia." It occupied a track of country extending from north to south over a distance of 400 miles; how far the tribe extended east and west there was no means of knowing with anything like accuracy, Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 185. According to J. F. Gillen and R. E. Warburton, the country of a part of

the Arunta, around the Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station, was first occupied by the Whites in 1870, its area being about 500 sq. miles and its population appraised at 600 souls, but J. F. Gillen and R. E. Warburton reported these numbers as an over-estimate, E. M. Curr, I. 416. In 1895, at an initiation ceremony, there were over 100 adult men, Gillen and B. Spencer 1899, 280 (and 1912, 262), but the discovery of gold and the appearance of adventurers in 1902 were destructive, the Arunta were then disappearing. When they were first studied (i. e., about 1895), the Arunta must have numbered at least 2,000; thirty years later they were not more than 300 or 400, Gillen and B. Spencer 1912, 300 and B. Spencer 1927, 1. (C. Strehlow, I. (1913), pt. IV, p. V, previous to 1913, estimated the number of the Arunta at the mission of Hermannsburg at 170 souls or perhaps somewhat more and E. M. Curr, I. 416, placed the number of the "tribe" around the Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station at 600 souls over an area of 500 sq. miles.)

2. **Bangerang** (Yoorla). Ten local septs on the Goulburn River, Victoria. They spoke of themselves and were always spoken of by other tribes as the Bangerang. When E. M. Curr, III. 567, 568, first knew them, their original strength was 1,200 souls; A. W. Howitt 1904, 53. One of the ten septs then numbered 300, three 150, three 100, and three 50 souls each, E. M. Curr, *ib.*

3. **Jajowerang** (in A. W. Howitt: Jajaurong), a tribe in Victoria or more properly a nation divided into seven distinct "tribes". They are said to have at a remote period numbered about 1,000 souls, J. Parker in R. Brough Smyth, II. 154; R. Brough Smyth, I. XIX.

4. **Kakarakalla**, at North West Cape, W. Au. In 1877 when the territory was occupied by the Whites, the Kakarakalla numbered about 2,000 souls, L. Gifford, in E. M. Curr, I. 302.

5. **Kulkadoon**, on the Seymour River, Queensland. F. C. Urquhart roughly estimated their territory at 6,000 sq. miles and their numbers at about 2,000 souls, Urquhart, in E. M. Curr, II. 326 (Curr ascribed to this tribe a much larger territory); B. H. Purcell, 19, placed the number of the Kulkadoon at about 3,000 souls over an area of 12,000—14,000 sq. miles.

6. **Kurnai**, Gippsland. J. Bulmer, in E. M. Curr, III. 544, and in R. Brough Smyth, I. 36, estimated the native population of Gippsland in 1841 (i. e., probably the Bidwelli and the clans of the Kurnai) at 1,000 or at the most at 1,500 souls. Fison and Howitt, 181, placed the number of the Kurnai in 1839 when the Whites first settled there at 1,000—1,500; by 1877 there were only 140 survivors. One of the Kurnai clans, the Brabrolung, is said to have numbered 150 souls in 1862, and only 80 souls in 1882, Bulmer in E. M. Curr, III. 544.

7. The tribe near **Maneroo**, exterminated by neighbouring tribes in about 1815. It is said to have numbered about 2,000 souls, R. Brothers



in *Au. A. J.*, I. (1897), No. 3, p. 9. The numbers and even the event itself are very open to question.

8. *Miappe* (*Miubbi* or *Myappe*) on the Cloncurry River, Queensland. About 1,000 souls when the Whites settled in that district; a few years later, in 1868, they amounted only to 250, in 1879 there were about 80 souls, E. Palmer, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 330. Their tribal territory was 2,400—3,500 sq. miles in area, E. Palmer, in *J. A. I.*, XIII. 277.

9. *Mulya-napa*, in the north-western corner of N. S. Wales. The country was first stocked in 1864; the *Mulya-napa* are said to have numbered about 1,000 souls; by 1880 their numbers were reduced to 347, W. Morton, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 158.

10. *Port Davey* tribe, Tasmania. It was estimated at 1,000 souls. The whole tribe except for one solitary survivor was destroyed by the small-pox, A. Oldfield 221.

11. *Queeariburra*, in the basin of the Lynd River, Queensland. The Whites began to occupy this territory in 1872; F. C. Urquhart estimated the tribe in 1883 at 1,170 souls: 800 women, 270 men and a very few (about 100) children. Assuming this estimate of the women to have been correct and that the number of females had remained unaltered since 1872, the *Queeariburra* population, according to *E. M. Curr*, II. 400, should be set down at the time of the incursion of the Whites as 4,800 persons in all (namely 2,400 men, 800 women and 1,600 children) — a decidedly excessive figure. Even the estimate of women for 1883 is very questionable.

12. *Ya-itma-thang* (Omeo), on the high plains of Omeo, Victoria. One of its divisions, the *Kundangora* (R. Brough Smyth's *Gundanora*), numbered about 500—600 souls in 1835, A. Currie Wills, in R. Brough Smyth, I. 37. In 1852 a great rush of miners invaded the Omeo district, and by 1862 there only remained 4 or 5 members of this once numerous tribe, A. W. Howitt 1904, 78. The tribe was quite extinct by about 1895, but thirty years before (about 1860—'65) there still remained 100—150 persons, and old settlers saw gatherings of 500—700 natives of either sex, R. Helms, in *Pr. Linn. N. S. Wa.*, X (1895). 388.

#### 4. Tribes (nations) numbering over 2,500 souls.

1. *Bakunjy* (*Barkinji*), along the banks of the Lower Darling, N. S. Wales. Really, the *Barkinji* were a nation composed of many tribes (A. L. P. Cameron, 346, named seven divisions, some of which may in fact have been only sub-tribes or even clans), cf. A. W. Howitt 1904, 50 and R. H. Mathews, in *J. Roy. N. S. Wa.*, XXXII. 241. They were a "strong tribe", L. E. Trelkeld, IX. About 1845 the Whites occupied their country and the *Bakunjy* were then in numbers not fewer than 3,000 souls; in 1863 there were 1,000 and not more than 80 in 1880, Greville N. Teulon, in *E. M. Curr*, II. 189.

2. **Kamilaroi**, N. S. Wales. "A large nation, consisting of many tribes under the same designation," A. W. Howitt 1904, 57. The Kamilaroi constituted a nation which was foremost in strength and importance amongst those of N. S. Wales, A. L. P. Cameron, 345. Greenway, in *Au. A. J.* XII (1910), No. 3, p. 55, when he first went among them in 1845, estimated them at 6,000—7,000 souls; in 1902 they might have numbered 200 at the utmost, and it was doubtful if such a number of true Kamilaroi could have been found.

3. **Narrinyeri**, an association of several tribes, from Cape Jervis to Lacepede Bay and inland up the Murray River above Lake Alexandrina, S. Au. "A sort of confederacy, and however the different tribes might quarrel among themselves, they always presented a united front to neighbouring tribes," G. Taplin in J. D. Woods, 2. But A. R. Brown, in *J. A. I.*, XLVIII (1918), 230, stated that only since the time of G. Taplin has it been customary to denote five tribes — the Yaralde, Tananalun, Portaulun, Koraulun and the Encounter Bay tribe — together as the Narrinyeri. But it was G. Taplin and not the natives themselves who first used that name to denote a distinct body of persons. The Narrinyeri were no tribe, but at best only an aggregate of several tribes. About 1820 a disease, probably smallpox, carried off the natives by hundreds, G. Taplin, *ib.*, 44—45. In 1840 the Narrinyeri, south of Lakes Alexandrina and Albert, could easily muster 800 fighting men (3,000—3,200 souls), G. Taplin, *ib.*, 154. In 1849 G. Taplin, *ib.*, 2, himself saw a battle where about 500 fighting Narrinyeri met some 800 of the Wakanuwan; G. Taplin, *ib.*, 9, estimated the Narrinyeri at 3,000 in 1840, at 600 in 1877, and at 613 in 1879; 511 souls about 1883, E. M. Curr, II.256. At the end of the XIX century there were 100—120 souls, exclusive of half-breeds, E. E. L. Mann, 156. According to A. R. Brown, *ib.*, the whole of the so-called Narrinyeri prior to 1820 could certainly not have been less than 1,800 and it is very improbable that they were more than 6,000. They probably numbered about 3,000—4,000 souls (600—800 souls in each tribe on an average), with a density of 0.6—2.0 souls per sq. mile.

4. **Wiradjuri** (Wiratheri), a tribe of N. S. Wales. The Wiradjuri tribe numbered several thousand souls and inhabited a country of about 135,000 sq. miles, E. M. Curr, III. 364; "a very large tribe or nation of tribes and distinguished by a common language in dialectic forms," A. W. Howitt 1904, 56; a powerful nation and it may have been one of the largest in N. S. Wales, A. L. P. Cameron, 345.

## APPENDIX II.

### NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES

Earlier writers and documents usually quote only the number of warriors in a tribe. The size of the population can easily be calculated on the basis of such figures owing to the fact that with the Indians every male aged over 18 (and sometimes even over 16) was a warrior. According to J. Morse, 375, there was an average of one warrior per five souls of population. This proportion, however, was not uniform: west of the Rockies there was one warrior per six souls of population; with the Missouri Indians one person in four, one in three with the Ohio tribes, and one in three and a half on the Red River. Z. M. Pike, 136, 258, states that in the Dakota tribe there were 5.6 souls of population per warrior, 4.3 amongst the Sauk, Fox and Iowa and about 3.2 with the Osage, Kansa and Pawnee. According to Purcell, 99—100, with the Creek (and Seminole), Choctaw, Cherokee and Catawba, there was one warrior per 3—3.5 souls of population, and with the Chickasaw one per four souls. The estimates quoted are very subjective. We shall quote two more serious attempts to ascertain this ratio. One is that made by Th. Jefferson, who in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 135, obtained the ratio of three warriors per ten souls of population in the Powhatan confederacy at the beginning of the XVII century. The other is that of A. F. Bandelier, III. 47, who states that with the Pueblo Indians the average proportion of adult males to the total population did not exceed four in fifteen and was still lower among the roving peoples of that region. These two norms, furnished by Jefferson and Bandelier, may be accepted as the limits within which the ratio of warriors to total population usually oscillated in the vast majority of Indian tribes. However, individual tribes could yield deviations from these mean figures.<sup>1</sup>

Passing now to statistics of population in the various tribes, we deem it incumbent to furnish a few explanations.

1. We have given for every tribe all the estimates which we have succeeded in finding: in many cases we have not omitted even authors who unceremoniously repeated former estimates or furnished often fantastic data not based on any direct contact with the Indians. We have refrained from

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<sup>1</sup> H. M. Brackenridge 1811, estimated this ratio for forty-six tribes: in twenty-one of these, the ratio varied between 1:3 and 1:4; in twelve cases it was between 1:4 and 1:5; the remaining tribes split up into two equal groups, one above and the other below the norms just quoted.



criticising the estimates quoted, contenting ourselves with tabulating the tribes into several size-groups; in this manner, the inclusion of a given tribe in one or other of the groups automatically indicates our attitude as regards the different appraisals of its population. This applies especially to tribes of under 500 souls of population as also to those with 500 to 1,000 souls of population. The close limits of these two size-groups of tribes afford a fairly clear definition of our views. With tribes of over 1,000 souls, however, this is not so easy since the limits of the groups are farther apart and we have, therefore, in such cases sometimes added a few words of explanation. Wherever such data exists, we have benefited by and quoted the critical appraisals of American ethnologists on the size of tribal populations; we consider that these scientists, having constantly to do with Indian material, have developed an exceptional accuracy of opinion on the subject.

2. In principle, we have only considered those tribes for which the existing data permit the calculation of the original population with a higher degree of probable accuracy. We have departed from this rule as regards some Pacific tribes (most of which are of the Wakashan stock). Here, as regards some Kwakiutl tribes, we have two sets of figures at our disposal: one is connected with J. Work's name, whilst the other is taken from the reports of the Canadian Bureau for Indian Affairs. J. Work's figures, dating from the years 1838—'44, do not arouse confidence: they are invariably round numbers, clash sharply with the proportions universally yielded by statistics and they above all err by being exceedingly inflated. The second set of figures originates from the end of the XIX century, at a time when the tribes concerned had already been greatly reduced in numbers. In spite of this we have included many of these peoples in our table. This was done for the following reasons: for some of the tribes on Vancouver Island we have data for the very beginning of the XIX century (J. R. Jewitt), then for the fifties of the same century we have some figures taken from W. C. Grant and R. Mayne, finally for the eighties and subsequent years we have the official returns of the Canadian Bureau for Indian Affairs. On the basis of these materials we can approximately determine the rate of decrease of population over the period covered.<sup>1</sup> Since the average conditions in which the Kwakiutl and other peoples on the given stretch of the Pacific coast were more or less the same (individual tribes could and certainly did exhibit deviations from the mean), we have considered ourselves justified in applying the ascertained rate of decrease to them also, taking the statistical data of 1880—'90 as our starting point. Quite naturally, it is always possible that for individual tribes such estimates of their former population may be faulty, but we do not believe such likely errors to be so great as to place one or other of the tribes within a glaringly inappropriate size-group.

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<sup>1</sup> Another opportunity of effecting similar calculations, although with a lesser degree of accuracy, is afforded by the Haida of Queen Charlotte Island.

3. The figures quoted have been taken by us from first-hand sources, although not invariably. In some cases, few in number for that matter, we have been obliged to restrict ourselves to quoting only the estimates of other writers. These cases usually cover tribes which had become extinct in the XVII or in the first half of the XVIII century and in the printed records available had left insufficient statistical data regarding their population. In some cases such figures might possibly have been found in the manuscripts hidden away in various archives, but we have considered that the work of unearthing such data would carry us too far beyond the actual aims of this book. We used only some manuscripts found by us in London. In other cases, we have contented ourselves with quoting the data of American scientists, provided that it was felt they could be fully depended upon. Hence, as regards the petty eastern Siouan tribes, we have deemed it sufficient to cite the estimates of J. Mooney; when it came to Californian and Caddoan peoples we had recourse to A. L. Kroeber and H. E. Bolton, whilst for data in respect of the Lower Mississippi peoples and those on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico we are obliged to J. R. Swanton's works. Owing to the absence of appropriate critical studies we have been forced to disregard the native population of Florida altogether.

4. Earlier sources give the name of the same tribe variously; sometimes these various versions are extremely unlike and often differ greatly from the designations commonly accepted to-day. These sometimes quite numerous variants of tribal names do not appear in our statistics of tribal population. We have restricted ourselves to the names applied at present by American ethnography as given in the *Handbook of American Indians*. We have consistently based ourselves on this *Handbook* whenever it was necessary to identify earlier names with those in use to-day and we can state that without that valuable work of reference, the part of our book contained within this Appendix would not have been possible.

5. It is possible that in listing tribes of under 500 souls we have included not only actual tribes but also relatively loosely bound divisions of some of the larger tribes. Such an eventuality is especially possible with regard to tribes of the Salish stock. As H. Hale, 207, stated, the Salish lived in bands numbering from 200 to 300 souls: fighting among these groups was very frequent but they considered themselves as belonging to the same tribe. Yet it may have happened that such a band having its own special name, has been listed as an independent tribal community, for the sources available may not have perceived the tribal organization which existed but which was often really only a very loose one. As typical of such difficulties in determination, the Spokane can be cited: although there apparently was no collective appellation for the aggregate of their bands, they were in spite of that animated by the common sentiment that they were integral parts of a single unit. Hence with Salish and sometimes also with Chinook peoples an apparently independent band could be listed in our table as a separate tribe. The category of tribes with under 500 souls of population may like-

wise err in another respect. For instance, tribes have been included there which were mentioned by Fernando del Bosque in the XVI century, as also some tribes or bands reported on solely by Lewis and Clark, all trace of these peoples disappearing subsequently. They assumed new names or were absorbed by larger aggregates or simply died out very rapidly.

6. The tribes included in the higher categories presented difficulties of another kind. Many of these tribes are divided into independent village communities. These communities were all bound by ties of gentile organization (i. e. the same gentes usually existed in village communities of the tribe) and by a common language, although at times differentiated by local dialects; finally, they had the same tribal traditions and the same rituals. Owing to all these factors, such peoples as the Carriers or the Squamish felt themselves to be a single group and thought of themselves as Carriers and Squamishes but in every-day tribal life the various divisions or village communities emphasised their separate status. J. Mooney expressed such internal contradictions in the domain of common tribal allegiance by using such terms as "Comox tribes" or "Songish tribes". It was for these reasons that we long hesitated whether to treat for instance the Chippewa or the Haida as single tribes or as loose equivalents of a confederacy.<sup>1</sup> We have included them among the tribes as we consider that the White invasion must have done much to weaken further the already loose ties binding such peoples together: we are convinced that before the Whites came, tribal life must have pulsed more vigorously in spite of its disintegration into village communities or bands.

Of course, in our statistics we have taken in account only those tribes the existing data for which would permit an approximately accurate appraisal of their population. We have, therefore, tabulated only a part of the Indian tribes of North America, giving the population statistics for 503 tribes. This number of tribes is quite considerable and we therefore believe that the conclusions we have drawn based on this number of tribes, merit attention.

### *1. Tribes under 500 souls*

1. **Abittibi**, a little-known Algonkin band. Chauvignerie, 1053, in 1736 states that they had 140 warriors (probably with the Têtes de Boule). In 1757 there were about 100 hunters in the vicinity of two posts: Tabitibi and Temiscaming, which were 120 leagues remote from each other, de Bougainville, 56; *Can. Sess. Pap.* (1872 sqq. till 1879) returned 450 souls in Rupert's Land. The Abittibi did not, however, re-appear in subsequent reports. There is no evidence that they were not a band but a permanent, well-defined tribe.

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<sup>1</sup> Not being able to cope with such difficulties and doubts we have omitted the Californian peoples with only a few exceptions.



2. **Accohanoc** (40 warriors) and **Accomac** (80 warriors) at the beginning of the XVII century, two tribes of the Powhatan confederacy, J. Smith 1612, 55; J. Smith 1624, 351; W. Strachey, 41. The Census of 1669 (E. D. Neill, 326) does not mention these tribes, but their names appeared up to about 1833.

3. **Accomac**, see **Accohanoc**.

4. **Acquintanacsuak**, **Patuxent** and **Mattapanient**, three Algonquian tribes (or bands), perhaps related to the Conoy, Md. They could muster 200 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 53; J. Smith 1624, 349; W. Strachey, 39.

5. **Adshusheer**, a tribe of unknown affinity, N. Ca. J. Lawson 1714, 55 sqq., refers to the village of the Adshusheer, where this tribe was living together with the Eno and Shakori. The tribes were insignificant in numbers and the Adshusheer probably did not number more than 500 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, these three tribes jointly numbered about 1,500 souls in 1600.

6. **Amahami** (Ahwahayway), a Siouan tribe. Lewis and Clark, VI, 90, estimated them at 50 warriors and 200 souls in 1805; H. M. Brackenridge, 86, placed their fighting strength in 1811 at the same number but estimated the population at 300 souls. Ravaged by the epidemic of 1837 they merged with the Hidatsa. The Amahami seem to have been in a state of decline at the time of the earliest data which are available regarding their population. In all probability, however, they were never numerous. At the most they may have slightly exceeded 500 souls.

7. **Anadarko**, a tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. Like all tribes of this confederation they were insignificant in numbers and were living in 1719 in a single village, B. La Harpe (P. Margry, VI, 262), although they formerly seem to have inhabited a few settlements. In 1777 the Anadarko and Nasoni could muster 25 warriors against the Osage without leaving their village vacant, A. Mezières, II, 145. They suffered great losses from the smallpox in 1801, only 40 men remaining in 1805, J. Sibley, 722; 40 warriors and 180 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87 (this number of souls appears about 1818 in D. B. Warden, III, 551, and in J. Morse, 373); 200 souls in 1820, J. D. Padilla, 52; 29 families in Texas in 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II, (1870), 267. The remnants of the Caddo confederacy (the Anadarko and four other tribes) numbered 250 warriors in 1837, A. Muckleroy, 232. R. S. Neighbors 1849, 963, estimated the Caddo, Anadarko and Hinai at 280 warriors and 1,400 souls; H. G. Catlett, in *I. Aff.* 1849, 969, stated that they were increased by Indian immigrants. *I. Aff.* in following years reported the population of the Caddoan tribes as a whole, but the numbers of the Anadarko were sometimes mentioned: 202 souls in 1851, Jesse Stem, in *I. Aff.* 1851, 523; 210 in 1857, R. S. Neighbors 1857, 553.

8. **Appomattoc**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 60 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; 100 warriors, W. Strachey 1612, 56 (W. Strachey, *ib.*, wrote separately also of a village of the same name with 20 warriors). The Census of 1669 returned them at 50 warriors, E. D. Neill, 326.

9. **Aranama**, a small agricultural tribe on the coast of Texas. As many as 25 families in 1770, A. Mezières, I. 164; 46 warriors and and a fair number of women and children in 1772, *ib.*, I. 291; they could send out 20 warriors against the Osage without leaving their village defenceless, *ib.*, II. 145; the Council at San Antonio de Bexar in 1778 estimated the Aranama to have 40 warriors, *ib.*, II. 166; in the same year the Tonkawa and Aranama together could muster 150 warriors against the Apache, *ib.*, II. 181; the pueblo of the Aranama in 1778 numbered 150 warriors, *ib.*, II. 226 (besides there were Aranama fugitives from the missions: their number, including old and young, was somewhat over 120 souls, *ib.*, II. 194; cf. *ib.*, I. 339); 120 souls about 1820, J. Morse, 374. According to A. C. Fletcher (F. W. Hodge, I. 72) by 1843 they were as a tribe extinct. Already in 1770 they were reduced in numbers. Previous to the arrival of the Whites, they perhaps exceeded 500 souls.

10. **Arrohattoc**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 30 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; 60 warriors, W. Strachey, 56. They had probably become extinct before 1669, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table.

11. **Attikamegue**, a small Algonquian tribe (or band) in Quebec province. In 1647 they came to a gathering in over thirty canoes, H. Lalemant in *Jes. Rel. 1858*, 1647. 58. The smallpox epidemic of 1670 nearly killed them all off. Originally they may have numbered somewhat more than 500 souls.

12. **Avoyel**, a small tribe probably of the Natchez stock, La. In 1699 they numbered at least 40 warriors living amongst the Houma as "Little Taensas", Iberville 408; Baudry de Lozières, 249, who seems to have depended on much earlier authorities than information from 1794—'98, reported 40 warriors amongst the Houjets. A small nation, T. Jefferys, 165; in 1758, de Kerlerac, 75—76, related that the Avoyel were destroyed by the proximity of the French and by the trade in liquors. By 1805, they had been extinct for many years, excepting two or three women, J. Sibley, 725. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates them in 1698 at 80 warriors (280 souls) in thirty-two cabins.

13. **Bacora** (Bocora), see Heniokane.

14. **Biloxi**, a Siouan tribe on the Pascagoula River. In 1685 there was a reference to three villages on the that river, viz., those of the Biloxi, Pascagoula and Moctobi, *Journal de la Badine*, 195. Iberville, 425, 427, stated that the Biloxi were once numerous and had about 30—40 cabins in their village in 1698, but suffered from the new diseases and by 1700

were greatly reduced in numbers; in 1699 Sauvole (P. Margry, IV. 451, and B.F. French, III. 227) described them, together with the Moctobi and Pascagoula, as living in only twenty cabins. According to B. La Harpe 1831, 16, these three tribes numbered 130 warriors in 1699. In 1702 Iberville, 602, estimated the Biloxi together with two other tribes at 100 families; Penicaut (P. Margry, V. 442) in 1704 referred to them as a small tribe. In 1758 the Biloxi, Pascagoula and Tchaktaux(?) contained together a little over 100 warriors, de Kerlerac, 85; 30 warriors in 1784 in a single village, besides some Biloxi who were living in their old seats, Th. Hutchins 1784, 45, 63. *Acc. of La 1803*, 349—350, mentions two villages, containing about 60 souls, perhaps a third one with about 100 souls and a fourth one with 50 souls, whilst there were still wanderers of the Biloxi and Choctaw tribes numbering about 50 souls (all these figures being repeated by Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 97, foot-note). The tribe was scattered and later estimates usually refer to some part or other of it. J. Sibley, 724, in 1805 wrote of 30 souls on the Red River below Natchitoch; Lewis and Clark, VI. 113, reported 40 warriors (150 souls) and in addition a body of the Biloxi and Choctaw numbering 50 souls; H. M. Brackenridge, 88, in 1811 estimated them at 25 warriors (100 souls) (these figures were repeated by J. F. Schermerhorn, 26, and D. B. Warden, III. 552). In 1812, according to *Am. St. Pap.: Public Lands*, II (1834). 794, the Biloxi, Pascagoula and the Choctaw could not have been less than 500 souls; 70 souls about 1820 in two groups, J. Morse, 373; about 55 souls, Th. L. McKenney, in 1825, 545. There were 20 families in Texas in 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267; 65 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter 104; J. O. Dorsey, in *Am. A. A. S.*, XLII, 1893 (Salem 1894). 268—269, found not over a dozen in 1892, and probably some Biloxi were still in Texas. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates the Biloxi and Moctobi together in 1698 at 120 warriors and 420 souls in forty-eight cabins; J. Mooney 1928, 10, gives a somewhat higher figure for an earlier date, viz., 1,000 souls in 1650.

15. **Callamaks**, see Tillamook.

16. **Cassapacock**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy, Va. There were 100 warriors in about 1612, W. Strachey, 62.

17. **Cathlacomatup**, a Chinookan (Multnomah) tribe, Oreg. Three houses and 170 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116.

18. **Cathlamet**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. Nine houses and 300 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 117 (this figure was repeated in 1830 by Hall J. Kelley, 60); 94 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 111 (and in 1836 Irving Washington, II. 280); A. Ross, 87, estimated jointly ten tribes, among them the Cathlamet, at 2,000 warriors; 600 souls about 1820, J. Morse, 368. An epidemic of ague-fever in 1823 (?) swept the lower Chinook tribes (Wahkiakum, Clatsop, Chinook proper, Cathlamet) and in the forties there were only 500—600 souls, i. e., one-tenth



of the former population of 5,000—6,000, H. Hale, 215 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 16); Crawford quoted by W. Robertson 1846, 129 (and G. Wilkes, 44) estimated the Cathlamet at 200 souls; J. Lane, 161, in 1849 reported 58 souls; W. W. Raymond, in *I. Aff.* 1857, 642, gave their numbers as 19. According to J. Mooney 1928, 16, they numbered 450 souls in 1780.

19. **Cathlanahquiah**, a Chinookan (Multnomah) tribe, Oreg. Six houses and 400 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, I. 116 (and J. Morse, 371, in about 1820).

20. **Charcowa**, a Chinookan band, Oreg. There were 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 118 (this figure is repeated by Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830). F. W. Hodge, I. 235, supposes that they were a band of the Clowwewalla. (No trustworthy estimates are available for the Clowwewalla. In 1814, Henry and Thompson, 810, 819, stated that the Clowwewalla were numerous, a house in their village was at least 300 feet long. The epidemic of 1829 greatly reduced them in numbers, L. Ferrand in F. W. Hodge, I. 313. Later they were returned with the remnants of other tribes as the Willamette Indians and Tumwater: 275 souls in 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 111; 20 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 160; 13 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 476). According to J. Mooney 1928, 16, the Charcowa probably numbered about 300 souls in 1780.

21. **Chawasha**, a small wandering tribe near the mouth of the Mississippi. La Harpe 1831, 18, in 1699, estimated them jointly with the Okelousa and Washa at 200 warriors; Iberville, 602, in 1702 reported 200 families in these three tribes (i. e., "les Gens de la Fourche"); in 1707 a native contingent among whom there were 40 Chawasha warriors attacked the Chitimacha, La Harpe 1831, 102 (and in P. Margry, V. 434). Baudry de Lozières, 246, probably for 1715, estimated the Chawasha at 40 warriors; they were a small tribe in 1718—'30, allied to the Washa, du Pratz, II. 230. An officer under M. de Noailles in 1739, quoted by Claiborne (J. R. Swanton 1911, 299) gave the number of warriors in these two tribes at 30 or thereabouts. De Kerlerac, 76, in 1758 estimated the Chawasha at 10—12 warriors. A very small nation, Th. Jefferys, 163. (In a letter, de Diron d'Artaguet in 1821 mentioned the settlement of Chouachy with 40 warriors amongst those of the Creek, and that of the Ouachy with 50 armed men, Marc de Villiers, 135, identifies the name of the former group with that of the Chawasha and that of the latter with the Washa or Ouachita. If the identification is exact, they were parties which sought refuge among the Creek.) J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimated the Washa, Chawasha and Okelousa at the end for the XVII century at 700 souls (200 warriors) in eighty cabins.

22. **Chemetunne** (Yoshua), a Tututni tribe (or band), Oreg., transferred to Siletz reservation in 1856. There were 120 souls in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; 188 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 260 in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62.

23. **Chesapeake**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy, Va. It had 100 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; by 1669 they had probably become extinct.

24. **Chimakum**, a Chimakuan tribe, Wash. They were constantly at war with their stronger neighbours. The earliest estimates are of too late a date. Namely: A. E. Starling, 460, placed their number at 75 souls in 1852; 37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 47, and L. Floyd Jones, 5, gave them as 100 souls at the time of the Treaty at Medicine Creek (1856); I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I, 435) reported 70 souls about 1854; 95 souls, Th. J. Hauna, in *I. Aff.* 1857, 625; 100 souls, C. J. King, in *I. Aff.* 1868, 565. There were 27 souls in 1870 and 13 in 1878. In 1887 there remained only 10 individuals, and these were not legally married to Whites or to other Indians, M. Eells, in *Smths.* 1887, pt. I, 613, 607. Only 3 males in 1910 (*Ind. Pop.*, 81). They had never been a populous tribe, G. Gibbs 1877, 177; M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887), 272 (also in *Ten years*, 17—18, and in *Smths.* 1887, 607, 612, 613). The small numbers of the whole Chimakuan stock and the intertribal relations of the region permit to suppose, that the Chimakum did not number more than 500 souls previous to the coming of the Whites. J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes that they numbered about 400 souls in 1780.

25. **Chimariko**, a tribe in California. They were said to comprise the Chimarikan linguistic family, but are now known to be an offshoot of the large and scattered Hokan stock. The entire territory of this tribe in historic times was a twenty-mile stretch of the canyon of Trinity River. The miners invaded their country in 1850. In 1849 the whole population was probably about 250 souls. In 1906 there remained a toothless old woman and a crazy old man, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 109. A. L. Kroeber, *ib.*, 883, estimates the Chimariko, together with some other petty tribes, at 1,000 souls in 1779.

26. **Chippanckickchick**, a tribe or band of Chinookan or Shahaptian affinity: 100 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, XII (1821). 26; 600 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 368.

27. **Chiskiac**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century: 40—50 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52 and J. Smith 1624, 348; 50 warriors, W. Strachey, 62; they were not returned by the Census of 1669 (Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table.)

28. **Choula**, a small unclassified tribe on the Yazoo River. La Harpe 1831, 311, reported but 40 souls in 1722. They have never been mentioned again, J. R. Swanton 1911, 297, 30, supposes they may have been a band of the Ibitoupa, who remained a while in the ancient territory of the tribe after the main body had moved away.

29. **Clahclallah**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. According to Lewis and Clark, IV, 260, in 1805 they were living in a single village of seven houses; the same explorers, VI, 116, estimated them together with three other tribes: the Neerchokion, Yehuh and Wahclallah (or Watlala); in the ori-

ginal draft they are given at 1,340 souls, in the later text at sixty-two houses and 2,800 souls. In proportion to the above number of houses we must estimate the Clahclellah at 300 souls. A. Ross, 111, placed their number in three small villages at 250—300 souls at the most (if his Cathle-yack-e-yack can be identified with the Clahclellah). About 1818, J. Morse, 370, taking the figures of Lewis and Clark, misprinted them. It is possible that they were only a band of a larger community; probably Clahclallah and Watlala are names of the same tribe, although Lewis and Clark referred to both these names as to those of separate tribes.

30. **Clahnaquah**, a small Chinookan (Multnomah) tribe, Oreg. Four houses and 130 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116. J. Morse, 371, about 1818 repeated these figures.

31. **Claninnata**, a small Chinookan tribe, Oreg. Lewis and Clark, VI. 116, estimated them in 1805 at 200 souls in five houses; this number of population was repeated by J. Morse, 371.

32. **Coapite** (Guapite), a Karankawan tribe, see **Coco**.

33. **Coco** (Coaque), a Karankawan tribe, Texas. The Karankawan Indians were a migratory people who wandered along the Gulf coast of Texas. Their life and probably their numbers remained unchanged till the XIX century. The name of Karankawa covers a number of related petty tribes: Coco, Cohani, Copane, the Karankawa proper, Coapite (cf. H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, X. 115). Iberville in 1699 (P. Margry, IV. 316) estimated the Quelancouchis (the whole Karankawan group) at 400 fighting men; about 1750 there were 500 or more families of Cuyane, Guapite and Karankawa as ready to be informed in the mysteries of the Christian faith, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 313. Capt. Pizina in 1751 (H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 282) put their number, exclusive of the Coco, at 500 men. De Ripperda (A. Mezières, II. 126) stated that the "Karankawa" were a rather numerous tribe, the Quxanes (Cohani), i. e., one of the Karankawan tribes, were a small one. In 1805 they were said to have 500 men, I. Sibley, 722, but he was not able to estimate their numbers from any very accurate information. (This number of fighting men is repeated by J. F. Schermernhorn, 25, and the population estimated at 1,800 souls.) In a battle with pirates in 1819 they numbered 300 fighting men, W. Bollaert, in *R. G. J.*, XIII (1843). 233. About that time, J. Morse, 373—374, gave the population of the Karankawa as 350 souls, and that of the Coco jointly with the Attacapa on Trinity River as 150 souls (these Coco were probably descendants of Indian apostates and fugitives in 1774 from the missions who settled in that region to the number of 30 families, A. Mezières, II. 105). The Texas census of 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 266, returned 100 Karankawan and Cujanan families; probably they were the same people referred to as the Coco in 1820 by J. A. Padilla, 51, to the number of 400 souls. In the total body of Karankawan tribes, the Coco probably did not number more than 300—400 souls. In 1749 the Coco deserted the



mission of San Ildefonso: they were pursued and found in their old haunts. At that time the tribe was suffering from measles and smallpox: it was agreed that those in good health, to the number of 82, should return immediately, the others following when they had recovered, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 200. A. Mezières, II. 105, 190, related in 1774 and 1778 of Coco fugitives but jointly with those from other tribes: the fugitive Cocos could not have numbered more than 30—40 families.

34. **Cohani**, see **Coco**.

35. **Contotore**, see **Heniocane**.

36. **Copalis** (Pailsh), a Salish tribe or perhaps a band of a larger tribal community. Ten houses and 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 118, and J. Morse, 371.

37. **Copane** (Kopano), see **Coco**.

38. **Coquitlam**, a small Salish tribe held in servitude by the Kwantlen who treated them as their slaves and servants, Hill-Tout, in *A. A. S.* 1902, 406. According to Canadian official returns, they numbered: 36 (1879), 55 (1883), 51 (1885), 35 (1890), 41 (1895) and 25 (1900) souls.

39. **Cujane** (Cohani). The Cujane, as other related tribes, was a small one. In 1750, 54 adults were reported, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 305. The name of the Cujane often appears as a collective appellation for the aggregate of four Karankawan tribes, exclusive of the Coco.

40. **Cupeno**, one of the smallest distinct groups in California. In 1910 they were not far short of 200; formerly about 300 must have been their maximum number, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 689.

41—42. **Cuttatawomen**, two tribes of the Powhatan confederacy, Va. At the beginning of the XVII century one tribe numbered 30, and the other 20 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 37. In 1669 one of these tribes disappeared as a distinct entity, the remnants of the other were returned jointly with the Potomac as 80 warriors, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table (about 1607, the Potomac could muster 200 warriors).

43. **Deadose**, a small tribe of unknown affinity, Texas. Bustillo (in his Memorial) mentioned the Deadose in 1734 and earlier as a small tribe, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 148. In 1745 the Deadose jointly with the Mayeye, Yojuane and inhabitants of the Grande Rancheria numbered 1,228 souls, H. E. Bolton, *ib.* 148. In 1749, eighteen families (55 souls) were living at San Ildefonso Mission, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 198, 232; F. W. Hodge, I. 383, supposes that they may have been swept off by the epidemic of 1777—'78.

44. **Dulchioni** (and **Doustioni**), probably of the Caddoan stock. La Harpe 1831, 32, referred in 1699 to the village of Outchiouni with 50 men, and *ib.* 33, to the tribe of the Doulchioni with 50 men, at a distance of three leagues from the Natchitoch (La Harpe, in B. F. French, 19, wrote of the villages of the Dulchioni). The Dulchioni (or Oulchioni) were

living in 1718 jointly with the Natchitoch and Yatasi on an island and numbered 150 souls, having been placed there in 1714 by St. Denis (La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 254). In 1719 the chief of the Dulchioni together with 30 tribesmen helped to fell timber near the Natchitoch settlement, La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 253: this number is rather high in comparison with the total number of the above-reported 150 souls (La Harpe 1831, 179, in 1720 estimated these three tribes at 200 souls). Baudry de Lozières, 249 (at an indefinite date in the XVIII century), also apparently referred to this aggregate as forming only one village, but instead of the Dulchioni he placed the Louchetchoni as being there (probably a misprint for Souchetchoni) and gave the fighting strength of these three tribes as 80 warriors. The Souchetchoni were probably the same tribe of which Bienville (P. Margry, V. 437) wrote in 1700, viz., that the village of the Souchitioni was at the distance of a league from the Natchitoch and numbered 15 cabins crowded together. This tribe, but then called Doustioni, moved with the Natchitoch in about 1705, when the crops of the latter had been ruined and that tribe was settled by the French near the Acolapissa, La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 459. The Doustioni did not settle down with the Natchitoch but led the roving life of hunters during some years; when in 1712 (? 1714) the Natchitoch removed to be re-established in their former seats, the Doustioni, it was stated, joined them to the number of 200 men; they were placed by St. Denis amongst the Natchitoch on an island, Penicaut 498. It is evident that there is much confusion as regards these two tribal names; it is even possible that the Dulchioni and Doustioni (Souchitioni) were one and the same people. It was without doubt a petty tribe and the number of 200 men quoted in 1712 is probably due to a misunderstanding, if this figure is not a collective one embracing not only the Doustioni but also the Natchitoch.

45. **Dwamish**, a Salish tribe, Wash. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 10 (MSS), returned the Annoowawmish (i. e., the Dwamish) at 363 souls (including 11 slaves). Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149, estimated the Indians of Port Orchard in 1841 at 150 souls; A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 placed the Neewamish at 60 souls. I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436) at 162 souls, but *Ind. Serv. 1856—'57*, 46, estimated them at 312 souls. In 1857 J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 15, and G. A. Paige (in *I. Aff. 1857*, 618) gave them as 378 souls. The figures of *I. Aff. 1870*, 481, are much higher, i. e., 666 souls, as the name of the Dwamish was improperly applied to related bands and tribes. Later reports returned the Dwamish jointly with other tribes.

46. **Ervipiamas**, a small tribe of unknown linguistic stock, Texas. It was the principal tribe at the founding of the Rancheria Grande, when the remains of some broken-up bands were added to the Ervipiamas. Ramon gave the population of Rancheria Grande in 1716 as over 2,000 souls; Rancheria bands jointly with the Mayeye, Deadosé and Yojuane numbered 1,228 souls in 1745, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 148. In 1749 at the mission

of S. Francisco Xavier there were 70 Ervapiames; 42 adults and 11 children in 1750, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 190, 198, 230. Perhaps the Exepiamehohe (P. Margry, III. 288) are the same as the Ervapiames, they were then, in 1700, living in a single village. They are referred to in 1675 by F. del Bosque, 308, as a small tribe of the Yurbipames.

47. *Ettchaottine* (*Mauvais Monde*), a Nahane tribe (or rather a band), Brit. Col. There were 435 souls in 1858, Ross, quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 445; E. Petitot 1875, 262, estimated the Ettchaottine frequenting Ft. Halkett at 300—400 souls. There were 259 souls amongst the Nahane Indians (*Mauvais Monde*, Batard Nahaunies, and Mountain Indians) about 1887 in the vicinity of Ft. Halkett, G. M. Dawson: *Yukon*, 207 B; A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113, gave them as 200 souls (in *Anthropos* 1904, 521, he repeated E. Petitot's figure). J. Mooney 1928, 26, supposes that the *Mauvais Monde* and Mountain Indians numbered 400 souls in 1670. Perhaps they were somewhat more numerous: epidemics were very disastrous there at the end of the XVIII century, A. G. Morice, *ib.*, 112.

48. *Eyeish*, a tribe of the Caddo confederacy. Their settlements were placed between the French and Spanish posts and were exposed to all the consequences of such neighbourhood. They were a small tribe in 1720 and their hamlets each consisted of two or three huts, Villiers de Terrage and P. Rivet, in *J. des Amer.*, XI (1914—'19). 422, 425. In 1717 the mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores was established amongst the Eyeish, Espinosa, 443, but there were only eleven baptisms up to 1768, H. H. Bancroft, X (1883). 633, foot-note. In 1750 they consisted of but some forty families, i. e., perhaps 200 persons; besides there was the village of a small related tribe, that of the Little Ais (*Eyeish*), H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 312. In 1778 the Eyeish could muster 30 warriors, A. Mezières, II. 166, and in 1779 a little village of 20 families of the Eyeish was founded for the sole benefit of the above mission, *ib.*, II. 257. The Ahijitos (Little Eyeish) in 1785 were living at the mission of Nacodogche: there were two rancherias on opposite banks of the river, each of 300 Indians, Nacogdoche and Ahijitos, H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 633. In 1801 the smallpox destroyed most of them: by 1805 not more than 25 remained in the United States, J. Sibley, 722 (this figure was repeated by H. M. Brackenridge, 87); J. F. Schermerhorn, 24, wrote of 15 families and 40—50 souls; J. Morse, 373, gave them as 30 souls (intermingled with the Nacogdoche). But the greater part of the tribe was then living in Texas: in 1820 J. A. Padilla, 49, estimated them at 300 souls; the Census of 1828, in *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II. (1870). 268, returned them at 160 families; in 1837 a remnant of the old Caddo confederacy, the Eyeish being among them, could muster together 225 (warriors?), A. Muckleroy, 232. The earliest estimates of the population are of too late a date; their former population was probably somewhat over 500 souls.

49. *Grigra*, a small tribe of unknown affiliation, incorporated with the Natchez in 1720. Du Pratz, II. 222, refers to the Grigra as a very



small tribe. At the time of the coming of the Whites, they did not reach 500 souls.

50. *Guaunenok* (*Quainu*), a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col; *HBC Ind. Census 1839* (MSS), No. XIV. 21, gave a questionable estimate of this tribe, — about 1,000 souls (and 40 slaves). This figure was repeated by P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488. *Can. I. Aff.* returned 47 (1883) and 46 (1885) souls.

51. *Gueiquesal*, see *Heniocane*.

52. *Hahuamis* (*Aquamish*), a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col; *HBC Ind. Census 1839* (MSS.), No. XIV. 18, returned 950 souls (and 50 slaves) — a figure open to doubt. These data were given as those of J. Work by P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488. *Can. I. Aff.* quote 69 (1885), 64 (1890), 105 (1895), 63 (1900) souls.

53. *Hankutchin*, a Kutchin tribe, Alaska. According to J. Richardson, I. 397, the Tchukutchi, one of three subdivisions of the Hankutchin, numbered about 100 men. G. Gibbs stated that 60 hunters visited Ft. Yukon in 1854 (in F. W. Hodge, I. 531). About 1870, W. H. Dall: *Alaska*, 430 (and later A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 261), reported them as few in numbers. In 1880 there were 106 souls in Tetutlin, 82 in Nuklako (Ft. Reliance), 48 in Tadush (I. Petroff, 12). The Census of 1900 returned them jointly with other Kutchin. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 111) found 127 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 32, puts their numbers at 200 in 1740, but this estimate seems to be too conservative.

54. *Hatteras*, an Algonquian tribe, N. Ca. In 1701 they had 16 warriors and one settlement, J. Lawson 1714, 234; in 1731 they did not exceed twenty families, G. Burrington, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 153.

55. *Havasupai*, an isolated agricultural Yuman tribe, Ariz. They are believed to be an offshoot of the Walapai. In the past they were greatly harrassed by the Navaho, Bandelier, IV, pt. 2, 382. The Casinos numbered 300 souls in 1869, Col. Jones, 533, a village of thirty huts, 235 souls in 1881, F. H. Cushing in *B. Am. E. 1881—'82*, XVIII; 214 souls in 1882, the first year for which figures are available, and 250 in 1910 (*Ind. Pop.*, 109.) They seem to have always been a small tribe. According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, they numbered only about 300 souls in 1680.

56. *Heniocane* (*Geniocane*), a small tribe, Texas. There were 178 souls in 1675, F. del Bosque, 303. The same document enumerates in this district some other tribes: the Bocora, 150 souls, *ib.*, 305—306; the Gueiquesal and Monosprietas, together 387 souls, *ib.*, 306; Contotore, 198 souls, *ib.*, 307. It is impossible to identify these tribes with any known people. All these tribes, excluding the Heniocane, were of the same "following", probably of the Coahuiltecan stock. It is even possible that they were divisions of a larger allied aggregate. (There were mentioned four other allied peoples numbering in all 1,172 souls who formed a similar following, *ib.*, 301.)

However, some figures of del Bosque may be questionable; the percentage of warriors amongst the tribes in question is too high, i. e., from 26.6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> (a percentage which is normal enough) to 41.3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. All the tribes referred to in del Bosque's Memorial are petty; some of them, namely, the Yurbi-pames (Ervipiames) and Arames (Aranama?) are known from other sources.

57. **Ibitoupa**, a small tribe on the Yazoo river. Iberville, 180, in 1699 wrote of them as living in a single village; La Harpe 1831, 311, estimated them in 1722 at six cabins; Baudry de Lozières, 252, stated that at an indefinite date in the XVIII century, but probably in 1715, they, together with the Chakchiuma and Taposa, could muster 200 warriors although in 1699 (?) numbering 600 men. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, supposes that in 1698 three tribes: the Ibitoupa, Choula and Taposa together numbered 260 souls (75 warriors).

58. **Kake**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. After the epidemic of 1838 they numbered 393 souls (44 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas quoted by I. Petroff, 37, but P. Kane, app, and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489, wrote of 453 souls (44 slaves), probably through a misprint in the number of men as given by J. Work; 200 souls in 1840, Veniaminoff, 575; 50 warriors in 1859, Dodd, 115; 445 souls (including 25 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman quoted by P. Tikhmenief, II. 341. The figures for 1868—'69 are questionable for they are too high. Namely, N. R. Scott 1868, 773, estimated the Kake at 800 souls, and there was still a branch of this tribe at Cape Fartshaw with about 200 souls; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, placed their population at 1,200 souls; Fr. Mahony (V. Colyer, 1017) gave them as 750 souls. The Census of 1880 found 568 souls, I. Petroff, 32. There were 234 souls in 1890 and 325 souls in 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115). The figures for the Kake population differ greatly as the Kuin and Sumdun tribes are often included under the designation of the Kake.

59. **Katlamimin**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. Twelve houses and 280 persons in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116; about 60 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 117 (M. R. Stuart related that though formerly numerous they were destroyed by smallpox). J. Morse, 368, 371, seems to have reported the tribe twice by mistake under different names (Cathlanamenamens and Clannarminnamuns) as having 400 and 280 souls. About 1850 they disappeared, intermingling with the Cathlacumup and Namoit.

60. **Kecoughton**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy, Va. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 20 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; W. Strachey, 62, gave them as 30 warriors and stated that they were formerly a powerful tribe, having 1,000 souls and three-hundred Indian houses, but were destroyed by the Powhatan. By 1669 they appear to have ceased to exist.

61. **Kikiallu**, a Salish tribe (or division). They numbered 160 souls in 1851, L. Floyd Jones, 5, and A. E. Starling, 460; 75 souls in

1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.* I. 436). J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 13—14, stated that in this region there were formerly distinct tribes: the Kikiallu, Skohawmish, Schewdaunish, and a portion of the Stiligwamish, but subsequently they became merged with the Kikiallu. The Skagit subdued all these minor tribes which by 1857 were intermingled and appeared under the general denomination of Skagits.

62. **Kiowa-Apache**, an Athapascan tribe forming a component part of the Kiowa tribal circle. In 1719 they were mentioned together with the tribes of the Wichita confederacy and the Comanche and Ardeco: there were nine tribes in a large encampment, La Harpe estimating this aggregate at 6,000 and Beaurain at 4,000 souls (P. Margry, VI. 289); the Kiowa-Apache known as Quataquois, were a tribe of less importance in that camp. Fray Santa Anna, in *Texas Qu.*, XIV. 266, 267, 258, about 1745 gave their strength as 100 warriors; but later he stated that they could muster, together with the Lipan (Ypandes), 500 fighting men (if the Natages can be identified with the Kiowa-Apache). In 1804 the Cataha numbered twenty-five tents, 75 warriors, 300 souls, Lewis and Clark, VI. 101 (and *Am. State Pap: Ind. Aff.*, I. (1832). 716); 375 souls about 1818, J. Morse, 366 (Morse, 367, also mentioned the Kaskaya with about 3,000 souls: Kaskaya is one of the synonymous names of the Kiowa-Apache, but this number of population is quite out of the question; even the number of 2,000 souls given the Kaskaya in 1829 by P. B. Porter, 104, is impossible). According to J. Mooney, in *17 B. Am. E.*, 235, 253, the combined population of the confederated Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache was never much over 1,600 or 1,800 souls at the most, of whom the Kiowa-Apache numbered nearly one-fourth; they have probably never numbered much over 350 souls. J. Mooney, *ib.*, 13, reports their population at different periods of the XIX century: they numbered 325(?) souls in fifty lodges in 1850; forty lodges and 320 souls in 1854; forty lodges in 1865 (with 4 or 5 persons to a lodge); seventy tipis and 420 souls in 1867. The figures for the years 1872—'77 are very high, even as much as 774 souls, but generally, prior to the epidemic of 1892, estimates (for the years 1868—'91) returned 300—380 souls, the population remaining stationary from 1804 to the end of the XIX century.

63. **Kitamat**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. About 1840—'44 there were 122 souls (including 25 slaves), P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 487. The population in the XIX century remained almost stationary: 200 souls or somewhat more in 1868—'69, R. N. Scott 1868, 776; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 43; V. Colyer, 976. *Can. I. Aff.* give 261 (1889), 294 (1890), 298 (1895), 265 (1900) souls. The earlier estimates are of too late a date but the Kitamat appear never to have been numerous.

64. **Kitlope**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. There were 187 souls (including 15 slaves) about 1840 according to J. Work (P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 487). *Can. I. Aff.* estimated them at 103 (1889), 98 (1890), 95 (1895) and 84 (1900) souls.



65. *Klahosaht*, a small tribe, in 1801 incorporated into that of the Nootka. They lived by themselves in a cluster of small houses, at a little distance from the Nootka village, J. R. Jewitt 1816, 96.

66. *Koeksotenok*, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. The Quit-sut-i-nut numbered 1,000 souls (including 56 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Cens. 1839*, No. XIV, 17 (MSS) (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488); 50 souls in 1885 according to *Can. I. Aff.*

67. *Koróa*, a small Tunican(?) tribe on the Yazoo River. There is much confusion about the Koróa. There seem to have been at the close of the XVII century either two tribes of the same name or two separate branches of the same tribe, one on the Yazoo River, the other on the Mississippi below the Natchez. La Salle (P. Margry, II. 313) in his letter of 1683 to de la Barre wrote of 800 (souls?) among the Koróa, apparently those on the Mississippi, and the incident that in the Koróa village the French were suddenly surrounded by about 2,000 men, probably of allied tribes (P. Margry, I. 565), seems to have occurred there. Other estimates refer to the Yazoo Koróa. Namely: 100 men in 1700, La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 19); about forty cabins in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II. 226. The Koróa, Yazoo and Ofogoula together mustered 200 warriors in 1721, Charlevoix 1744, III. 413, and numbered 250 souls in 1722, La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 106). There were 120 warriors in the above three tribes at an indefinite date in the XVIII century, probably in 1715, Baudry de Lozières, 251. In 1730 the Quapaw (Arkansas) are said to have massacred the Koróa and Yazoo, only 15 Indians remaining who joined the Natchez, Charlevoix 1744, II. 484: this is an improbable statement as le Petit, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLVIII. 220, declares at a later date, in 1730, that the Koróa and Yazoo could muster not more than 40 fighting men. In 1758, de Kerlerac, 74, stated they were extinct, and Th. Jefferys 1760, 163, 144, reporting the Koróa at forty cabins, only repeated earlier estimates. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates that at the end of the XVII century the Koróa and Yazoo together numbered seventy cabins, 175 fighting men and 612 souls. La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 106), states that the cabins of the Koróa, Ofogoula and Yazoo were erected upon mounds of earth made with their own hands, and thence concludes that these nations were formerly "very numerous", although at that time (1722) they barely numbered 250 persons. In all probability the Koróa at the beginning of the XVIII century were in a state of decay, this having been caused not by the influence of the Whites but by intertribal Indian warfare.

68. *Kuiu*, a Tlingit tribe, usually treated as a branch of the Kake, Alaska. There were 150 souls (after the epidemic of 1838) in 1840, Veniaminoff, 575; 262 souls in 1863 (including 10 slaves), Wehrman quoted by P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; 200 souls in 1868 (if the Kyacks are identical with the Kuiu), R. N. Scott 1868, 77; 60 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32; 29 souls in 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115.)

69. **Kwaiailk**, a Salish body or tribe, Oreg. The Staktamish (Kwaiailk) numbered 207 souls (including 23 slaves) in 1844, W. F. Tolmie, quoted by G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434, and by I. I. Stevens, 459. The Quevoil and Chehalis numbered about 300 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 162. According to F. W. Hodge, II. 744, the Upper Chekalis, reported in 1854 by G. Gibbs. *ib.*, 435, and by I. I. Stevens, 457, as intermarrying with the Cowlitz (together 165 souls), were the Kwaiailk. The Upper Chekalis (116 souls) referred to by G. F. Ford, in *37 Ind. Serv.* 1856—'57, 103, in 1856, seem likewise to have been Kwaiailk.

70. **Kwalhioqua**, an Athapascan tribe, Wash. H. Hale, 204 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 9), estimated them at about 100 souls. A. Dart, 477, in 1851 gave the entire population of the Kwalhioqua and Willopah as 13 persons; G. Gibbs 1877, 171, confused these two tribes and wrote of three or four families. A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 16, placed the total number of the Kwalhioqua, Tututni and Umpqua at 150 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, they probably numbered about 200 souls in 1780.

71. **Kwatami** (Sixes), a Tututni tribe (or band), Oreg. The earliest estimate of the Kwatami population is of too late a date. They are said to have numbered 143 souls in three settlements in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; 126 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 25 souls among the Sixes and 88 among the Flores Creek Indians in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62. Originally, they were probably two to three times as numerous as in 1854.

72. **Luckton**, a Yakonan (?) tribe, Oreg. There were 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 117; J. Morse, 371, in 1820 named only 20 souls, probably owing to a misprint, mentioning that their place of abode was unknown; Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830 gave their number as 400 souls.

73. **Manhattan** (proper), a tribe of the Wappinger confederacy, N. Y. (Manhattan Id. and its vicinity). In 1626 the old Mannhattans were about 200—300 strong, men and women together, J. de Rasières, in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, ser. II, vol. II (1849). 344. Perhaps the Manhattan were formerly more numerous, but they were always a petty tribe.

74. **Mattapanient**, see *Acquintanacsuak*.

75. **Mattapony**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. There were 30 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; W. Strachey, 62, placed their fighting strength at 140 men; 20 warriors in 1669, E. D. Neill, 326. Th. Jefferson: *Writings*, VIII. 339—340, reported at the end of the XVIII century 3 or 4 men, more of Negro than Indian blood. Much mixed, they numbered in 1820 together with the Pamunkey less than the Nottoway (the Nottoway had 27 souls), J. Morse, 31. In 1890 (*Ind. Census*, 602) there were 50 souls; J. Mooney, in *Am. A.* (1907). 148, reported 40 souls in 1906. In 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 74) the Mattapony were much mixed with white and black blood, but one Indian was enumerated in Virginia, as belonging to this tribe, a few other apparently were scattered amongst the general population.

76. **Mayeye**, a tribe in Texas, probably related to the Tonkawa. Bustillo had seen the Mayeye various times, last in 1734, and spoke of them as a small tribe. Jointly with the population of the Rancheria Grande, namely the Deadose, Erviapiames and Yojuane, they numbered 1,228 souls in 1745, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 148. In 1749 at the mission of S. Francisco Xavier there were 86 Mayeye, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 190. In 1772 the vagabond Tonkawa with the Mayeye and Yoyuane numbered 150 warriors or somewhat more, A. Mezières, I. 290; in 1778, *ib.*, II. 190, there were reported 24 families of Coco and Mayeye fugitives; 200 men in 1805, J. Sibley, 722 (J. F. Schermerhorn, 25, repeated this number of 200 men, or 680 souls); H. M. Brackenridge, 81, mentioned in 1811 only that they were living on the Bay of San Bernard. In spite of Sibley's considerable figure for the Mayeye, it is doubtful whether they exceeded the number of 500 souls.

77. **Methow**, a Salish tribe, Wash. In 1806, there was in Lewis and Clark, IV. 320—321, a reference to the village of the Methow consisting of five lodges and perhaps of two more villages of four and two lodges. About 1810—'13, A. Ross, 290, referred to 12 tribes of the "Okinagan nation", amongst them to the Methow: the whole "nation" taken together could never muster above 600 warriors and these tribes were "far from being numerous". *I. Aff* had 301 (1870), 315 (1875, 1880, 1885) souls, probably intermixed with other tribes. J. Mooney: *Ghost-Dance*, 734, in 1892 even gives them at 390 souls, but together with the Indians of the Isle de Pierre. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 92) returned 14 souls.

78. **Michigamea**, a tribe of the Illinois confederacy. J. Marquette had visited their village in 1673, B. F. French, IV. 45; they are said to have been "enough numerous" about 1700, St. Cosme, 42; the Michigamea, Chepoussa and Medchipouria numbered together 200 families in 1702, Iberville (P. Margry, VI. 601); Charlevoix 1766, II. 171, states that the Michigamea were strangers whom the Kaskaskia had adopted; Chauvignerie, 1057, in 1736 reported 250 warriors — an exaggerated estimate as the whole Illinois confederacy then mustered only 508 warriors (cf. F. W. Hodge, I. 856). In 1752 some tribes attacked their village, 80 men then perishing. In 1758 the tribe numbered 50 warriors, de Kerlerac, 63—64. Th. Hutchins 1778, 66, estimated the Michigamea, Peoria and Kaskaskia jointly at 300 warriors.

79. **Mikonotunne**, a Tututni tribe (or band). The first estimate of their numbers is of too late a date. There were 124 souls in one settlement in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; 247 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 248 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62; J. Owen-Dorsey (in F. W. Hodge, I. 861) found 41 survivors on the Siletz reservation. They may formerly have somewhat exceeded the number of 500 souls.

80. **Moctobi**, see Biloxi.



81. **Molala**, a Wailatpuan tribe, Oreg. and Wash. The Molala in 1841 numbered but 20 individuals, H. Hale, 214 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 15); 200 souls in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10; about 100 souls (20 warriors) in 1850, J. Lane, 160; 123 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 476; the Molala together with other Indians numbered 500 souls in about 1856, B. Alvord, 12; J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62, in 1857 estimated the Molala at 61 and the Molel at 179 souls. *Ind. A. 1880* reported 60 souls. According to F. W. Hodge, I. 950, it is probable, that at the beginning of the XX century there were still a few scattered survivors. The Molala seem to have been a petty tribe at the time of the arrival of the Whites and not to have exceeded 500 souls.

82. **Monos Prietas**, see *Heniocane*.

83. **Moraughtacund**, probably a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century they could muster 80 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; 30 warriors, W. Strachey, 37; 40 warriors in 1669, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table.

84. **Moyawance**, a tribe of unknown affinity, Md. According to F. W. Hodge, I. 953, they were probably a division of the Conoy. At the beginning of the XVII century they could muster 100 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 38.

85. **Mummapacune**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy: 100 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, W. Strachey, 62.

86. **Musqueam**, a Cowichan tribe on the Fraser Delta, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Cens. 1839*, No. XII. 14 (MSS) returned 154 souls, including 13 followers. *Can. I. Aff.* give 92 (1880), 132 (1885), 122 (1890), 133 (1895) and 92 (1900) souls. The earliest figures are of too late a date: probably the population was formerly somewhat over 500 souls.

87. **Nacisi**, a small, probably Caddoan tribe in the region of Red River, La. In 1700, Bienville (P. Margry, IV. 439) wrote of their village of eight houses, besides which there were scattered houses to the number of fifteen. At the same time, La Harpe 1831, 32 (and in B. F. French, III. 19), referred to two small tribes: Nicisi (Nacassa) and Nadassa without giving any particulars about them.

88. **Naltunnetunne**, a Tututni tribe (or band). The first estimate is of too late a date. In 1854 J. L. Parrish, 495, found one settlement and 66 souls; 71 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 161 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62; 77 souls in 1877 on the Siletz reservation, Victor quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 14.

89. **Nanatsoho** or **Nadsoo**, a tribe of the Kadohadacho confederacy. A little-known tribe. They were living in one village in 1699, *Journal de la Badine*, IV. 178, and in 1719 (La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 243). La Harpe (P. Margry, *ib.*, 282—283) mentioned in 1719 a hunting party of 30 Nadsoo and Nassonites. The entire confederacy of the Kadohadacho

(Kadohadacho, Natchitoch, Nasoni and Nadsoo) numbered 2,500 souls in 1709, by 1719 they were reduced to 400 (including 200 warriors); in the confederacy, the Nadsoo were a tribe of lesser importance, La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 264. About 1818 there remained 12 families, J. Morse, 38.

90. *Naniaba*, a petty tribe on Mobile Bay, Ala. Penicaut, 425, mentioned them about 1702 jointly with the Mobile and Tohome. Iberville (P. Margry, IV. 602) estimated the Tohome and Mobile at 350 families in 1702; the Naniaba were probably also included in this estimate. The Little Tohome, probably identical with the Naniaba, according to J. R. Swanton 1922, 425, numbered 30 men in 1725—'26, Bienville (MSS) quoted by Swanton, *ib.*, and 50 in 1730, Regis de Rouillet, *ib.* About 1758 these three nations, viz., the Tohome, Mobile and Naniaba, could muster about 100 warriors, de Kerlerac, 85. They probably mingled with the Choctaw.

91. *Natasi*, probably a tribe of the Caddo confederacy. Their village was mentioned in 1699, *Journal de la Badine*, 178. Tonti (B. F. French, I. 72) in 1690, and G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 288, stated that the villages of three tribes (the Yatasse, Natasi and Choye) were together. According to La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 19) the Natasi in 1700 were a small tribe.

92. *Natchitoch* (Lower), see *Natchitoch*, App. II: Tribes numbering 500—1,000 souls, No. 70.

93. *Natsitkutchin*, an Athapascan tribe, Alaska. There were 40 men about 1850, J. Richardson, I. 399; 20 hunters about 1857 (?), G. Gibbs quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 39; in 1865—'76 they were few in number, about 150 souls, W. H. Dall 1877, 31, 40 (also *Alaska*, 431 and *I. Aff.* 1875, 707); 120 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 12; a small shifting tribe in 1890, the Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 156. There were 177 souls in 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 112: the comparison of this figure with the census figures of earlier years is said to be of somewhat doubtful value, owing to uncertainty as to who were included under this tribal name; as nearly as can be determined, the Natsitkutchin numbered 312 souls in 1880.) J. Mooney 1928, 32, supposes that they numbered about 200 souls in 1740.

94. *Nechacokee*, a Chinookan tribe or perhaps a division of a larger tribe. One house and 100 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116 (repeated by J. Morse, 370). Hall J. Kelley, 60, reported 600 souls (a doubtful figure) in about 1830.

95. *Neché*, a tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. In 1687 their (main) village numbered fifteen huts, Tonti, in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* II. (1814). 335 (and G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 288). In 1721 Aquayo distributed gifts at the mission of S. Francisco de los Neches and entirely clothed 188 men, women and children, Peña quoted by H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 275; this figure apparently included the majority of the tribe. About the same time, Espinosa: *Cronica Apostolica*, 439, estimated the number of persons within range of each mission in this region at about 1,000 souls. According to

H. E. Bolton, in F. W. Hodge, II. 50, on the Neche mission were dependant the Neche, and probably the Nabadache, Nacano, Nechaui and Necachau; H. E. Bolton, *Texas Qu.*, XI. 275, supposes that about 1721 the tribes of the Caddo confederacy could not have averaged more than 300—400 souls. In 1727, D. Petro de Rivera, leg. 2140 (and de la Mota Padilla, 384), wrote of 50 Neche warriors.

96. **Neerchokioon**, a Chinookan tribe or a division of a larger community, Oreg. One house and 100 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116; 1,000 souls about 1818, J. Morse 370. F. W. Hodge, II. 51, referring to Lewis and Clark, gives for 1805 a population of 1,340 souls. This number had appeared in the original draft of Lewis and Clark, VI. 116, but they corrected it to 2,800 as the population of the entire Shalala nation.

97. **Nemalquinner**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. Four houses and 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116 (and J. Morse, 370).

98. **Nespehim**, see Sanpoil.

99. **Neusiok**, a tribe of unknown affinity, N. Ca. Amadas and A. Barlow (Hakluyt, VIII. 308) mentioned them in 1584; Yardley, 364, wrote in 1684 of "a great nation called the Newxes"; there were 15 warriors in two villages in 1701, Lawson 1714, 234. They were then greatly reduced in number, but if the number of villages remained as it was formerly, they could not have mustered more than 100—120 fighting men (cf. W. J. Rivers 1856, 38). They disappeared during the XVIII century, probably incorporating themselves with the Tuscarora. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Neusiok jointly with the Coree numbered about 1,000 souls in 1600.

100. **Newichawanoc** and **Ossipee**, two small tribes of the Penacook confederacy. Wm. D. Williamson (in J. Morse, 67) estimated them in 1616 jointly at about 1,000 souls.

101. **New River Shasta**, a Californian tribe of the Shastan linguistic family. In the last sixty years (previous to 1925) the tribe had melted away without a survivor. They could not have been more than 200—300 souls when the Americans came in 1850, and there may not even have been so many, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 282.

102—103. **Niantic**, two Algonquian tribes: the Western Niantic in Connecticut and the Eastern Niantic occupying the coasts of Rhode Id. There was no political connection of one tribe with the other. The western Niantic were subject to the Pequot: in 1633 the Pequot, Mohegan and Niantic could muster a thousand bowmen, the Pequot were estimated at 700 warriors, B. Trumbull, I. 43. About 1638 there were more than twenty houses in their village of Nayantaquit, R. Williams, in Winthrop's *Papers*, 251. The Pequot War of 1637 was disastrous to them. The remnants were living at their ancient abode, near the present town of Niantic. In 1734 the number of families was about 30 so that the number of individuals



may have been about 150, J. W. de Forest, 383. In 1761 E. Stiles, 104, found them to consist of 85 persons, but his census probably only covered a portion of the tribe according to J. W. de Forest, 386; in 1783 the number of families remaining at Nehantic was sixteen, J. W. de Forest, 386. There were still several individuals of pure blood at the beginning of the XX century, Fr. G. Speck, in 43 *B. Am. E.*, 209. However, the census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) found only one survivor. The Eastern Niantic were connected with the Narraganset but refused to join King Philip's war and in this way preserved their tribal territory. The defeated Narraganset who surrendered were settled among the Niantic under Ninigret: there were but 100—200 left. The whole body assumed the name of Narraganset. In 1761 there were 248 souls in King Ninigret's tribe, E. Stiles, 104. According to J. Mooney 1928, 4, the Western Niantic numbered about 250 souls in 1600. It is impossible to estimate the population of the Eastern Niantic on account of their close connection with the Narraganset.

104. *Nipissing*, an Algonquian tribe. S. Champlain, IV. 22, in 1615 estimated the population in the region of Lake Nipissing, doubtlessly including this tribe, at 700—800 souls; J. Lalemant (*Jes. Rel.*, XXI. 242) gave them as 250 souls in 1640. In 1736, a part of them was incorporated with the Iroquois, the remainder being left in a village with 50 fighting men, Chauvignerie, 1053. Their number grew in later times — perhaps their name was applied to a larger aggregate, or the information was erroneous; namely: 600 warriors in 1764, Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554); 400 warriors in 1765, H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139 and S. G. Drake 1851, 13). G. Imlay, 292, at the end of the XVIII century gave them as 300 warriors. But the figures of more competent writers are not so liberal: 30 warriors in 1745, Clinton, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VI. 276, 281, and 40 warriors in 1763 (as the Skaghquanoghorons), Wm. Johnston, 582. They seem to have fused with the Chippewa. In general, the figures of population are very uncertain. The Nipissing were an unwarlike, petty tribe.

105. *Nisqualli*, a Salish tribe, Wash. The Indian census of 1839 was very detailed and accurate with regard to the tribes of the Nisqualli group. The Nisqualli proper then numbered 258 souls (including 29 slaves), *HBC Ind. Census*. No. XIII, 1 (MSS). But the Nisqualli proper are estimated jointly with other divisions of the Nisqualli group and even confused with them and therefore the estimates are more liberal. In 1840 there were 600 souls, H. Hale, 212 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 13); the whole tribe numbered less than 200 souls in 1841, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 444 and V. 149; (and Th. J. Farnham, 112, in 1843); 1,200 (!) souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; the census taken by W. F. Tolmie in 1844, in I. I. Stevens, 459, found 471 souls (including 30 slaves); in 1848 J. L. Meek, 10, estimated them at 1,000, J. Quinn Thornton, 9, at only 200; in 1850, the Nisqualli jointly with two other tribes numbered about 550 souls, J. Lane 162; 100 souls in 1852, A. E. Starling, 460 and L. F. Jones, 5,

184 souls in six bands in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435). *I. Aff.* have 208 (1870), 150 (1875), 164 (1880), 180 (1885) souls. The Ind. Census of 1890, 603, gives 94 souls. *I. Aff.* returned 118 (1895), 107 (1900), 146 (1905). In 1910 there were 94 souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 92; J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes that the whole Nisqualli group numbered only 1,200 souls in 1780. This estimate is too moderate. According to the above-quoted census of 1839, No. XIII (MSS), the twelve tribes of this group numbered 3,495 souls.

106. **Nooksak**, a Salish tribe, Wash. The earliest estimates date from the fifties of the XIX century; 450 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436, also E. C. Fitzhugh 1857, 614, 674); 367 souls in about 1855, *Ind. Service 1856—'57*, 46, 75; 420 souls in 1857, J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 9; 300 in 1861, *I. Aff. 1861*, 829; 218 in 1870, *I. Aff. 1870*, 481. *I. Aff. 1900* and *1910* have 200 souls, but according to Hill-Tout (in F. W. Hodge, II. 81) there were only about six full-blood males in 1906; 85 souls in 1910, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 92. J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes, that the Nooksak, Lummi and Samish numbered only about 1,000 souls in 1780, but this is too moderate an estimate. The Nooksak suffered much from the hostilities of the Northern Indians, E. C. Fitzhugh, 615.

107. **Ofogoula**, a small tribe on the Yazoo Rivar. It had ten to twelve cabins in 1700, Gravier (*Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 130); sixty cabins in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II. 226. At the time that the French were in the proximity of the English a hundred Oufe-Ogoula warriors retreated together with the Chickasaw, du Pratz, II. 211. In 1758 some families and 15 fighting men, de Kerlerac, 74; 12 warriors in 1784, Th. Hutchins, 44 (in J. R. Swanton 1911, 42); one person in 1908, J. R. Swanton, *ib.* 45. Usually the Ofogoula are mentioned jointly with the Koroa and Yazoo: Charlevoix 1766, II. 188, in 1721 estimated the aggregate of these three tribes to be at the most 200 men fit to bear arms; at this time La Harpe 1831, 311 (and in B. F. French, III. 106) gave them as only 250 souls adding they "were formerly very numerous"; Th. Jefferys, 144, 163, repeated the figures of Charlevoix and du Pratz; Baudry de Lozières, 251, probably for 1715, gave their fighting strength together as 120 warriors. J. R. Swanton, *ib.*, 43, estimates the Ofogoula at thirty cabins, 75 warriors and 263 souls at the end of the XVII century.

108. **Okelousa**, a petty tribe, probably of the Muskogean family, see Chawasha. Du Pratz, II. 241, in 1718—'30 referred to the Okelousa as a small tribe.

109. **Onawmanient**, probably a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. It had 100 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 38; by 1669 they had disappeared as a distinct tribe.

110. **Opelousa**, a small Attacapan(?) tribe. Baudry de Lozières 247, probably for 1715, placed their fighting strength at 130 men. J. Sibley, 724, in 1805 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 26, in 1811) reported them to have 40 warriors; 20 souls in 1814, *Am. State Pap.: Public Lands*, III. 85; 150 souls about 1819, D. B. Warden, III. 550; 45 souls in 1825, H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 529, 531; J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates the Opelousa at 455 souls in 1715 (130 warriors in fifty-two cabins). Probably they formerly somewhat exceeded the number of 500 souls.

111. **Opitchesaht**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. It had 25 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293. *Can. Sess. Pap.* report 57 (1881), 51 (1886), 55 (1891), 66 (1896), 65 (1901). The first known estimate is of too late a date, but the Opitchesaht probably never exceeded the number of 500 souls.

112. **Ossipee**, see *Newichawenoc*.

113. **Ouachita**, a small Caddoan (?) tribe, La. Bienville, 434, in 1700 encountered some of them carrying salt to the Taensa with whom they planned to live; there were five houses in the Ouachita village and about 70 warriors; at the same time, La Harpe 1831, 32, (and in B. F. French, III. 74) referred to the Ouachita village as a single one of five cabins, and that the other tribesmen had gone to live with the Natchitoch. Du Pratz, II. 243, related that the Ouachita were almost exterminated by the Chickasaw, the remnants having joined the Kadohadacho.

114. **Ozinies**, a tribe or village of the Nanticoke confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century it had 600 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 55; J. Smith 1624, 351; W. Strachey, 41. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates the Ozinies to have had, jointly with the Tocwogh, 700 souls in about 1600.

115. **Pacheenaht**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. The Pacheenaht jointly with the Senetuch numbered 100 souls in about 1860, W. C. Grant, 293; 50 souls at approximately the same time, R. Mayne, 251. *Can. I. Aff.* quote: 47 (1879 sqq), 84 (1883), 80 (1885), 63 (1890), 81 (1895), 69 (1900) souls. It is possible they formerly somewhat exceeded the number of 500 souls.

116. **Pascagoula**, a small unclassified tribe, Miss. There were in 1685, on the Pascagoula River, three villages, viz., those of the Biloxi, Pascagoula and Moctobi, *Journal de la Badine*, 195. Sauvole (B. F. French, III. 227, and P. Margry, IV. 451) related in 1699, that these villages did not contain twenty cabins in all; Iberville, 427, in 1700 found about 20 families in the Pascagoula village, the nation having been destroyed by diseases (1698—'99). In 1702, Iberville, 602, estimated these three tribes at 100 families. La Harpe 1831, 16, in 1699 gave the fighting strength of these tribes at 130 men and this figure was repeated in 1766 by J. Stuart, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1888). 281, 282. De Kerlerac, 85, in 1758 estimated the Pascagoula, Biloxi and Chatot (?) at somewhat over 100 warriors. The Pascagoula, according to du Pratz, II. 214, inhabited in 1718—'30 but one village, containing at the most thirty cabins;



20 warriors about 1764, Th. Hutchins 1784, 45. At the end of the XVIII century, Milfort, 57, stated that the Pascagoula were really Gypsies who had settled amongst that tribe and married Pascagoula women; 25 men in a small village in 1805, J. Sibley, 725 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 28). At that time the Biloxi, Pascagoula and the Choctaw near them numbered not less than 500 souls, *Am. St. Pap.: Public Lands*, II. 794. About 1818 three bodies, numbering together 240 persons, were reported by J. Morse, 373; 121 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; only 111 persons, McKenney, in 27 *Sen. Doc. 1828—'29*, 6, and P. B. Porter 1829, 104. The name of the Pascagoula existed at the close of the Civil War, when a party of 100—200 Pascagoula Indians and mixed-blood Biloxi removed from central Louisiana to Texas, J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. A. A. Sci.*, XLII (1893). 268. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates the Pascagoula in 1698 at 130 warriors, 455 souls and fifty-two cabins. J. Mooney 1928, 9, supposes that the Pascagoula, Mactobi and Biloxi jointly numbered about 1,000 souls in 1650.

117. **Paspahagh**, a tribe (village) of the Powhatan confederacy. Not over 40 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; W. Strachey, 60; by 1669 they had disappeared as a distinct body.

118. **Pasquotank**, see Yeopim.

119. **Pataunck**, a tribe or sub-tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. It had 100 warriors about 1612, W. Strachey, 62.

120. **Patuxent**, see Acquintanacsuak.

121. **Pequawket**, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. According to Wm. Williamson (in J. Morse, 67), the Pequawket about 1616 did not number over 400 souls. There were 100 men in 1690, Wendell, 9. In a battle, fought between the English and 70 Indians, 40 Pequawkets were killed, 18 died from wounds, and only 12 remained, S. Penhallow, 115. They numbered 24 men over 16 years of age in 1726, J. Gyles, 389; 7 men in 1726 (probably living in their ancient seat), Wendell, 9; W. Douglas, I. 184, placed their fighting strength in about 1760 at not more than 12 warriors.

122. **Piankatank**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 40 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; 50—60 warriors, J. Smith 1624, 348. By 1669 they appear to have become extinct as a distinct tribe.

123. **Pilalt**, a Cowichan tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 20. (MSS), found 304 souls (including 27 followers). According to *Can. Ind. Aff.* there were in the Pilalt settlement of Cheam: 95 (1880), 151 (1885), 146 (1890), 128 (1895) and 107 (1900) souls, but it is probable, that this village contained several tribes. Hill-Tout, in *A. A. Sci.* 1902, 400, referred to them about 1902 as a small tribe numbering about 25 souls.

124. **Podunk**, an Algonquian tribe (or band), Conn. In King Philip's War it counted 200—300 men, who went off in that war and never returned, E. Stiles, 105. (It is possible that the name of Podunk was here used as a collective term for numerous but petty tribes or clans of the Podunk district.) They obstinately remained about their ancient seats. In 1730 the number of men who used to come into Hartford was estimated at 70—80; about 1761, E. Stiles was informed that there were only six families remaining in Hartford and one in Windsor; a remnant of the Podunk living on the Hoccanum R., remained in East Hartford as late as 1745, but by 1760 had entirely disappeared, E. Stiles, 105 (and J. W. de Forest). In 1774 there were 11 Podunks in East Haddam and East Windsor, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809). 117; J. Mooney 1928, 4, places the Podunk at 300 souls in 1600.

125. **Poteskeet**, see **Yeopim**.

126. **Potoashees**, a Salish division, Wash. F. W. Hodge, II. 417, regards them as a band of the Nisqualli. Ten houses and 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 118; this estimate is repeated by J. Morse, 371.

127. **Powhatan**, a leading tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were some 40 fighting men in the place called Powhatan, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; 50 fighting men, W. Strachey, 56; 10 fighting men in 1669, E. D. Neill, 326.

128. **Quaitso**, a Salish tribe, Wash. Eighteen houses and 250 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 118 (this figure is repeated by J. Morse, 371), Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830 estimated them at 500 souls. *I. Aff.* have: 67 men and 83 women (1861), 95 (1870), 115 (1875), 116 (1880), 85 (1885), 140 (1890), 56 (1900), 55 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.*, 93) returned 288 Quaitso and Quinalts together. J. Mooney 1928, 15, estimates the population of these two tribes to have been 1,500 souls in 1780.

129. **Quinnipiac**, a small tribe, probably of the Wappinger confederacy. In 1638 the tribe was already reduced to 47 fighting men and about 150 persons in all, Ch. H. Townsend, 11, 24. In 1680 they seem to have numbered at least 100 men, Ch. H. Townsend, 48. About 1704 there were in the parish of New Haven about 100 fighting men, Hemingway quoted by Ch. W. Townsend, 78. About 1730 there were said to be as many as 300 Indians in East Haven and 50 Indian men in Branford — sheer exaggerations according to J. W. de Forest, 362. There were 15—20 families in 1740, E. Stiles cited by Ch. H. Townsend, 48, 78. In 1768 some Quinnipiaks removed to Farmington among the Tunxis, J. W. de Forest, 362. In 1774 in Branford and New Haven there were 11 Indians, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809). 117; those of Branford had all disappeared by about 1785, J. W. de Forest, 362. Perhaps, the Indians of Guilford were only a branch of the Quinnipiac, considerably less numerous: they numbered 23 souls in 1774, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, *ib.*, 117. J. Mooney 1928, 4, estimates the Quinnipiac to have been about 250 souls in 1600.

130. **Quioucohanock**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century, 25 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; 60 warriors, W. Strachey, 58; by 1669 they appear to have become extinct as a distinct tribe.

131. **Rappahannock**, probably a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 100 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 37; 30 warriors in 1669, E. D. Neill, 326.

132. **Sahewamish**, a Salish tribe (of the Nisqualli group), Wash. Like all of the Nisqualli divisions, it was insignificant in numbers; *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 7 (MSS.), returned 188 souls. Tolmie (in G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434 and in I. I. Stevens, 459) estimated them at 92 souls (including three slaves) in 1844; A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and in L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853, gave them as 35 souls. Only 23 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458, and G. Gibbs, *l.c.*, 435.

133. **Sakumehu**, a Salish division (or tribe?), Wash. It counted 250 souls in 1852 and 1853, L. Floyd Jones, 5, and A. E. Starling, 460; 300 souls together with three other tribes, I. I. Stevens, 458; and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436, *Ind. Aff. 1870* reports 57 souls.

134. **Sanyakoan**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. In 1839, after an epidemic, the Lukhseele numbered 177 souls (including 82 slaves), J. Douglas, quoted by I. Petroff, 37; 100 souls in 1840, Veniaminoff, 576; 177 souls about 1840—'45, P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489; the Cape Fox Indians were a small tribe of only 150 souls, R. N. Scott 1868, 773; 500 souls together with the Tongas in 1868, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38; 100 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32.

135. **Saukaulutucks**, a small tribe living inland, Vancouver Id. They were discovered a few years prior to 1862 by a Nimkish chief whilst on a trapping expedition. At that time they numbered 50—60 men, R. Mayne, 180.

136. **Secacawoni**, a tribe (or a village) of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century: 30 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey 1612, 38; by 1669 they appear to have become extinct as a distinct tribe.

137. **Secowocomoco**, an Algonquian tribe or sub-tribe, Md. There were 40 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 52, and J. Smith 1624, 348.

138. **Semiahmoo**, a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. Ch. Wilkes, V. 149, referred to them as Birch Bay Indians and estimated them in about 1841 at 300 souls; 250 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458, and G. Gibbs (in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436). In 1857 it was a small tribe; it is said to have formerly been a powerful one, but had suffered from the attacks of the Northern Indians to such an extent, that in 1857 it barely numbered 100 souls,



E. C. Fitzhugh, 617. *Can. I. Aff.* gave them as 65 souls (1879—1882), 82 (1883), 114 (1885), 54 (1890), 45 (1895), 32 (1900). They are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 29, to have numbered 300 souls in 1780.

139. *Shallattoo*, a Salish tribe (according to J. Mooney, in 14 *B. Am. E.*, 736, a band of the *Pisquows*). 100 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (and in about 1818, J. Morse, 372). Hall J. Kelley, 60, gave their population as 200 souls about 1830. This figure of 200, in reference either to Lewis and Clark, or to Crawford, was often quoted during 1840—'50; viz., by W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 9), I. I. Stevens, 460; G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417 and G. Wilkes, 44. All these figures are of doubtful value.

140. *Shanwappom*. J. Mooney, in 14 *B. Am. E.*, 736, classes them as a division of the *Pisquows*. There were 400 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119. All later writers, repeating this estimate, refer either direct to Lewis and Clark or to Crawford: J. Morse, 372, in 1822; Hall J. Kelley 60 about 1830; in the forties W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48). 9, and G. Wilkes, 44; in the fifties, I. I. Stevens, and G. Gibbs in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417.

141. *Shomamish*, a Salish tribe, Wash. Like all of its neighbours, insignificant in numbers. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 5 (MSS.), found 315 souls. Thornton (in J. Lane, 162) estimated a body of five *Nisqualli* tribes, including the *Shomamish*, at 500 souls in 1850. A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852, and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 gave them as 40 souls. Only 33 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 438, and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435.

142. *Shotlemamish*, a Salish tribe, Wash. They were, like all the *Nisqualli* tribes, insignificant in numbers. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 12 (MSS.), found 167 souls. Thornton, in J. Lane, 162, estimated five *Nasqualli* tribes, including the *Shotlemamish*, at 500 souls in 1850, A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852, and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 gave them as 60 souls. There were only 27 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458. (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435).

143. *Sinnohomemish* (*Snohomish?*), a Salish tribe, Wash. Warre and Vavasour, 9, estimated the *Smakomish* (probably owing to a misprint; R. M. Martin, 81, gave this tribal name as the *Sinahomish*) at 569 souls in 1845, placing their homes somewhere on the Straits of S. Juan de Fueca and Vancouver Id.; Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, about 1844, reported twelve tribes of the "*Sinhoumez*" at 2,500 souls: these "*Sinhoumez*" (and probably the *Sinahomish*) are identified by F. W. Hodge, II. 606, as the *Snohomish*. Warre and Vavasour (and R. M. Martin) referred to the tribe of *Sinhoumez* independently of the group of thirteen tribes of the *Nisqualli* district: they gave the population of this *Nisqualli* group without registering its component tribes and their numbers. But in *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII (MSS.), all the *Nisqualli* tribes are named and the population of

every one returned. Among them there is the Sinnohomemish tribe (Admiralty Inlet): this tribe then numbered 338 souls (including 18 slaves). These Sinnohomemish were also identified with the Snohomish, as also apparently with the Sinaahmish. W. F. Tolmie seems to have distinguished between these last two tribes: he estimated (in G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434, and in I. I. Stevens, 459) the Sinahomish in 1844 to be 322 in number and the Sinaahmish 195 souls. In 1850 Thornton (in J. Lane, 162) estimated the Sineramish (i. e., the Sinnohomemish) jointly with the Puyullup and Nasqualli at 500 souls and the Sinahamish at 350 souls. In 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 436) differentiated the Sinahomish, at the south end of Whitby Id., with 300 souls, from the Sinaahmish also with 300 souls (jointly with two other Nisqualli bands) at the north end of that island. A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 reported only the Snohomish to the number of 250 souls at the south end of Whitney's (*sic*) Id. and on the Snohomish River. No doubt, there is much confusion in connexion with the above-mentioned tribes all being identified as the Snohomish. Official records report the Snohomish jointly with some other bands: in this aggregate, the Snoqualmu, Suquamish and Snohomish are usually listed. Their collective population was from 1,500 souls (R. C. Fay in *I. Aff.* 1858, 590) to 1,700 (37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 46); J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 14, in 1857, placed the numbers of the aggregate at 1,600 souls. There were 2,000 souls in *I. Aff.* 1862, 829, and 900 souls, *ib.* 1875. M. Eells (*Am. Antq.*, IX (1887). 272) seems to have referred to such an aggregate of tribes (or bands): 695 souls in 1844 (i. e., Sinahomish with 322, and Snoqualmu with 373 souls, Tolmie in I. I. Stevens, 459) and 3,400 in 1862 (i. e., Snohomish with 2,000, Snoqualmu with 750 and Skaquamish with 650 souls, *I. Aff.* 1862, 829). The designation of the Snohomish was later applied as a collective name to many tribes, till they became known under a new one, viz., the Tulalip. However, the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 93) returned 684 souls under the name of the Snohomish.

144. **Skaddal**, a tribe or division of the Pisuows, Wash. There were 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119; this estimate was repeated by J. Morse, 372, in 1822, and by Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830. Later writers gave the Skaddal a population of 400 souls: G. Wilkes, 44; and W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 9) in the forties; I. I. Stevens, 460, and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, in the fifties.

145. **Snonowas** (Nonoose), a Cowichan tribe, Vancouver Id. *HBC Ind. Census* 1839, No. XII, 9 (MSS), returned 159 souls (including 121 followers). *Can. In. Aff.* report 17 (1880) and 13 (1900) souls.

146. **Snoqualmu**, a Salish division, Wash. The earliest estimate is that of W. F. Tolmie about 1844 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434; I. I. Stevens, 459) who gave 373 souls. Thornton (J. Lane, 162) placed the Snoqualmu population in 1850 at 350; A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 at 225 souls. In 1854 there were 195 souls (I. I. Stevens, 458; G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 436). *I. Aff.* report 750 (1861) and 301 (1870) souls.

The name of Snoqualmu became a collective term for many related tribes on the Tulalip reservation. This name still existed at the time of the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93) when 93 souls were returned under that designation.

147. **Sooke**, a Salish tribe, Vancouver Id. There were 90 souls in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 81); 60 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293; the Sooke and Clallam together came to 120 souls in 1858, Capt. Wilson, 278. Few in number in 1861, R. Mayne, 251; in 1880—1900 they decreased from 39 to 25 souls (see Indian returns in *Can. I. Aff.*) Perhaps previous to 1839 the population was more numerous, but it probably never exceeded the number of 500 souls.

148. **Squannaroo**, presumably a division of the Pisuquows, Wash. There were 120 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (and J. Morse, 372). Hall J. Kelley, 60, gave them as about 200 souls. Other writers estimated the Spearmaros at 240 souls, W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc. 1847—'48*, 9); I. I. Stevens, 460; G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417.

149. **Squaxon** (Quackenamish), a Salish tribe (or division), Wash. There were 135 souls (including four slaves) in 1844, according to the census taken by W. F. Tolmie in 1844, I. I. Stevens, 459; G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434. Five tribes, among them the Squaxon, jointly numbered 500 souls in 1850, Thornton in J. Lane, 162; 100 souls, A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852, and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853; 40 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458, and G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 435; 350—375 souls in 1857, J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 15. *I. Aff.* returned: 142 (1870), 150 (1875), 100 (1880), 120 (1885), 128 (1890). (M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887) 272, repeated some estimates from *I. Aff.* in 1844—'85). The Census of 1890 returned 60 souls. *Ind. Aff. 1900* had 116 souls; 92 souls in the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 94).

150. **Stuichamukh** (the Nicola Valley tribe), an Athapaskan tribe, Brit. Col. In 1895 there were only three old men who could give some words of the language of that tribe. Four generations back (from 1895) the whole tribe lived in three camps or subterranean lodges, but there were not very many people in each (probably 40—50 souls). They have a tradition that at one time their tribe was numerous, Fr. Boas 1895, 552.

151. **Sumass** (Smaise?), a Cowichan tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 16 (MSS), found 123 souls (including 27 followers). 100 souls about 1860, Capt. Wilson, 278; the Musqueam (? Maskwis) and Sumass had two villages, Miss. Fouquet quoted by E. Petitot 1876, XLIV (foot-note). *Can. I. Aff.* gave, in three villages, 72 (1880), 124 (1885), 111 (1890), 132 (1895), 58 (1900) souls.

152. **Sumdum**, a small Tlingit tribe, Alaska. Their population is usually returned jointly with that of the Taku. About 1868 there were



150 souls, R. N. Scott 1868, 774; the Sumdum jointly with the Taku have about 500 souls, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, and V. Colyer, 1004; 50 souls in about 1910, F. W. Hodge, II. 649.

153. **Sutaio**, an Algonquian tribe. If the Staitans can be identified with the Sutaio, the latter numbered forty<sup>9</sup> tents, 100 warriors and 400 souls in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 101; 500 souls in 1818, J. Morse 366, and in 1829, P. B. Porter, 104. Later they were incorporated with the Cheyenne.

154. **Taku**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. Together with the Sitka and Sumdum they numbered 493 souls (including 119 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas (I. Petroff, 37); 150 souls in 1840, Veniaminoff, 575 (after the epidemic of smallpox in 1838). In 1844, P. Kane, app., estimated the Taku, Sitka and Sumdum jointly at 499 souls (including 119 slaves); 712 souls (40 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; about 300 souls, R. N. Scott 1868, 774; in 1868 Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, estimated the Taku and Sumdum at 500; Fr. Mahony, in V. Colyer, 1017, gave the number of 2,000, as did F. K. Louthon, *ib.* 1018, still more, unlikely to be true; 269 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32; 223 in 1890, Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158; 142 in 1910, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115.

155. **Taposa**, an unclassified tribe on the Yazoo River, Miss. Together with the Chakchiuma, they numbered seventy cabins in 1699, Montigny, in *XV Am. CR.*, I. 36; twenty-five cabins in 1718—'30 by themselves, du Pratz, II. 226; the Taposa, Chakchiuma and Ibitoupa could muster 200 warriors in the XVIII century instead of 600 in 1699, Baudry de Lozières, 252. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimated the Taposa, Ibitoupa and Choula in 1698 jointly at 260 souls (75 warriors) in twenty-nine cabins.

156. **Tatsakutchin**, an offshoot of the Kutcha-Kutchin, Alaska. They were a petty tribe: about 100 men in 1851, J. Richardson, I. 398. The scarlet-fever epidemic of 1863 exterminated them. Previous to that epidemic they had numbered 50 hunters, F. W. Hodge, II. 698. J. Mooney 1928, 32, estimated them to have been 100 souls in 1740, but the above figures permit to suppose they were more numerous although not over 500 souls.

157. **Tauxenent**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy (F. W. Hodge, II. 701). At the beginning of the XVII century there were 40 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 38. By 1669 they appear to have become extinct.

158. **Tennuthkutchin**, an offshoot of the Kutcha-Kutchin, Alaska. They were a petty tribe with only 10 hunters in 1857 (G. Gibbs, in F. W. Hodge, II. 729); exterminated by scarlet-fever in 1863, W. H. Dall 1877, 30; J. Mooney 1928, 32, supposes that they numbered 100 souls about 1740.

159. **Thlakalama**, a Chinookan tribe, Wash. There were 200 souls in 1806, Lewis and Clark, quoted by F.W. Hodge, II. 743; in one large village about 1811—'14, G. Franchère, 111. At the same time M. R. Stuart, X. (1821). 80, estimated the Thakalama (Cathlackas?) at 80 warriors. Ten tribes, among them the Wacalamus, numbered 2,000 warriors about 1812—'18, A. Ross 1849, 87.

160. **Tiou**, a small unclassified tribe living in a village among the Natchez. They are said to have been formerly a powerful and warlike tribe, but they became embroiled in wars against the Chickasaw; finally, their weak remnants fled to the Natchez, du Pratz, II. 223 (and Th. Jefferys, 162). It is possible that a party found refuge among the Creek, as about 1721 there was a settlement of the Tioulay there (Marc du Villiers, 135, identifies this name with that of the Tiou). In 1731 they were massacred by the Quapaw, P. de Charlevoix 1872, VI. 102. The Tiou were reduced in numbers and later exterminated, not owing to the consequences of the coming of the Whites, but entirely to the ravages of Indian intertribal feuds.

161. **Tocwogh**, an unclassified tribe, Md. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 100 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 55; J. Smith 1624, 351; W. Strachey, 40.

162. **Tongas**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. There were 315 souls (including 15 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas in I. Petroff, 36 (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489); 150 souls in 1840 in one village, Veniaminoff, 575; 333 souls (including 23 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; 40 warriors about 1859, Dodd, 115; 200 souls in 1867, besides there was a small settlement of about 50 persons on Cape Northumberland, R. N. Scott 1868, 772—773; the Tongas together with the Sanyakon numbered 50 souls in 1868, Maj. - Gen. Halleck, 38; V. Colyer, 976, 1017 (Fr. Mahony), found in their village sixteen houses, and gave their population as 800. There were 273 souls in 1880 (including the Sanyakoan), I. Petroff, 32; 255 souls in 1890, Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158; 184 souls in 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115). The great fluctuations in the number of the Taku population are explained by the fact that the petty tribe of the Sumdum was probably included without mention of this being made; probably thanks to this arose the belief (Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 156) that the Taku were formerly a powerful people.

163. **Topinish**, a Sahaptian tribe. If the Copepawmish, living in the Fort Nisqually district and speaking a Klikitat language (*HBC Ind. Cens. 1839*, No. XIII. 5) (MSS) can be identified with the Topinish, they were in 1839 a numerous enough tribe of 450 souls (including 5 slaves). They are not noted in *Reports of Indian Affairs*, but the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 95) returned them at 47 souls.

164. **Toquart**, a Nootka tribe. W. C. Grant, 293, in 1857 estimated them at 100 souls; 40 men (?) at about the same date, R. Mayne, 251;

47 souls in 1879—'82, *Can. Sess. Pap.* 1879—'82; 24 souls in 1910, F. W. Hodge, II. 785.

165. **Totontaratonthronon**, an Algonquian tribe, St. Lawrence River, Driven out of their own country, they settled in about fifteen houses at the Huron mission of St. Jean Baptiste in about 1640, J. Lalemant, in *Jes. Rel.*, XXI. 246.

166. **Tsesaut**, an Athapascan tribe, Brit. Col. About 1835 they numbered about 500 souls, but they were exterminated by the continual attacks of the Tlingit tribes. About 1895 the tribe was reduced to about 12 souls. They were living on Portland Inlet, being slaves of the chief of a Niska clan, Fr. Boas 1895, 34—35; J. Mooney 1928, 27, supposes that they perhaps numbered only about 350 souls in 1780.

167. **Tukkuthkutchin**, a Kutchin tribe. Formerly they were said to be numerous, but by 1866 had become reduced to 15 hunters or 40 men (F. W. Hodge, II. 835); E. Petitot 1883, 653, found 290 Indians (the Tukkuthkutchin among them) in the territory of Fort Macpherson (Peel River) and La Pierre House; G. M. Dawson 1887—'88, 206 B, gave the number of inhabitants in that district as 337. There were 150 Tukkuthkutchin (Loucheux) about 1890, E. Petitot 1891, 289. The census of 1910 returned them as 6 souls within the United States, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 112. *Rpt. of the HBC 1857*, 365, gave the number of Indians in the vicinity of La Pierre House and the posts on the Peel R. as 1,150 souls. Undoubtedly, the population of the Tukkuthkutchin was then two or three times greater and perhaps exceeded the number of 500 souls.

168. **Tunxis**, probably a tribe of the Wappinger confederacy. There were about twenty wigwams at Farmington about 1700—'20, and four or five families in 1761, E. Stiles, 104. In 1761, the tribe was estimated at somewhat less than twenty-five families, F. W. de Forest, 373; a considerable number removed at that time to Stockbridge. The account of the number of inhabitants in the State of Connecticut in 1774 reported 43 Indians in Farmington, and 13 in New Hartford, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809). 118. An old Tunxis woman was still living at the end of the XIX century, Fr. G. Speck, in 43 *B. Am. E.*, 209. According to F. W. de Forest, 52, the tribe perhaps formerly mustered 80—100 warriors, i. e., numbered about 400 individuals. J. Mooney 1928, 4, accepts this figure for the year 1600.

169. **Tututunne**, a Tututni tribe (or band). The first estimates of Tututni population are of too late a date. There were 120 souls in one village in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; 168 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 227 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62. J. Owen-Dorsey (*Am. F.*, III (1890). 233), estimated the Tututunne at 97 souls in 1884. They were formerly probably twice or thrice as numerous as in 1854.

170. **Uchucklesit**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. In about 1857. W. C. Grant, 293, estimated them at 150 and a little later R. Mayne, 251,



at 80 souls. *Can. I. Aff.* returned them at 56 (1883), 52 (1885), 51 (1890), 42 (1895) and 46 (1900) souls.

171. **Vuntakutchin**, a Kutchin tribe, Alaska. There were 80 men in 1817, J. Richardson, 399 (i. e., 400 souls according to A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I. 261); 61 men, including 25 hunters in 1866, F. W. Hodge, II. 884. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 112), returned only 5 persons (the others were perhaps reported amongst the unspecified Indian population).

172. **Wahkiakum**, a Chinookan tribe near the mouth of the Columbia River. Two villages, eleven houses and 200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark III. 295, VI. 117 (only 100 souls in the original draft); 66 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X (1821) 111 (repeated by Irving Washington, II. 279, in 1836). Ten tribes, including the Wahkiakum, contained together about 2,000 warriors, A. Ross, 87; 400 souls about 1818, J. Morse, 368; 500 souls about 1830, Hall J. Kelley, 60. According to H. Hale, 215 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 16), the population of this region was reduced to one-tenth of the former number by ague-fever in 1823. There were 200 (?) souls about 1846 according to Crawford's information, W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847-'48, 9). About 1850 their chief was one of the last survivors of the tribe (G. Gibbs quoted in F. W. Hodge, II. 890). They are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 15, to have numbered about 300 souls in 1780.

173. **Warrasqueoc**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 40 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; 60 warriors according to W. Strachey, 59. By 1669 they had become extinct as a separate tribe.

174. **Washa**, a small Muskhogean (?) tribe, La. Usually mentioned jointly with the Chawasha (see *Chawasha*), but there are also estimates concerning the Washa only. According to Baudry de Lozières, 246, the Washa could muster 50 warriors in 1715, but formerly were said to have numbered 200 (this number was already quoted in connection with the Chawasha, as that of the warriors jointly in several tribes); a small tribe, du Pratz, 1718-'30, II. 230. Th. Jefferys, 163, related about 1760 that the Washa were living in a small village united to the Chawasha. Five persons in 1805, J. Sibley, 725.

175. **Weanoc**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 100 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; W. Strachey, 56; 15 warriors in 1669, E. D. Neill, 325

176. **Wewenoc**, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. There were 150 men in 1690, only 3 in 1726 in their ancient country and 15 in Canada, Wendell, 9. There were 30 men above 16 years of age in 1726, J. Gyles, 359. In 1747 there were but 2 or 3 families remaining in their former country, as most of them had removed to Canada (Becancourt), W. Douglas, I. 184; F. Kidder, in *Me. Hist. Coll.*, VI (1859). 234. In 1910 there

were, in Becancourt, 6 full-bloods: most of the survivors were half-breeds and spoke French, Fr. S. Speck, in 43 *B. Am. E.*, 175, 177.

177. **Wiam**, a Shahaptian tribe, Oreg. The Wyampam numbered 130 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 163; J. Mooney: *Ghost-Dance*, 742, found the remnants of this tribe on the Warm Springs reservation, but they were not taken into account by official returns.

178. **Wicocomoco**, a tribe, on the coast of Maryland. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 100 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 55; J. Smith 1624, 351; W. Strachey, 41. Jointly with the Juntata they numbered 140 men in about 1648, R. Evelin, 22.

179. **Wikenno**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. About 1840 there were 205 souls, J. Work in P. Kane, app., and in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488. Not more than 100 persons, R. N. Scott 1868, 776. In accordance with their social environment the Wikenno appear to have been a small tribe. *Can. I. Aff.* gave the number of 157 (1890), 152 (1895) and 130 (1900) souls.

180. **Winyaw**, probably a tribe of Siouan stock. They were a small tribe, W. J. Rivers 1856, 36. In 1715 they numbered 106 souls in one village, W. J. Rivers, 1874, 94. After 1715 they disappear from history.

181. **Yazoo**, a small tribe, on the lower Yazoo River, Miss. Thirty cabins in 1700, Gravier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 130. In Claude Delisle's (i. e., Iberville's) list of the Choctaw settlements, mention is made of a settlement of Yachou (Yazoo), 40 men, de Villiers, 340 (this settlement, but with 90 warriors, was also reported in 1729, cf. *J. des Am.*, XV (1923). 240) — these Yachoo were probably refugees; 100 cabins in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II. 226 (probably jointly with other tribes); in 1760, Th. Jefferys, 25, repeated this estimate and *ib.*, 144, that of Charlevoix (1721), that the Yazoo, Koroa and Ofogoula jointly could muster at most 200 men fit to bear arms. Perhaps the Yaseas of the Map of S. Ca. and Ga. (J. Winsor, V. 365) numbering 300 men in 1738 (probably jointly with other tribes) were the Yazoo. In 1758, de Kerlerac, 74, and in 1784, Th. Hutchins (G. Imlay, 438), stated that the Yazoo had been exterminated. For other estimates of the Yazoo population, see the Koroa.

182. **Yeopim**, Pasquotank and Potaskeet, Algonquian tribes or bands, N. Ca. The Yeopim were a small tribe, who sold their lands in 1662 and 1699, *N. Ca. Rec.*, I (1886). 19, 52. At the beginning of the XVII century the Pasquotank consisted of 10 warriors in one town, the Potaskeet numbered 25 warriors also in one town, the Yeopim had only one man fit to bear arms, J. Lawson 1714, 234. In 1731, G. Burrington, *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 153, in his reference to some tribes, among which there were the Potaskeet, related, that not one of these nations exceeded 20 families. Either these tribes were once consolidated (about 1584) as the Weapemeoc, or they were bands which had appeared in consequence of the dissolution of that tribe. According to S. R. Grenville (*Hakluyt*, VIII. 337), the Weapemeoc (Yeopim) could muster 700—800 bows in 1585. J. Mooney

1928, 6, placed the number of these allied tribes (Yeopim, Pasquotank, etc.) at only 800 souls in about 1600.

183. *Yojuane*, a Tonkawan tribe, Texas. The population of the Rancheria Grande, the Mayeye, Deadosé and Yojuane, numbered jointly 1,228 souls in 1743, H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 148; in 1749 at the mission of San Xavier there were 84 Yojuane, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 190. In 1772, A. Mezières, I. 290, mentioned, that the Tonkawa, including the Yojuane and Mayeye, could muster 150 warriors, or somewhat more. Later they seem to have been absorbed by the Tonkawa. J. A. Padilla, 49, related in 1820 that the Yuganis of Texas were a small tribe not exceeding 150 persons, and the account of 1828, in *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 269, mentioned there 40 families of the Yojuanos. Perhaps the Yojuane were living under these names but this is very doubtful. The earliest estimates of the tribe are of too late a date. Their population were perhaps somewhat larger, but it was always small in number.

184. *Youghtanund*, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 60 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; 70 warriors, W. Strachey, 62. By 1669 they appear to have been extinct as a separate tribe.

185. *Yscanis*, a tribe of the Wichita confederacy. In 1719 there was mentioned (P. Margry, VI. 289) an aggregate of nine tribes estimated at 6,000 (La Harpe) or 4,000 (Beaurain) souls; in this body the Yscanis were a tribe of less importance and numbers, much below the average. A. Mezières, I. 288—289 (and *Texas Qu.*, VIII. 66), reported 60 warriors and many more women and children in 1772. In 1773, J. Guignard (in A. Mezières, II. 85) estimated the fighting strength of the Wichita, Tawakoni, Tawehash and Yscanis (Niscaniche?) jointly at 1,000 warriors; in 1778 the Council at Bexar (A. Mezières, II. 165) placed the number of Yscanis warriors at 50; together with the Tawakoni (A. Mezières, II. 181) they were obliged in 1778 to muster 150 warriors against the Apache. About 1782 the Yscanis to the number of 90 families were united to the Tawakoni, Morfi (MSS.) quoted by H. E. Bolton (in F. W. Hodge, II. 1002).

186. *Yukichetunne*, a Tututni tribe (or band). In 1854 there was one settlement and 102 souls, J. L. Parrish, 495; 177 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 151 souls in 1857, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62. No doubt, they formerly exceeded these numbers, but probably were never over 500 souls.

## 2. Tribes numbering 500—1000 souls

1. *Adai*, a tribe of the Kadohadacho aggregate. In 1700 they consisted of many villages, La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 19); one of these villages numbered 50 men, La Harpe 1831, 33. In 1715 they numbered 300 men, if the Addashes on the Map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III) are identical with the Adai. In 1716 the mission of San Miguel was estab-



lished among the Adai but was destroyed in 1719, J. F. Espinosa, 443, who estimated the number of persons within range of each mission in this region at about 1,000 souls. (The mission was re-established in 1721 with a congregation of 400 Adai, F. W. Hodge, II. 450, and there were 103 baptisms up to 1768, H. H. Bancroft, X (1883). 633 foot-note.) La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 303), in 1719, met 50 Adai who were very helpful to him; he reported, *ib.*, VI. 289, a list of nine tribes, including the Adai and placed their population at 6,000 souls; no doubt, the Adai were in this list a people of lesser importance (Beaurain estimated these tribes at only 4,000 souls). At the end of the XVIII century, Baudry de Lozières, 250, related that the Adai had formerly numbered 100 men. The epidemic of 1778 almost exterminated the tribe, A. Mezières, II. 173. About 1792, 14 families with a number of Mexicans migrated from their place of residence, whilst these who remained numbered about 100 souls, F. W. Hodge, I. 13; J. Sibley, 722, in 1805 found but 20 men (this figure was repeated by H. M. Brackenridge, 87, and D. B. Warden, III. 551). J. Morse, 373, reported a village of the Adai having 30 souls; Th. McKenney, 545, in 1825 and P. B. Porter, 104, in 1829 gave them as 27 souls.

2. **Ahtena**, an Athapascan tribe on Copper River, Alaska. There were 567 souls in 1818, Kostlivtsoff cited by I. Petroff, 33 (and Russian Colonial Report 1819, quoted by P. Tikhmenief, I. 253). The famine of 1828 swept off about 100 souls, Baer and Helmersen, I. 98—99 (60 families in 1839, *ib.*, 97); about 60 families and 300 souls in 1836—'39, Veniaminoff, IX. 651, and Wrangell, I. 196 (this figure was also repeated by A. Krause, 325, about 1880); 100 males, J. Richardson 1851, I. 397; F. K. Louthon (in V. Colyer 1869, 1015) estimated the "Copper River Indians" at 3,000—4,000 souls; Wm. H. Dall 1877, 40, placed their number at 1,500 (also: *Alaska* 1870, 537; *I. Aff.* 1875, 707) and in later contributions at only 250 souls, *Am. A. A. Sci.* 1885, 379, and *Smiths.* 1885, I. 838. In 1880 they did not number more than 300 souls, I. Petroff, 164. In 1885, H. T. Allen, 259, found 366 souls. The Census of 1890 (*Alaska*, 158) returned 142 souls; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 111) 297 souls (293 full-bloods). J. Mooney 1928, 32, places the Ahtena at 600 souls in 1740. The Ahtena avoided the Whites during the first half of the XIX century.

3. **Arkokisa**, an unclassified tribe, Texas. The earliest estimate referred to their first contact with the white race in 1746: Capt. Orobio found five rancherias and 300 families (about 1,200 souls; according to H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 180, 335, these numbers, compared with subsequent estimates, appear to be too large). About 1756, Bernardo de Miranda saw at their village of Canos over 20 warriors with their families; if this was the entire village and that a representative one, the total of the tribe in four or five rancherias would not have exceeded 100 men, or 500—600 persons, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 335—336. A little earlier, Capt. Pacheco intended to gather the Arkokisa in two villages of 400 persons each, still too liberal a number, H. E. Bolton,

*ib.*, 335. In 1778, after a period of general decrease of the native population of Texas, an official Spanish document put the Arkikosa fighting strength at 50 men, A. Mezières, II. 166. About 80 men in 1805, J. Sibley, 722 (also H. M. Brackenridge, 88 and J. F. Schermerhorn, 25). The Texas Census of 1828 returned the number of the Bidai and Arkokisa jointly at 40 families, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 266. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates the Arkokisa, Attakapa, Bidai, Deadose and some other tribes at 1,000 warriors and 3,500 souls at the close of the XVIII century; H. E. Bolton, *l. c.*, 335, states that the Arkokisa were a small tribe even in 1746; J. Mooney 1928, 11, estimates them to have been 500 souls in 1780.

4. *Arosaguntacook*, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. Wm. D. Williamson (in J. Morse, 67) put their number in 1616 at 500 souls; 160 warriors in 1690, Wendell, 9; J. Gyles, 359, in 1726 reported 20 men above 16 years of age. Wendell, 9, gives them as 10 men in 1726 in New England, and as 60 men in 1727 in St. Francis. About 1750 in St. Francis they mustered about 150 warriors, F. Kidder, 235. They did not exceed 160 men fit to march in about 1760, W. Douglas, I. 185. Later their name was applied to the entire population of St. Francis, where some Abnaki tribes had gathered.

5. *Auk*, a Tlingit tribe on Stephens Passage, Alaska. There were 100 souls, Veniaminoff, 576 (after the epidemic of 1839); 203 souls (including 4 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas (quoted by I. Petroff, 37) (and about 1845, J. Work in P. Kane, app.); 118 souls (6 slaves) in 1863 in Assan Harbour, Wehrman quoted by P. Tikhmenief, II. 341. There were: 700 souls in about 1868, R. N. Scott 1868, 773; 800 souls, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, and 750 souls, Fr. Mahony (in V. Colyer, 1017); 640 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 279 souls, that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 115) returned 269. The population formerly was probably somewhat over 500 souls.

6. *Bayougoula* and *Mugulasha*, Mushkogean tribes, the lower Mississippi Valley. At the end of the XVII century the Mugulasha, a broken-up tribe, were living in the Bayougoula village. Perhaps the name of the Mugulasha is not really the name of a tribe but of a group of persons given refuge by the Bayougoula — they are “*nos amis qui sont là*”, Regis du Rouillet, in *J. des. Am.*, XV (1913). 245. Such Mugulashu villages to the number of two existed amongst the Choctaw, Cl. Delisle, about 1700—’02, quoted by Marc de Villiers, 138—139, and Regis du Rouillet about 1729—’32, *ib.*; there was a Muchlasee town also amongst the Creek, *Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII (1907). 523. In 1699 Lemoyne D. Iberville (P. Margry, IV. 171) found in this village a hundred and seven cabins with about 200—250 men, but few women: the smallpox had destroyed a quarter of the population. *Journal de Marin* (P. Margry, IV. 261) in the same year reported 400—500 souls. La Harpe 1831, 9, estimated them in 1699 at 100 warriors. Montigny (in A. Gosselin, 36) placed the number of

their cabins at 100. In 1700 the Bayougoula killed off all the Mugulasha (P. Margry, IV. 429); according to Gravier (in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 156) more than 200 men of the Mugulasha tribe were massacred (but this number is hardly possible, J. R. Swanton 1911, 280—281). Iberville, 602, in 1702 estimated the Bayougoula at 100 families. But the Taensa who had retired among the Bayougoula, surprised them in 1706 and massacred almost the whole nation. Besides, the tribe suffered from smallpox; the remnants dispersed, and it is doubtful whether there was a single family remaining in 1722, Charlevoix, VI. 202. Baudry de Lozières, 246—247, in 1794—'98 stated that the Bayougoula were reduced to 40 men from the 200 that they formerly were (perhaps this information applies to the year 1715); du Pratz, II. 241, in 1718—'30 related that they were lost among other Indians; 150 men in 1738, Map in J. Winsor, V. 365. An officer (Claiborne in J. R. Swanton 1911, 278—279) in 1739 reported that the Colapissa, Houma and Bayougoula were one and the same nation and could furnish 90—100 warriors (prior to this date P. du Poisson, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLVIII. 276, had stated that the Bayougoula did not exist). De Kerlerac, 75—76, wrote in 1758 of the Bayougoula as one of the tribes destroyed by the proximity of the French and by trade in liquor. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimated the population of the Bayougoula and Mugulasha jointly in 1699 at 875 souls (250 warriors and 107 cabins). J. Mooney 1928, 9, gave the Bayougoula, Mugulasha and Quinipissa as 1,500 souls in 1650.

7. Bidai, a tribe of Caddoan (?) stock. Previous to 1745 the Bidai do not appear to have had any contact with the white race and lived in their regular winter habitation in seven rancherias (it is difficult to determine whether a rancheria was a small village or a single dwelling), H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 64, 330. The tribe numbered some hundreds in 1758: when J. Galvan visited the mission of San Xavier where a body of the Bidai were living, a new band arrived reporting that there were more than 400 others on the way, H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 186. In 1755 it was planned to gather all the Bidai and Arkokisa into one settlement, *l. c.*, 351. In 1772 they seem to have numbered 150 men, A. Mezières, I. 305; in 1776—'77 an epidemic reduced them to nearly a half of their former population, and A. Mezières, II. 165, 189, in 1778, estimated them at 70 warriors, and even reported them as 100 warriors. J. Sibley, 722, in 1805 put their strength at 100 warriors (also H. M. Brackenridge, 88, and J. F. Schermerhorn, 26). J. Padilla, 50, found 300 souls in 1820. At that time J. Morse, 373, reported 120 Bidai on Trinity River, Texas. The Indian Census of Texas in 1828 estimated the Bidai and Arkokisa jointly at forty families, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 266. In 1849, H. G. Catlett, in *I. Aff. 1849*, 966, gave them as 75—100 souls. A. Gatschet: *Creek*, I. 47, about 1850 reported a small settlement of five or six families on the Lower Sabine River. J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, estimates the Bidai, Attacapa, Arkokisa, Deadoose, etc., jointly at 1,000 men (3,500 souls) at the end of the XVII century.



8. **Cahinnio**, an unclassified tribe, Red River. In 1687 they inhabited but one village containing about 100 cabins, Joutel (in P. Margry, III. 416). The number of souls must have been over 500. By the end of the XVIII century they had disappeared as a tribe.

9. **Cathlacumup**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. Six houses and 450 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116; 120 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 117; 700 souls in 1820, J. Morse, 368. It is possible that they did not reach 500 souls.

10. **Cathlakaheckit**, a Chinookan tribe (or band) at the cascades of the Columbia River. About 150 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, XII. 23; they appear to have lived in three villages in 1814, one containing 50 or even 70 warriors, Thompson and Henry, 803—804; 900 souls in 1820, J. Morse, 368.

11. **Cathlathlalas**, a Chinookan tribe (or band) below the cascades of the Columbia River. They numbered 150 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, XII. 23; in 1814 there were 30 warriors but this body was only a part of their fighting strength, Henry and Thompson, 802; J. Morse, 368, placed them twice in his list estimating one body at 500 and the other at 900 souls. *HBC Indian Census 1839* (MSS), No. XI, returned 142 souls (including 39 followers).

12. **Cayuse**, a Waiilatpuan tribe, Oreg. and Wash. The Yeletpo numbered 250 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 115 (and J. Morse, 369). A. Ross 1849, 127, about 1811—'18 estimated the Cayuse, Wallawalla and Shahaptin at about 1,500 souls; Sam. Parker, 301, in 1835—'37 gave the excessive figure of 2,000; upward of 200 souls in 1840, P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 991). About 1841 they are supposed to have had not more than 78 warriors, Dr. Gairdner, 257; at the same time, H. Hale, 214 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 8), estimated them at 500 souls. The statements for 1843, that the Cayuse were less numerous than the Walla-walla (A. J. Allen: *Oregon*, 174) and that some Cayuse and Walla-walla bands united to form a troop of 300 mounted men (G. Hines, 178) are too indefinite. Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, in 1844 estimated the Cayuse at 200 souls. In 1847, the smallpox carried off a large part of the tribe, J. Mooney: *Ghost-dance*, 743. Immediately after the epidemic, J. L. Meek, 10, in 1848 estimated the "Kieoux" at 2,000 souls (!); J. Lane, 160, in 1850 placed their fighting strength at 200 warriors and the population at 800 souls; A. Dart, 477, in 1851 found 126 persons east of the Cascade Mountains; I. I. Stevens, 460, in 1854 reported 120 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418). Later estimates: B. Alvord, 11, in 1853 reported 100 warriors (only a half were full-bloods, the others were slaves); Joel Palmer, 493, gave them as 600 souls; A. P. Denison, in *I. Aff.* 1858, 617, and *ib.* 1859, 803, estimated them at 500 souls; 344 souls in 1864, Wm. H. Barnhart, in *I. Aff.* 1864, 230; 370 souls in 1865, Wm. F. Cady, 5. *I. Aff.* have 381 (1868), 334 (1870),

385 (1875), 385 (1880), 340 (1885), 415 (1890), 422 (1895), 365 (1900), 403 (1905). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 106) returned 298 souls. But these estimates and large figures are unreliable: the Cayuse were a warlike tribe, their name was often applied to allied bands, and most of the Cayuse were mixed-bloods of other tribes. I. I. Stevens already in 1854 stated that individuals of pure blood were few, the majority being intermingled with the Nez-Percés to such a degree that their own language has fallen into disuse. For instance, their number was officially reported as 404 in 1904, but according to L. Ferrand (F. W. Hodge, I. 224) this figure is misleading, as careful inquiry in 1902 failed to discover a single full-blood and the language was practically extinct. The tribe was always a small one, and probably never numbered very much above 500 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 18, they numbered about 500 souls in 1780.

13. **Chaiclesaht**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. There were 100 souls about 1856, W. G. Grant, 293. *Can. I. Aff.* have: 148 (1885), 147 (1885), 127 (1890), 129 (1895), 124 (1900). It is possible that they never reached the number of 500 souls.

14. **Chakchiuma**, a Mushkogean tribe, Miss. They seem to have been reported on already in 1540, at the time of de Soto's expedition, as the Saquechuma, who lived in a walled town, Gentleman of Elvas (in B. F. French, II. 161). In 1699, probably greatly reduced by the epidemic of 1698, the "Taxoumans" numbered seventy cabins jointly with the Toposa and perhaps with the Choula, Montigny (in A. Gosselin, 36); Bienville, in his threatening speech to the Natchez chiefs in 1715, reminded them that in 1704 the Chakchiuma had numbered 400 families and, on their refusal to deliver the murderers of a missionary and three other Frenchmen, had been reduced in less than two years to 80 (Richebourg, in B. F. French, III. 245) — a doubtful figure! They seem to have been the Chacahumas of the Map of 1715 (in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III) who numbered 100 men in two villages. Fifty cabins in 1718—'31, du Pratz, II. 226 (repeated in 1761 by Th. Jefferys, 163); 150 souls in 1722, La Harpe 1831, 311. Baudry de Lozières, 252, reported that at the time of the arrival of the Whites, the Chakchiuma, Toposa, and Ibitoupa could muster jointly 600 warriors, but in the XVIII century they were reduced to 200. In 1770 they were almost entirely destroyed by the Choctaw and Chickasaw, H. S. Halbert, quoted by J. R. Swanton 1911, 295. According to J. R. Swanton, *ib.* 43, they lived by the close of the XVII century in fifty-six cabins, numbering 140 warriors and 490 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 9, supposes that the Chakchiuma, Ibitoupa, Toposa and Tiou jointly numbered 1,200 souls in 1650.

15. **Chastacosta**, an Athapascan tribe, Oreg. There were 153 souls in 1853, J. L. Parrish, 495, taken to Siletz Reservation after heavy fighting with the Whites; 214 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 162 in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62. The Census of 1910 returned only 7 individuals; however, it is probable that a few others still survived, but

had been enumerated as Rogue River Indians, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 77. J. Owen-Dorsey (in *Am. F.*, III (1890), 234) gives the names of thirty-three villages. No doubt, these villages were petty hamlets, but their great number allows to suppose that the Chastacosta somewhat exceeded the number of 500 souls.

16. **Chatot**, a tribe (probably related to the Choctaw) on Mobile Bay, Ala. The Franciscan missionaries reported 300 conversions among the Chatot in 1674, J. R. Swanton 1922, 424. J. R. Swanton supposes that the accounts in La Harpe 1831, 94—95, 103, viz., that in 1706 there were carried away more than 300 women and children and that 200 "Chacts" arrived, do not refer to the Choctaw, but to the Chatot. When the Chatot settled near Mobile, Bienville states that they could muster 250 men, but in 1725—'26 they had become reduced to 40 men, MSS quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, *ib.*; forty houses about 1730, du Pratz, II, 212—213; 30 warriors in 1805, J. Sibley, 725; 220 souls about 1818. J. Morse, 373; J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, supposes that at the end of the XVII century the Chatot had numbered 350 souls (100 warriors) and forty houses, but he seems to change this estimate in his later work. The Chatot were a quarrelsome nation: there is a reference to them in 1639 that they "never had peace with anybody", J. R. Swanton 1922, 135. No doubt, they did not increase in numbers owing to this national trait. In the middle of the XVII century they seem not to have exceeded 1,000 souls, although at an earlier date they may have been somewhat more numerous.

17. **Chemehuevi**, a Shoshonean tribe. They mustered 300 warriors (1,500 souls) in 1853, Leroux, 17 (H. W. Henshaw and A. L. Kroeber, in F. W. Hodge, I, 242, consider this figure, and of course most of those quoted regarding this tribe, as exaggerated). Ch. D. Poston, in *I. Aff. 1863*, 507, estimated them at 2,000—2,500 souls; J. Ross Browne 1869, 290, 291, put their strength in about 1865 at 300 warriors and 1,500 souls; Thomas in F. W. Hodge, I, 242, in 1866 and Col. Jones, in *I. Aff. 1869*, 533, gave them as being as many as 750 souls. *I. Aff.* returned as being on the reservations: 350 (1875), 200 (1880), 200 (1895), 300 (1900) and 199 (1910) souls, cf. *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 97. A. L. Kroeber 1925, 595, noting that the last Federal Census reported 350 Chemehuevi, 260 of them in California, states that the decrease since aboriginal times could not be great in regions as empty and remote as their country and a reduction by one-half or two-thirds is all that can be allowed; this would make the original population between 500 and 800.

18. **Chetco**, an Athapascan tribe, probably of the Tututni group, Oreg. Removed to Siletz reservation in 1853, they numbered 241 souls in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; 262 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772; 211 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntington, 62; 63 souls in 1877, *Ind. Pop. 1870*, 77. Only 9 individuals in 1910, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 77. According to J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890), 236, they inhabited nine



villages with forty-two houses before their removal to the reservation. If they exceeded the figure of 500 souls, it was only very slightly.

19. **Chilula**, an Athapascan tribe, N. Cal. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 138, the tribe, when the Whites appeared in their country, consisted of some 500—600 souls, and the average strength of each settlement was some 30 persons.

20. **Chinook**, a Chinookan tribe, Wash. They were tolerably numerous in small villages and single houses: 400 souls in twenty-eight houses in 1805, Lewis and Clark, III. 294; VI. 117. According to Livingston Ferrand in F. W. Hodge, I. 272, the above estimate referred only to these living on the Columbia River; this figure was repeated by H. J. Kelley, 60, about 1830 and still later (about 1844) by Crawford in W. Robertson, 129, and in G. Wilkes, 44. In 1812 there were 214 warriors, M. R. Stuart, X. 90 (this estimate was repeated by Irving Washington, II. 279). A. Ross 1849, 87, estimated ten tribes (about the mouth of the Columbia for a hundred miles around) including the Chinook, at 2,000 warriors; 1,700 (?) souls about 1820, J. Morse, 368. Sam. Parker, 258, stated that the Chinook nation, though once numerous did not number more than 1,500—2,000 in 1833—'37, but he appears to have confused the Chinook proper with neighbouring related tribes. About 1841 the Chinook numbered 220 souls within range of the Methodist mission, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 379, who in another place gives the Chinook as 209 souls, *ib.*, V. 149 (this figure was repeated by G. E. Emmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 201, by I. I. Stevens, 459, and Th. J. Farnham, 111). Four tribes of Lower Chinooks, including the Chinook proper, numbered 500—600 souls about 1841, 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7; Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, about 1844 estimated the Lower Chinook (the Chinook proper and Clatsop) jointly at 300 souls, although a few years before they were said to have had 1,000 lodges. Three villages in 1844—'45, P. J. de Smet 1847, 72. Warre and Vavasour, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 81), in 1845 estimated the Chinook, Clatsop and several tribes near the mouth of the Columbia River jointly at 429 souls. In 1847—'48, J. Quinn Thornton, 9, estimated them at 200; J. L. Meek, 10, as high as 4,000! H. Beaver, in *Acc. and Pap. Sess. 1849, XXXV: H. B. Co.*, 12, stated that among a dozen distinct tribes, including the Chinook, each comprised on the average 200 souls; 100 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 162. Five Chinook bands (tribes) jointly numbered 142 souls (including 36 slaves), A. Dart, 476. Five Lower Chinook bands, intermarried with other tribes, jointly numbered 116 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 457 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435); 112 souls in 1855, J. G. Swan 1857, 109—110, 346. The exact number of Chinook has not been ascertained, but it cannot have exceeded 200 about 1857, J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 21. The above figures are all very doubtful. In general, the population on the Lower Columbia was numerous, but the tribes were small. It is doubtful, whether the Chinook, previous to the epidemics, exceeded 1,000 souls in spite

of the statement of H. Hale, 215 (and A. Gallatin, 16) about 1841 that twenty years before there were some 5,000—6,000 people called Lower Chinooks (the Wahkiacum, Chinook proper, Clatsop) and that they were in about 1841 reduced to one-tenth of their former numbers by diseases. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 81) returned 315 souls, but stated that the Chinook proper are probably almost if not quite extinct, and the name came to be loosely applied to various other tribes of the same stock on both sides of the Columbia for about 100 miles above its mouth.

21. **Clatsop**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. They suffered in 1778 and 1801 from smallpox: the epidemic of 1801 carried off several hundreds; of course, in 1805 they were not numerous: fourteen houses and 200 souls in several small villages, Lewis and Clark, III. 294, IV. 50—51, 240—241, VI. 117; 180 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 90 (and Irving Washington, III. 457). A. Ross 1849, 87, placed the fighting strength of ten tribes including the Clatsop at 2,000 warriors; 1,300 (?) about 1820, J. Morse, 368. In 1829 they suffered from ague-fever, J. Dunn, 115; 220 souls in 1841, Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149 (also Th. J. Farnham, 111 and G. F. Edmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 201); Ch. Wilkes, *ib.*, IV. 379, wrote of 209 persons within the reach of the Methodist mission. The Lower Chinook including the Clatsop numbered 500—600 souls in 1841, 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7. The Lower Chinook, including the Chinook proper and Clatsop, numbered 300 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. Not more than 150 men in 1844—'45, P. J. de Smet 1847, 72. Jointly with the Chinook and several other tribes at the mouth of the Columbia there were 429 souls in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 81); 180 souls in 1848, J. Quinn Thornton, 9; 50 souls in 1850, J. Lane 161; 80 (really 71) souls in 1851, A. Dart, 476. The Lower Chinooks (inclusive of the Clatsop), intermarried with other tribes, numbered 115 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 457 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435); 41 souls, W. W. Raymond, in *I. Aff.* 1857, 642. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 81) returned 26 souls. H. Hale, 215, stated that the Lower Chinooks were in about 1841 reduced to one-tenth of their former number. According to J. Mooney 1928, 16, there were not more than 300 souls in 1780.

22. **Congaree**, a small tribe, probably of Siouan affinity, S. Ca. J. Lawson 1714, 27, in 1701 found them greatly reduced by smallpox, in a single village which consisted of not more than a dozen houses. About 1715 the tribe numbered 30 men, the Map of 1715 in J. R. Swanton 1722 (Plate III). J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates their numbers in 1600 at 800 souls. After 1711—'15, reduced by wars, they joined the Catawba.

23. **Coree**, an Algonquian (?) tribe, N. Ca. J. Lawson 1714, 234, in 1701 estimated them at 25 warriors in two villages. Warlike and bloody, the Coree were not numerous in the latter half of the XVII century, before 1696 most of them were cut off by a neighbouring nation, J. Archdale, 286. W. J. Rivers 1856, 38, estimates that before the advent of the Whites

a village in this region contained 50—60 warriors, i. e., the Coree could once have mustered at least about 120 warriors. They probably numbered somewhat over 500 souls but they were never a numerous tribe. In 1711 a portion of the Tuskarora jointly with the Coree mustered 200—300 warriors and contained more than 1,000 women and children, but the Coree were an insignificant percentage in that aggregate, Ch. Gale, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, I (1886). 828. After 1715 they disappeared. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Coree and Neusiok jointly numbered about 1,000 souls in 1600.

24. **Cowlitz**, a Salish tribe, Wash. They mustered 250 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 114 (if his Lecaoulitsics are the Cowlitz); 2,400 souls in three villages, J. Morse, 368; 300 souls about 1841, H. Hale, 212 (also 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7, and A. Gallatin 1848, 13). About 1841 an epidemic attacked the Cowlitz settlement and reduced it from 100 to less than 30 souls, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 338; the Cowlitz numbered 330 souls in 1841, *ib.* V. 149 (350 souls in I. I. Stevens, 459, and Th. J. Farnham, 112); 500 souls in 1844 jointly with the Clackama, Dufлот de Mofras, II. 335; 200 souls in 1845, P. Kane 1862, 95. In 1845 two tribes on the Cowlitz river, the Cowlitz being certainly one of them, numbered together about 500 souls, Warre and Vavasour, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 81); 500 souls in 1847—'48, J. L. Meek, 10; 120 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 162; 165 souls jointly with the Upper Chehalis, I. I. Stevens, 457 (also G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435, and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490). There were 200 souls in 1852, A. E. Starling, 461; 140 about 1855, G. J. Swan 1857, 346; jointly with the Taitinapam 240 souls about 1856, G. C. Ford, in 37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 103; 200 souls among the Lower Cowlitz, 75 souls among the Upper Cowlitz intermarried with the Klikitat, J. Ross Browne 1857—58, 20. The Cowlitz and Klikitat jointly had 317 souls, *I. Aff.* 1870. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 91) noted 105 so-called Cowlitz. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, the Cowlitz and Chehalis jointly numbered 1,000 souls in 1780.

25. **Cuscarawaoc**, a tribe of the Nanticoke aggregate. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 200 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 55; J. Smith 1624, 351; W. Strachey 1612, 41.

26. **Cushook**, probably a band of the Clowwewalla (L. Ferrand in F. W. Hodge, I. 313). Lewis and Clark, VI. 118, estimated them in 1805 at 650 souls (only 200 in the original draft). J. Mooney 1928, 17, supposes that they had numbered 900 souls in 1780.

27. **Cusso** (Coosa), a tribe of unknown stock, So. Ca. Its name was reported in 1562 and reappeared in various references till 1743. The Cusso seem to have not been numerous. J. Mooney 1928, 6, places their population at 600 souls in 1600.

28. **Ehatisaht**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. The Aitizzarts numbered 300 warriors in 1803—'05, J. R. Jewitt, 103; 70 men about 1860,



R. Mayne, 251. *Can. I. Aff.* quote: 145 (1885), 134 (1890), 126 (1895) souls.

29. **Eno**, a small tribe, probably of Siouan stock, N. Ca. They are reported by Yardley, 365, as "a great nation called the Haynokes who valiantly resist the Spaniards". In 1672 they inhabited a town and planted an abundance of grain, J. Lederer (ed. W. Talbot), 158. In 1701 the Eno, Shakori and Adshusheer were living together in the same village, J. Lawson 1714, 55. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, these three small tribes numbered jointly about 1,500 souls in 1600.

30. **Esselen**, a tribe constituting the Esselenian linguistic family, an extreme example of the degree to which aboriginal speech diversification had been carried in California (A. L. Kroeber). According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 883, they numbered 500 souls in 1779.

31. **Etiwaw**, a small tribe, S. Ca. The Etiwaw were living in 1715 in a single village and numbered 240 souls (80 men), W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. This information is for that region of rather too late a date. The Etiwaw disappeared as a tribe in about 1751. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, they numbered about 600 souls in 1600.

32. **Hachaath**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. The Aychart village numbered fifteen or sixteen houses; the houses were smaller than those of the Nootka (the Nootka had 500 warriors in 20 houses); the Nootka expedition against the Hachaath consisted of forty canoes, carrying 10 to 20 men each, J. R. Jewitt 1816, 154, 155.

33. **Hainai**, a tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. In 1736 P. de Rivera, leg. 2093, stated that they were the most important tribe in the province of Texas. In 1721 Aguayo distributed presents at the mission; the Chief of the Hainai had gathered his tribe: there were 400 persons (320 Hainai and 80 Kadohadacho), Peña in H. E. Bolton (*Texas Qu.*, XI. 275) — these numbers apparently included the majority of the Hainai tribe. A. Mezières, II. 263, in 1779, de Croix (A. Mezières, II. 311) in 1780 and the information of 1782 in H. H. Bancroft, X. (1883), 633 foot-note, estimated the Texas (the Hainai) at 80 warriors. The same number of men was given in 1805 by J. Sibley, 722. In 1818, J. Morse, 373, estimated the Hainai (Hini) at 200, the Texas at 230 souls; J. A. Padilla, 52, gave only the Texas as 400 souls. The Hainai and Texas together numbered twenty-three families in Texas in 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267. Later figures refer jointly to the Caddo, Hainai (and the Anadarko): 1,500 souls in 1846, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7; 280 warriors and 1,400 souls in 1849, R. S. Neighbors, 963; 476 souls (including 113 Hainai), Jesse Stem, in *I. Aff. 1851*, 523; 500 souls, Hill, in *I. Aff. 1854*, 575; 362 souls, *ib.* 1866; 480 souls, *ib.* 1868. H. E. Bolton, *l. c.*, 273, estimates that in 1721 the tribes of the Hasinai confederacy could not have averaged more than 300—400 persons each. Perhaps the Hainai

as a tribe of some importance, at least previous to 1721, somewhat exceeded 500 souls.

34. **Henrya**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. There were 300 souls in Genuvskoe (settlement) after the epidemic of 1838, Veniaminoff, 275. They numbered 269 souls (including 51 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas, in I. Petroff, 37 (P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489, repeated these figures from J. Work); 411 souls (including 19 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman quoted by P. Tikhmenief, II. 341. There were 500 souls in about 1867—'69, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, and R. N. Scott 1868, 773; 300 souls, Fr. Mahony (in V. Colyer, 1017). The Census of 1880 found 527 souls, I. Petroff, 32, 117; that of 1890 (*Alaska*, 158) returned 262 souls, and that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) 214 souls. No doubt, previous to the advent of the Whites they were somewhat over 500 persons.

35. **Huchnom**, a Yukian tribe, Cal. The original population probably did not exceed 500 souls. The Census of 1910 recorded 7 full-bloods and 8 half-breeds, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 203.

36. **Hupa**, an Athapascan tribe, Cal. The Whites arrived in 1855, and the first agent estimated their number in 1866 at 650 souls, P. E. Goddard, 9. The population has probably decreased since 1855. *I. Aff.* had: 571 (1875), 414 (1880), 515 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 199, found 468 souls; *I. Aff. 1900* reported 421 souls. In 1903 a careful estimate yielded 450 souls, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 130. *I. Aff. 1910* gave 436 souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 77) reckoned 639 souls, but probably included all the children of diverse tribe affiliation attending the school in the valley, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 130. According to A. L. Kroeber, *ib.*, the population of the Hupa as far as the south fork of the Trinity River may be estimated at barely 1,000 before the discovery but there do not appear to have been many more than 600 Indians in the valley proper.

37. **Jova**, see **Opata**.

38. **Kadohadacho**, a leading tribe of the Kadohadacho confederacy. The earliest references to the Kadohadacho show that they were closely united with some other tribes of the confederacy, especially with the Natchitoch and Nasoni (the cabins of these tribes were not united in villages, but distant one from the other), H. de Tonti in 1690 (B. F. French, I. 73; P. Margry 1867, 30—31); cf. St. Denis (P. Margry, VI. 217) in 1716 and La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 263, B. F. French, III. 69) in 1719. During 1709—'19 the Kadohadacho, Nasoni, Natchitoch and Nanatsoho were reduced from 2,500 to 400 souls (including 200 warriors), La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 263—264). In 1772 the Kadohadacho and Texas could furnish a reinforcement of more than 300 warriors without leaving their bands unprotected, A. Mezières, I. 303; in 1773 G. Gagnard estimated the Great Caddo (Kadohadacho) at 90, the Petits Cadohadacho at 60 and those at "Preiry dest Ennemy" at 10 warriors, A. Mezières, II. 83; in 1777 they could furnish 30 warriors against the Osage, without leaving their village vacant and exposed to

aggression, *ib.*, II. 145; the epidemic of 1777 carried off about 300 Kadohadacho, Tawehash and Tawakoni, *ib.*, II. 231—232. Baudry de Lozières, 250, for an unstated date of the XVIII century, related that the Kadohadacho, Nasoni, Natchitoch and Quitchiaiche (?) were living in the same village and that they could formerly muster 500—600 warriors. J. Sibley, 721, in 1805 reported that the smallpox had destroyed nearly a half of them in 1801; they mustered only 100 warriors, but there were 40—50 more women than men; besides there was nearly the same number of aged persons and strangers who lived amongst them. These strangers were evidently the source of some later exaggerated estimates. However, the Kadohadacho were usually given confused with and jointly with other tribes of their confederacy. (Such confusion has been long noted: "the great nation of the Kadohadacho, divided into many branches", du Pratz, II. 242.) In the XIX century, J. Morse, 373, who estimated the tribes of the Kadohadacho confederacy separately, was rather an exception. Thus according to *Acc. of La 1803*, 450 (also J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 97, foot-note), the Kadohadacho could raise 300—400 warriors; 400 warriors (1,600 souls) in 1804, 87; Lewis and Clark, VI. 113; 110 warriors in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 450 souls in 1825, Th. L. McKenney, 545; a remnant of the old Caddo confederacy, including the Kadohadacho, numbered 225 warriors in 1837, A. Muckleroy, 232; 120 warriors or 500 souls in 1836, Morfit, 13.

39. **Kato**, an Athapascan tribe, Cal. As the Cabadilapo they were estimated in 1851 at 500—600 souls, J. McKee, in *4 Sen. Ex. Doc.* (32 Congr., spec. sess. 1853), 148 (only 497 souls according to the Indian agent, *ib.*, 148, 185). According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 115, 1,000 souls seems the maximum population that can be assumed, but 500 souls is probably nearer the mark. In about 1925, about 500, mostly full-bloods, are reckoned as Kato. A. L. Kroeber, *ib.* 883, estimates them at 500 souls in 1779.

40. **Kawchodinne** (Hare Indians), an Athapascan tribe, Mackenzie River district, Canada. There were 467 souls in 1858, Ross (MSS), in F. W. Hodge, I. 667. The Census of 1858 found 467 souls in the districts of Ft. Good Hope and Ft. Norman, and in that of Ft. Simpson 658 souls jointly with Dog Ribs and Slaves, G. M. Dawson: *Yukon*, 206 B, 207 B, and H. Y. Hind 1863, II. 260; E. Petitot, in *Bull. Geo. Par.*, X (1875). 262, estimates them at 800 souls, and in *Lac des Esclaves*, 289, at 772 souls; 600 souls, A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113, also A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 16, and in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 263. It is possible that they slightly exceeded 1,000 souls prior to their first contact with the white race. J. Mooney 1928, 26, puts their numbers at 750 in 1670.

41. **Keyauwee**, a small tribe probably of the Siouan family, N. Ca. In 1701 they were living in a palisaded village, large corn-fields adjoining their cabins, J. Lawson 1714, 50. They went to live jointly with the Tutelo and Saponi in order to strengthen themselves, J. Lawson, *ib.*, 48. Together with the Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi and Shakori they numbered 750 souls, J. Lawson, *ib.*, 243. It is possible that they were then already



ravaged by diseases, but probably they never numbered much over 500 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes, that they numbered 500 souls in 1600.

42. **Kichai**, a Caddoan tribe. La Harpe (in B. F. French, III. 72) mentioned them in 1719 together with the Nabadache, Waco and Tawakoni and placed the fighting strength of this collective body at 2,000 warriors. In 1770 A. Demeciers (de Mezières), in *Tex. Qu.*, VIII. 66, estimated them at twenty families and 80 men; in 1772 A. Mezières, I. 265, stated that their village was composed of thirty houses with 80 men, most of them young; in 1777, according to Chevalier de Croix (A. Mezières, II. 145) they could muster 25 warriors against the Osage without leaving their village unprotected; in 1778 the Council at San Antonio de Bexar (A. Mezières, II. 165) estimated the strength of the Kichai at 90 fighting men; besides there was a rancheria of the Kichai numbering 20 warriors who were separated from the main body of their tribe, A. Mezières, II. 191. J. Sibley, 722, in 1805 found 60 warriors (also H. M. Brackenridge, 87, and J. F. Schermerhorn, 24). J. Morse, 373, in 1818 estimated the Kichai at 260 souls. The number of 800 souls in 1820 quoted by J. A. Padilla, 52, is too liberal. The Census of Texas in 1828 reported 36 families, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267. There were 150 souls in 1846, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7; 60 warriors and 300 souls in 1849, R. S. Neighbors 1849, 963; 38 souls in 1851, Jesse Stem, in *I. Aff.* 1851, 523; Hill, *ib.* 1855, 575, estimated the Kichai, Waco and Tawakoni together at 300 souls. *I. Aff.* had 144 (1866), 90 (1875), 75 (1880) and 74 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 528, found 66 Kichai and Wichita jointly. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 80) returned 10 souls; the other Kichai seem to have joined the Wichita. It is possible that the Kichai never came to 500 souls.

43. **Kitchigami**, an Algonquian tribe, probably belonging to the Illinois confederacy. It was composed of more than twenty large cabins in 1670, J. Marquette, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 184, probably each cabin of four to six fires with one or two families per fire, as in other Illinois tribes, see App. III: Illinois. The tribe suddenly disappeared from history, it probably having become known under some other name.

44. **Klikitat**, a Shahaptian tribe. Prior to 1829, Casanow, the chief of the Klikitat and Chinook, could muster 1,000 men, P. Kane 1859, 174—175. Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 395, was more conservative: he wrote that the Klikitat village was quite populous and that Casanow could raise 400—500 warriors, but that the epidemics had, within a short space of three weeks, swept off whole tribes in this region. In 1839 (*HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XV, MSS) a division of the Klikitat at Ft. Vancouver numbered 345 souls. The Klikitat, or the Cowlitz, numbered 350 souls in 1843, according to Th. J. Farnham, 112, who had erroneously identified two distinct tribes as one. In 1841 there were 2,200 souls jointly amongst the Cowlitz and Wallawalla, Yakima and Paloos, H. Hale, 213 (also A. Galatin 1848, 14, and 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7); 2,000 souls jointly with

the Wallawalla in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 500 souls in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 9; 1,500 souls in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10; 85 warriors and 180 souls in Oregon in 1850, J. Lane, 160; 492 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 477; a large and powerful tribe of about 2,000—3,000 souls in 1851, A. E. Starling, 461; 300 souls in 1853, G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418 (and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490). (G. Gibbs 1877, 171, states that no correct census has at any time been made of the Klikitat, but that they were estimated at 300—400 exclusive of the Taitinapam.) In 1853 the total probably did not exceed 300 souls in Washington state, I. I. Stevens, 460, 433. *I. Aff.* 1859, 780 (R. H. Lansdale), and *ib.* 1862, 504, estimated them at 633 souls. Later Reports of Commissioners of Indian Affairs always returned them jointly with other tribes. The figures prior to 1860 are misleading: some writers had confused the Klikitat or some of their divisions with their neighbours (e. g., J. L. Meek, *l. c.*, reported the Klikitat under their proper designation with 1,500 souls and then possibly as the North Dale Indians with 1,500 souls and finally as the Vancouvers with 800 souls). According to Livingston Farrand (F. W. Hodge, II. 713), Lewis and Clark had estimated the Klikitat at 700 souls in 1805. J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes that the Klikitat numbered 600 souls in 1780.

45. **Komoyue**, a division of the true Kwakiutl, Vancouver Id. They numbered 2,040 souls (including 50 slaves) in 1839, *HBC Ind. Census 1839* (MSS), No. XIV. 2 (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488), J. K. Lord, I. 165, estimated them at 800 warriors in about 1866, probably a misprint for 80. *Ca. I. Aff.* reported: 82 (1883), 58 (1890), 56 (1895), 43 (1900) souls. It is possible they did not exceed the number of 500 souls.

46. **Kuitsh**, a Yakonan tribe, Oregon. In 1805 Lewis and Clark, VI. 117, estimated the Youitts, a tribe who lived in a small town, at 150 souls (according to E. Coues, 759, they were Kuitsh, also known as Lower Umpqua Indians); also the Shallalah nation, 1,200 souls, is identified as a Kuitsh settlement, Tsalala or Silela. J. Morse, 371, repeated these names and figures. In 1867 J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62, estimated the Umpqua at 102 souls: these Umpqua seem to have been Kuitsh. In connection with the figures of 1805, and the above identification of the names, the Kuitsh should have numbered over 1,000 souls. However, Lewis and Clark gave their estimates not on the ground of their own observation but owed them to Indian interpreters. According to J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890). 231, the Kuitsh had twenty-one villages, — probably small settlements.

47. **Kutch a-Kutchin**, an Athapascan tribe of Kutchin stock, Alaska. The Kutchin of Alaska were divided into many petty tribes, the Kutcha-Kutchin being one of the largest. J. Richardson, I. 398, reported 90 men among the Kutcha-Kutchin and 20 men among their subdivision, the Zekathaka (Tangeratsa). W. H. Dall 1877, 39 (also in *Alaska*, 537, and in *I. Aff.* 1875, 707) estimated them in about 1865—'75 at 250 souls; this estimate is repeated by A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 260.

The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, gave the number of the "Kutchin" — a collective name — at 560; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 112) at 350 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 32, puts the population of that tribe in 1740 at 500 souls.

48. **Kwantlen**, a Cowichan tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 15 (MSS), returned 375 souls among the Quatlens, but not all Kwantlen settlements seem to have been taken into account. Capt. Wilson, 278, found 150 souls in 1858. *Can. I. Aff. 1879*, 309, gave the population of two of their settlements, Langley and Wharnock, as 136 souls. The population of these settlements and of New Westminster (Skaiaimetl) was 195 (1895) and 136 (1900) souls. The Kwantlen were formerly one of the most powerful and extensive of the River Halkonelem tribes, Hill-Tout, in *A. A. Sci. 1902* (1903), 406.

49. **Lipan**, an Apache tribe. The estimates are very largely divergent and little trustworthy, the designations not always covering the same bands. The expedition of Bustillo y Zevallos in 1732 reached the Apacheria: there were four tribes in four separate rancherias, and their tents numbered more than 400 (the Lipan were one of these tribes); in the battle which followed more than 700 warriors were engaged, W. E. Dunn, in *Texas Qu.*, XIV. 232. Fray Santa Anna related in 1743, that the Apache were far less numerous than was commonly supposed, the three tribes: the Apache, Lipan (Ypande) and Pelones (Pelones is perhaps another designation for the Lipan) not exceeding 1,300 warriors; in 1745 he stated that the Apache and Ypande had 500 warriors combined, and still later that the Ypande had only 166 warriors, W. E. Dunn, *ib.*, 256, 258, 267. Ripperda in A. Mezières, I. 328, estimated them at 1,500 or more men in 1772 — an obvious over-estimate. According to J. Sibley, 722—723, in 1805 the Cances (the Lipan) were a very numerous nation consisting of many different tribes but no estimate could be made of their number; 750 (?) warriors in 1805, note of E. Coues in Fr. Garcès, II. 460; H. M. Brackenridge, 88 (if his Cances are the same as the Lipan), estimated them at 2,000 warriors and 5,500 souls in 1811; J. F. Schermerhorn, 26, repeated the above number of warriors but put the population at 7,500 souls. About 1817 the Lipan jointly with the Apaches are said to have numbered 3,500 souls, J. Morse, 374; in 1828 there were 80 to 100 Lipan families in Texas, the "Lipanes del Sur," a branch of the Lipan, numbered 150 families *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 264; 700 souls in 1828, A. J. Padilla, 56; 900 souls (250 warriors) in 1836, H. M. Morfit, 13; they dwindled to 150 souls in 1840, E. Coues, *l. c.*; 125 souls about 1846, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7; 6,500 (?) souls in 1854, A. W. Whipple, 9. In 1849 R. S. Neighbors, 963, reported 100 warriors and 500 souls in Texas; H. G. Catlett, in *I. Aff. 1849*, 966, gave only 300 souls; 560 souls in 1853, *I. Aff. 1855* (Howard), 575. In the period 1845—'56 the Lipan were decimated by the Texas Whites, the few survivors fleeing to Mexico. E. Domenech, II. 6, was over-liberal: he estimated the Lipan as being



10,000 souls at the time when they were almost exterminated; J. C. Cremony, 21, in 1868 referred to them as a numerous and warlike tribe! The Census of 1890, 135, returned 40 Lipans in New Mexico; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 78) found 28 persons. The Lipan were far from being as numerous as most of the above estimates report and their population seems never to have exceeded 1,000 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 11, they numbered only 500 souls in 1780.

50. **Lummi**, a Salish tribe, Wash. At one time the Lummi were one of the most powerful tribes of the region, but they suffered much from the northern Indians, E. C. Fitzhugh, 615; *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 12 (MSS), gave the Whollemie as 731 souls (including 137 followers). M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887). 272, estimated them at 300 souls in 1841; W. F. Tolmie in 1844 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434, and I. I. Stevens, 459) gave them at 244 (including 23 slaves). About 220 souls in 1850, Thornton in J. Lane, 162; 400 souls in 1853, L. Floyd Jones, 5; 450 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436); 385 souls, 37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 46. In 1855, according to M. Eells, *l. c.*, 272, they numbered 680 souls; E. C. Fitzhugh, in 37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 75, gave them as 385 souls, and in *I. Aff.* 1857, 615, as 500—600 souls (to be exact, 510 souls, *ib.*, 674); 540 souls about the same time, J. Ross Browne, 1857—'58, 9; 600 souls, *I. Aff.* 1861, 829; 1,300 souls in 1862, M. Eells, *l. c.* *I. Aff.* have: 335 (1870), 600 (1875), 248 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 603, found 295 souls. *I. Aff.* reported: 338 (1895), 322 (1900), 412 (1905) and 453 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.*, 92) returned 353 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 15, estimates the Lummi, Samish etc. jointly at only 1,000 souls in 1780 — too low an estimate.

51. **Machapunga**, an Algonquian tribe, N. Ca. A single village and 30 warriors in 1701, J. Lawson 1714, 234. There were only a few in about 1707, R. Beverley 1855, 184. After the war of 1711—'12 they were settled together with the Coree. In 1713 the Mattamuskeet mustered 45 or 50 warriors, having some Coree joined with them, *N. Ca. Rec.*, II (1886) 39, 45; in 1731 they did not exceed 20 families, G. Burrington, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 153; in 1755 there were 8—10 (men?), a letter of A. Dobbs, *ib.*, V (1887). 321.

52. **Mamalelekala**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. In 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 3 (MSS), found 2,030 souls (including 40 slaves) (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). *Can. I. Aff.* report: 165 (1885), 171 (1890), 149 (1895), 114 (1900) souls.

53. **Matilpe**, a Kwakiutl sept which had branched off from the rest of the true Kwakiutl. They are said to have numbered 2,490 souls (including 40 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XVI. 5 (MSS) (also P. Kane app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). *Can. I. Aff.* report: 63 (1885),

76 (1890), 63 (1895), 55 (1900) souls. The estimate of the Census of 1839 is greatly exaggerated. It is possible they did not reach 500 souls.

54. **Mattole**, an Athapascan tribe (or group?), Ca. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 78) found 34 souls. A. L. Kroeber 1925, 883, estimates their numbers in 1779 at about 500 souls.

55. **Meherrin**, an Iroquoian tribe, Va. and N. Ca. There were 50 bowmen in 1699, E. D. Neill, 326; 50 warriors in a single village in 1701, J. Lawson 1714, 234; 30 bowmen in 1707, R. Beverley 1707, 317; nine small tribes, including the Meherrin, numbered 250 warriors and 700 souls in 1712, Al. Spootswood, I. 167; they did not exceed 20 families in 1731, G. Burrington, in *N. Ca. Rec.* III (1886). 153; a mere handful in 1752, Spangenburg, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 1; 7 or 8 warriors in 1755, Gen. Dobbs, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 162, 321. About 20 men in 1760, *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI. (1888). 616. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates the Meherrin at 700 souls in 1600.

56. **Mishikhwutmetunne** (Chocreleatan), a Tututni tribe (or band). There were 102 souls in 1854, J. L. Parrish, 495; the Colville numbered 221 souls in 1861, D. Newcomb, 772. J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890). 232, found that they formerly had thirty-three villages on the Coquille River; even if the villages were small ones, the tribe must have been more numerous than in 1854 or in 1861, and probably somewhat exceeded the number of 500 souls.

57. **Mobile**, a Muskhogean tribe, Ala. The expedition of de Soto in 1540 (Biedma and Gentleman of Elvas in B. F. French, II. 103, 156—160) reached the town of Mauvila, and met there with fierce opposition on the part of the natives; the Spanish had seen only 300 to 400 Indians, but there were some 5,000 or 6,000 men in the town who surprised the Whites; about 2,500 Indians were killed or burnt to death. The Mauvilla are supposed to be the later Mobile, although settled elsewhere at the end of the XVII century. About 1699 Penicaut stated (Margry, V. 383; B. F. French, 2nd ser., I. 43), that there were on an island many bones of a once numerous nation who, being pursued by their enemies, took refuge on it, nearly all perishing from some terrible disease; this nation was the Mobile, few of whom survived by 1699. In 1699 Iberville, 427, estimated the Mobile at 300 men in a single village. In the same year La Harpe 1831, 17, estimated the Mobile and the Tohome jointly at more than 700 men; in 1700 the Mobile contained about 400 men, La Harpe in B. F. French, III. 20. In 1701 there were five villages and about 500 souls, an anonymous writer, perhaps Levasseur, in *J. des Am.*, XIV (1922). 131—132. The fighting strength of the Mobile and Tohome was jointly 350 warriors in 1702, Iberville, 514, and 200 men in 1715, Map of 1715 (in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III). The Mobile numbered only 60 men in 1725, Bienville (MSS) quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, 425, but Bienville added that within his own remembrance they had numbered 500; 30 warriors

in 1730, Regis de Rouillet (MSS) in J. R. Swanton 1922, 425. In 1718—'30 the Mobile were a small tribe, du Pratz, II. 213—214. De Kerlerac, 85, in 1758 placed the Mobile, Tohome and Naniaba at 100 warriors. According to J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, these three tribes numbered 1,225 souls, 140 cabins and 350 warriors at the end of the XVII century. All available estimates of the Mobile date from the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century when the Mobile were already a broken-up tribe: the contact with the Spaniards in the XVI century seems to have been very disastrous, the incomers apparently bringing in new diseases. Probably in the XVI century they numbered over 1,000 souls.

58. **Modoc**, a Latuamian tribe, Oreg. and Cal. The Latuami (apparently, the Modoc and Klamath jointly), Shasta and Palaihnik were greatly diminished in numbers by disease and all these tribes together are supposed not to have comprised in about 1841 more than 1,200 individuals, H. Hale, 218 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 18). There were 100 warriors in 1853, G. Wright, in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 28; 310 souls in Oregon, G. H. Abbott, in *I. Aff.* 1859, 804; 700 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62; the Modoc, Klamath and four bands of Snakes numbered 4,000 souls, *I. Aff.* 1868, 812; the Modoc jointly with the Klamath numbered 2,000 souls in 1869, Wm. F. Cady, 3. *I. Aff.* reckoned in Indian Territory: 59 (1875), 99 (1880), 94 (1885), 84 (1890) souls; in Oregon: 103 (1875), 151 (1880), other estimates give the Modoc jointly with the Klamath as: 763 (1885), or, jointly with the Klamath and Snakes, as 835 (1890) souls. *I. Aff.* 1900 reported 228 souls in Oregon and 49 in Indian Territory. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 87) returned 28 souls. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 320, the available data indicate that the Klamath had long been at least twice as numerous as the Modoc, e.g., there were in 1910 not quite 700 of the one and rather less than 300 of the other. The combined population of the tribes at the time of the discovery may have aggregated 2,000, and the former number of the Modoc may thus be set at about 600 to 700, of whom perhaps one-half or less lived in what is now California. The Modoc are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 18, to have numbered only about 400 souls in 1780.

59. **Mohegan**, an Algonquian tribe. In 1633 the Pequot, Mohegan and Niantic could doubtless muster 1,000 bowmen, and the Pequot alone were estimated at 700 warriors, B. Trumbull, I. 43; Uncas, the Mohegan sachem, had in about 1637 about 300 men with him on Pequot River, most of them were Pequot, since he as a petty sachem had not above 40 to 50 Mohegans proper, R. Williams, in *Winthrop Papers*, 207—208. The Mohegan as such had no separate existence prior to 1640 when Uncas caused them to separate from the Pequot. His fighting strength consisted of 300—400, perhaps 450—500 warriors, but among them there were many allied Indians, W. Hubbard, 450, 457 (and in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IX (1804). 77—78). About 1680 the "Indian neighbours of Connecticut" are estimated to have numbered about 500 fighting men; what Indians, besides



the Mohegan, might be included in this figure, cannot be ascertained, but they were there the principal tribe, *Mass. Hist. Coll., ib.*, 78. There were 150 warriors in 1705, B. Trumbull, I. 425, 448, and in 1725, Wyllys, in *Mass. Hist. Coll., ib.*, 78. On the basis of the account of Indians in Connecticut made in 1774, J. W. de Forest, 474, estimated the Mohegan at 346 souls; in 1799 they numbered 28 families of 84 souls, *Mass. Hist. Coll., ib.*, 76; 300 souls as Mohegans and 50 as Groton about 1817, J. Morse, 361, and in 1825, McKenney, 545, but probably there were amongst this population many mixed-bloods and negroes. There were 125 souls (only 25 or 30 full-bloods) in 1848, J. W. de Forest, 488; there were 60 Mohegans in 1860 on a reservation and 25 resided elsewhere, Fr. S. Speck, in 43 *B. Am. E.*, 212. In 1908 they numbered about 100, none of pure Indian blood, and some of the families had imbibed a negro strain, Fr. S. Speck, in *Anthr. Pap.*, III (1909). 185. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 74) returned 22 persons, all in Connecticut, but the enumeration for the eastern tribes was on the whole worthless in this census, and the Mohegan Association estimated the Mohegan at 122 in 1920, Fr. S. Speck in 43 *B. Am. E.*, 212. From the time of their first appearance the Mohegan were never very numerous, the highest estimate, referring to this tribe alone, gives them a population of 750 in 1705, cf. Speck, *Anthr. Pap., l. c.*, 185. J. Mooney 1928, 4, places their numbers in 1600 at only about 600 souls.

60. **Multnomah**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. There were 800 souls in eight large houses in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116, the tribe was then but the remains of a large nation, destroyed by an epidemic thirty years before; two villages in 1811—'12, G. Franchère, 111; 130 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X (1821). 117; A. Ross 1849, 87, estimated ten tribes, including the Multnomah, at 2,000 warriors; 500 souls in about 1820, J. Morse, 368 (Hall J. Kelley, 60, estimated them in about 1830 at 3,000!). About 1835 they were as a tribe extinct, Sam. Parker, 141.

61. **Nabedache**, a tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. In 1690—'91 an epidemic ravaged this region, F. W. Hodge, II. 3. A single village in 1716, St. Denis in P. Margry VI, 217. According to La Harpe 1831, 199 (and in B. F. French, III. 72), the wandering Naouydiche and five other wandering tribes mustered 2,000 men in 1719 (if under the designation of the wandering Naouydiche may be meant Nabedache). In 1777 they could furnish 30 warriors against the Osage without leaving their village unprotected, A. Mezières, II. 145. In 1778—'79 they were ravaged by an epidemic: by 1779—'80 only 40 warriors remained, A. Mezières, II. 263, 311. (H. E. Bolton in F. W. Hodge, II. 3, gave them, on the basis of the same text, 160 warriors, and this estimate is more in accordance with later figures.) There were 80 men in 1805, J. Sibley, 722 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 24, in 1811); 100 men in 1809, Davenport in H. E. Bolton, *l. c.*; 400 souls about 1820, J. Morse, 373. The Texas Census of 1828 returned 50 families, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267; in 1837 the Kadohadacho, Eyeish, Anadarko and Nabedache jointly numbered 225 (warriors?).

A. Muckleroy, 232. Like all the Hasinai tribes, the Nabadache were insignificant in numbers.

62. **Nacogdoche**, a tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. A single village in 1716, St. Denis in P. Margry, VI. 217. Ramon quoted by H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 274, in 1716 estimated that four missions amongst the Hasinai tribes, including the Nacogdoche mission, comprised 4,000—5,000 persons of all ages and both sexes (Espinosa, 439, in 1717—'19 put the number of persons within the region of each mission at about 1,000). In 1721, Aguayo at the Nacogdoche mission distributed gifts to 390 men, women and children, Peña quoted by H. E. Bolton, *ib.*, 275 (this number apparently included the majority of the tribe). In 1733, two Nacogdoche chiefs went to Adaes with 60 warriors, H. E. Bolton, in F. W. Hodge, II. 7; in 1752 their pueblo consisted of eleven "rancherias grandes" and contained 52 warriors besides many youths nearly of age to bear arms, *ib.*; 115 souls in 1790, Census of 1790, and 50 men in 1809, Davenport (MSS), *ib.* There were 200 souls in 1820, J. A. Padilla, 49; 60 souls on the Angelina R., J. Morse, 373. According to H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 275, the tribes of the Hasinai confederacy in 1716 could not have averaged more than 300—400 persons each. In the XVII century the Nacogdoche apparently somewhat exceeded this number.

63. **Nakoaktok**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. They were said to number 1,580 souls (including 40 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 20 (MSS). (J. Work quoted by P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488, gave them as 2,030 souls.) *Can. I. Aff.* have: 124 (1885), 137 (1890).

64. **Nanaimo**, a Cowichan (Salish) tribe, Vancouver Id. and Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 8 (MSS), found 477 souls (including 355 followers). But the Census had apparently taken into account only the Nanaimo of Vancouver Id. and had not embraced those on the mainland. The Suanaimucks numbered 600 souls in about 1857, W. C. Grant, 293. There were 300—400 souls in 1867, R. N. Scott 1868, 776; 400 souls in 1868, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 43, and V. Colyer, 976, these three latter estimates apparently referring to the mainland branch. *Can. I. Aff.* gave: 223 (1880), 198 (1885), 176 (1890), 167 (1895) and 164 (1900) souls.

65. **Nansemond**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 200 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347; W. Strachey, 59; 45 warriors in 1669, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table; 30 bowmen, R. Beverley 1707, 317. In 1712, nine tribes including the Nansemond, numbered 250 warriors or 700 souls, Al. Spootswood, I. 167. J. Mooney (in *Am. A.*, IX (1907). 151) found 180 (or 200) persons of mixed blood in 1906.

66. **Nantaughtacund**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 150 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52, J. Smith 1624, 348, and W. Strachey, 37; 60 warriors in 1669, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table.

67—68. **Nantucket Indians.** Nantucket Island was in 1634 full of Indians, *Winthrop Papers* 138. It was occupied by two tribes, independent and hostile to each other but whose names have not been preserved; these tribes numbered about 1,500 souls at the first settlement of the island in 1642, M. Mayhew in F. W. Hodge, II. 26. There were about 700 Indians in 1659, J. Chase, 96; nearly 3,000 souls in 1660, J. Barber in J. Chase, 96; 300 praying Indians, males and females, in 1674, Cotton in Gookin, 207; 500 or 600 souls in 1675, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, XIV (1883). 699; 500 adults in 1694, Gookin, 207 (foot-note); 358 Indians remained by 1763 but 222 died of an epidemic, J. Chase, 96. In 1792, these Indians were reduced to 4 males and 16 females, Z. Macy in Gookin, *l. c.*

69. **Nasoni**, two tribes of Caddoan stock. There were two tribes: the Nasoni of the Hasinai and those of the Kadohadacho confederacy. The Nasoni of the Hasinai aggregate occupied but one village in 1687, A. Douai (in B. F. French, IV. 205), and in 1716, St. Denis (in P. Margry, VI. 217). A mission was established amongst them and Aguayo in 1721 gave gifts to 300 men, women and children (this number apparently comprised the majority of the Nasoni), Peña quoted by H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 275. (J. F. Espinosa, 439, in 1717—'19 estimated the number of persons within range of each mission in Texas at about 1,000.) Jointly with the Anadarko in 1777 they could furnish 25 warriors against the Osage without leaving their villages unprotected, A. Mezières, II. 145. The other tribe of the Nasoni was usually designated as the Nassonite. G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 289, in 1688 wrote of them as a small tribe. The population of the Kadohadacho confederacy numbered 2,500 souls in 1709; that number was reduced by 1719 to 400 souls (including 200 warriors), La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 263—264). Baudry de Lozières, 250, stated that the Nassonite, Kadohadacho, Natchitoch and Quitchiaiche inhabited but one village and that they could formerly muster 500—600 (warriors). It is difficult to estimate the population of both tribes. According to H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 275, the tribes of the Hasinai confederacy in about 1716 could not have averaged more than 300—400 persons each. But taking into account the epidemics at the end of the XVII century, it is possible, that the Nasoni at the time of Tonti somewhat exceeded 500 souls. The Nassonite had probably the same number of souls.

70. **Natchitoch**, a tribe of the Kadohadacho aggregate. A. Douai, 218, and H. Joutel (P. Margry, III. 408) in 1687, also Tonti (in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* II. (1814). 337, and in B. F. French, I. 72—73) and G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 288, 289, related that the Kadohadacho were allied with some other tribes, among them the Natchitoch, and that their cabins were not united in villages but were distant one from the other. At the same time there is a reference to another Natchitoch village where the Natchitoch were living allied with the Ouasita and Capiche, Tonti, *ib.*, 334—335. Apparently, within the Kadohadacho confederacy there were two distinct tribes of the same designation and each tribe was living in its own



village, cf. A. Mezières, 2 (foot-note by H. E. Bolton). One of these tribes (Upper Natchitoch) is always mentioned as an integral member of the Kadohadacho confederacy. The four tribes of this confederacy, among whom were the Natchitoch, are said to have numbered 2,500 souls in 1709, reduced to 400 souls (200 warriors) by 1719, La Harpe (in P. Margry, VI. 263—264, and misprinted in B. F. French, III. 69). According to Baudry de Lozières, 250, the Natchitoch, Nasoni, Kadohadacho and Quitchiaiche had formerly numbered 500—600 warriors but at his time they composed jointly but one village. These Natchitoch were not numerous in 1688, G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 289, — although, by the close of the XVII century, they seem to have been more numerous than the Lower Natchitoch. In 1700 the (Lower?) Natchitoch were said to include 200 men, La Harpe 1831, 33. In 1705 as their crops had been ruined, they were settled by the French among the Acolapissa, La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 259). Jointly with the Acolapissa they furnished 80 men against the Chitimacha, Penicaut, 460. When the Natchitoch intended in 1712 (? 1714) to return to their old country the Acolapissa pursued them, killed 17 men and carried off 50 of their women and children, Penicaut, 496, 498, Charlevoix 1866—'72, VI. 19. The Doustioni moved away with the Natchitoch; the former were said (Penicaut, *ib.*) to number 200 men, but this figure probably covered both tribes. In 1718 they were living jointly with the Dulchioni (Doustioni?) and Yatasi and numbered 150 souls, La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 254). (La Harpe 1831, 179, reported 200 souls.) Probably at that time this aggregate of three tribes (their names are a little changed) was said to muster 80 warriors, Baudry de Lozières, 249. Some other tribes, hoping to find safety in this settlement near the French post, settled there; according to du Pratz, II. 242, in 1718—'30, the Natchitoch were numerous and had 200 cabins (also Th. Jefferys, 165). The name of the Natchitoch seems to have then been a collective designation of this aggregate. In 1731 the Natchitoch, being only 40 against 200 Natchez, were compelled to abandon their village, Charlevoix, *l. c.*, VI. 119. At the end of the XVIII century, Milfort, 94, referred to them as a petty tribe. In 1805 there remained but 12 men and 19 women, but an elderly French gentleman, quoted by J. Sibley, 724, remembered when they were 600(?) men strong. The Natchitoch are said to have been nearly extinct by 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 26 (and D. B. Warden, III. 551). J. Morse, 373, found 20 souls about 1818; McKenney, 545, in 1825, and P. B. Porter, 105, in 1829, reported 25 souls.

71. Noquet, an Algonquian tribe, Lake Superior. (It is possible they were only a Menominee division.) In 1650 the Noquet were attached to the mission of St. Michael together with other tribes to the number of 3,000 inhabitants. According to Lamothe Cadillac (in P. Margry, V. 120), the Noquet nation was virtually extinct by 1718, so few remained so intermingled with many others that it could not bear a distinctive name. However, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations

(*N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VI. 622) in 1721 gave the Noquet as being 100 in number. They were probably absorbed by Algonquian tribes, namely the Menominee or the Chippewa. It is possible they never reached the number of 500 souls.

72. **Norridgewock**, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. Wm. D. Williamson, in *J. Morse*, 67, estimated them at 600 souls in 1616. In 1690 they numbered 250 men (or about 1,000 souls), *Wendell*, 9; in 1724 an English expedition destroyed their village of 50 fighting men and the population was dispersed: 28 to 30 Indians were killed, 14 were wounded, some drowned, about 150 (29 warriors among them) fled, chiefly to Canada (*de Vaudreuil*, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 937; *Charlevoix* 1844, II. 383; *W. Douglas*, I. 199; *S. Penhallow*, 108). *J. Gyles*, 359, estimated them in Maine in about 1725 at 40 men over sixteen years of age; 25 men in 1726, *Wendell*, 9. *Chauvignerie*, 1052, gave them as 150 warriors in 1736; *W. Douglas*, I. 184, about 1760, reported 60 warriors. *H. R. Schoolcraft*, III. 512, put their number within the United States at 60 souls in 1839.

73. **Oiaht**, a Nootka tribe. There were 100 souls in 1857, *W. C. Grant*, 293; 400 souls about 1860, *R. Mayne*, 521. *Can. I. Aff.* gave: 238 (1883), 235 (1885), 214 (1890), 202 (1895), 164 (1900) souls.

74. **Oto**, a Siouan tribe of the Chiwere group. There were 300 families jointly with the Iowa in 1702, *Iberville*, 601; they were one of the smallest tribes on the Missouri River in 1718—'30, *du Pratz*, II. 251; about 120 warriors in 1736, *Chauvignerie*, 1055; 200 men, jointly with the Iowa, in 1757, *Bougainville*, 48; about 100 warriors in 1758, *de Kerlerac*, 68; 100 warriors in 1777 according to the Spanish Report, *L. Houck*, I. 143 (some hundreds, *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII (1908). 361); 200 warriors, including 25—30 Missouri, in 1803, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and *J. Davis*, in *Berquin-Duvallon*, 101, foot-note); 500 souls (including 120 warriors) in the same village with the Missouri in 1804, *Lewis and Clark*, VI. 85 (and in *Am. St. Pap.: I. Aff.*, I (1832). 708); the Oto and Missouri jointly numbered 450 souls, including 80 warriors in 1811, *H. M. Brackenridge*, 85; at the same time, *J. Bradbury*, 58, gave them as 150—140 warriors; the Oto and Missouri could jointly muster 300 warriors in 1812, *M. R. Stuart*, XII (1821). 109; 300 warriors (1,200 souls) in 1815, *Wm. Clark*, 76; *E. James* (*St. H. Long*), II. 363, estimated the Oto and Missouri at 100 lodges and 1,400 souls in 1819—'20; the Oto and Missouri were small tribes in 1824, *J. Pilcher*, 453; 275 warriors and 1,400 souls in 1825, probably jointly with other tribes, *H. Atkinson* and *O'Fallon*, 605. The Oto, Iowa and Missouri jointly numbered 1,800 souls in about 1820, *J. Morse*, 366; the estimated number of the Oto was 1,200 souls, that of the Iowa 1,000 souls and that of the Missouri 80 souls in 1829, *P. B. Porter*, 100; 600 souls in 1832, they were the remains of a large tribe, two-thirds of which had been destroyed by smallpox in 1823, *G. Catlin* 1841, II. 24 (and *Th. Donaldson*, 75);

both tribes, the Oto and Missouri, together numbered 1,600 souls, *I. Aff.* 1836, 403, and 1,000 souls, *ib.* 1837, 612. There were 200 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 20. *I. Aff.* reported in both tribes 943 (1840, 319), 1,000 (1841, 246), 931 (1844, 437, Miller), 900 (1848, 465, Miller); souls. H. Howe, 356, about 1851 gave their numbers as 1,600; *I. Aff.* returned 600 (1855) and 471 (1868) souls. F. V. Hayden, 447, estimated both tribes in 1862 at 600 souls. *I. Aff.* gave: 434 (1870), 457 (1875), 438 (1880), 459 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 537, found 358 souls, jointly in both tribes. *I. Aff.* quote 348 (1895), 372 (1900), 368 (1905), 411 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 101) returned 382 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 11, they numbered 900 souls in 1780.

75. **Pamlico**, an Algonquian tribe, N. Ca. Amadas and Barlow (1584) seem to have reported them when referring to the Pomovic. Nearly exterminated by smallpox in 1696, they consisted of one village at the beginning of the XVIII century and numbered 15 fighting men, J. Lawson 1714, 234. They were almost exterminated by the Tuscarora during the war of 1711, the survivors being probably incorporated as slaves within that tribe. From official documents (*N. Ca. Rec.*, vol. I. and II passim) it is evident that they were a small tribe, possibly somewhat over 500 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, the Pamlico jointly with the Bear River tribe numbered about 1,000 souls in 1600.

76. **Pampopas**, a Coahuiltecan tribe, Texas. Jointly with three other tribes they could muster 200 warriors in 1738, Orobio y Bastera (MSS quoted by H. E. Bolton, in F. W. Hodge, II. 197); they comprised part of the 350 adult men at S. José mission in 1768 (Solis, cited by H. E. Bolton, *ib.*). The above estimates refer to the period when the tribe was already probably greatly influenced by missions and reduced in numbers. The tribe appears to have always been small.

77. **Passamaquoddy**, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. In 1690 it numbered 220 men, besides there were 100 men, classified as Mechisses, Wendell, 9. In 1726 there were 30 men over sixteen years of age apart from 10 Machies — the total population being jointly about 200 souls, J. Gyles, 359 (and Wendell, 9, but the Machies are given as 5 men). At the end of the XVIII century there were in the district of Maine 30 families at Passamaquoddy, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I (1792). 211 (foot-note). The figures in the XIX century were higher: 130 souls in 1804, J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, II. 207; 379 souls, J. Morse, 361, and McKenney, in 27 *Sen. Doc.* 1828 — '29, 5; 300 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 400—500 souls about 1850—'59, F. Kidder, 234. The Indian Census of 1890, 329, mentioned that they existed but did not report their numbers. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) returned 368 souls (381 in Maine). The earliest of the above-quoted estimates is of too late a date, but the tribe seems never to have been numerous. Wm. D. Williamson (in J. Morse, 67) supposes that they did not exceed 600 souls in 1616.



78. **Paugusset**, an Algonquian tribe, Conn. About 1760 there were at Paugusset from eight to ten wigwams (probably 10 to 12 families), at Pauquaunuch (Golden Hill) twenty to twenty-five wigwams and in several other parts, small clans of two or three wigwams; at Turkey Hill there were 8—10 families; at Poodatook a little earlier 50 fighting men were reckoned (this number is too large according to J.W. de Forest, 352). In the whole district there were then about 60—80 fighting men, N. Birdsey in a letter to E. Stiles, 111—112. The sachem Kockapotunauh had under him 60 men; after his death the tribe broke up, very few remaining about their ancient seats; in 1761, at Pauquaunuch, there was only a woman here and there and hardly a pappoose; at Poodatook (in 1742 there were 40 souls, de Forest, 353) there was only one man among the broken-up remains of 2 or 3 families, N. Birdsey, *l. c.*; some perhaps migrated to Scaticook, de Forest, 355; in 1762 that part who retired to the upper end of Kent consisted of 127 souls, E. Stiles, 112. But the Poodatook seem to have been only subject to the Paugusset, and were not an integral division of this tribe. According to J. Mooney and C. Thomas (in F.W. Hodge, II. 212), the Paugusset (jointly with the Poodatook) perhaps numbered about 700—800 souls, but later J. Mooney 1928, 4, estimated them at only 400 souls in 1600.

79. **Pedee**, probably a tribe of the Siouan linguistic family, S. Ca. Little is known of its history. They were always a small tribe (W. J. Rivers 1856, 36), consisting of one village in 1715 (War Map, in J. Winsor, V. 364). The Cherokee and other Indians in 1715, during the Yamasee War, utterly extirpated some little tribes, amongst which were the Pedee, W. J. Rivers 1874, 93. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, they numbered 600 souls in 1600.

80. **Pepikokia**, an Algonquian tribe. In 1718 the Ouyatanons (i. e. the Wea) are said to have inhabited five villages which were continuous one to another, among them being the villages of the Wea proper, Piankashaw and Pepikokia: the men were there very numerous, fully 1,000—1,200, Memoir of the Indians in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 891. In 1736 Chauvignerie, 1057, stated that the Wea, Piankashaw and Pepikokia were of one and the same nation, though in different villages and that they could place 350 men under arms. They disappeared as a distinct body before the middle of the XVIII century, incorporating with one of the above-mentioned tribes.

81. **Potomac**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 160 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 22, and W. Strachey, 38; 200 warriors, J. Smith 1924, 348 (under a somewhat changed name); 60 warriors jointly with the Cuttatawomen in 1669, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table.

82. **Puyallup**, a Salish tribe, Wash. *HBC Indian Census 1839*, No. XIII. 6. (MSS), found 484 souls (including 22 slaves). W. F. Tolmie, quoted

by I. I. Stevens, 459, and by G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434, gave them as 207 souls in 1844; M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887). 272, at the same time estimates them at 325 souls (apparently jointly with the Shomamish, 118 souls, whom Tolmie had placed in his list immediately after the Puyallup). Thornton in J. Lane, 162, in 1850 estimated the Puyallup jointly with two other tribes at 500 souls. A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 put them at 200 souls. There were 50 souls in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435). On the reservation, the Puyallup, Shomamish, Squalliamish and some other Nisqualli bands became a compact body. *I. Aff.* returned the population of that aggregate at: 418 (1870), 579 (1875), 680 (G. Gibbs 1877, 180), 520 (1880), 560 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 603, estimated this aggregate of six tribes at 611 souls. *I. Aff.* give them as: 556 (1900) and 498 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93) returned 461 souls. It possible that the Puyallup never attained more than 500 souls.

83. **Quatsino**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. They were said to number 1,960 souls (including 100 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Indian Cens. 1839*, No. XIV, 29 (MSS); 2,030 souls (100 slaves), J. Work in P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489. About 1860 the Quatsino, Koskimo and Naviti jointly numbered 500 souls, R. Mayne, 251; 350 souls in 1867—'68, R. N. Scott 1868, 776 and V. Colyer, 976. In 1880 they were said by J. W. Powell, *Ca. Sess. Pap. 1880*, No. 4. p. 131) to be the remnant of a once powerful tribe. *Can. Ind. Aff.* estimated them at: 34 (1886), 27 (1891), 32 (1896), 23 (1901) souls.

84. **Quileute**, a Chimakuan tribe, Wash. Jointly with the Quinaielt they numbered 493 souls in 1856, 37 *Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 49, 103; 360 souls, *I. Aff. 1861*, 829; the allied tribes which were parties to the treaty of Olympia (the Quileute and other bands or tribes) contained 600 souls, *I. Aff. 1861*, 799 (W. B. Gosnell); 650 souls, *ib. 1868*, 812; *I. Aff.* returned: 234 (1870), 253 (1875), 310 (1880), 253 (1885), 242 (1890), 250 (1895), 229 (1900), 231 (1905), 226 (1910). Independently of these, the Hoh (a band of the Quileute) were also reported: 94 souls (1875), 83 (1880), 61 (1885), 75 (1890), 67 (1900), 62 (1905), 54 (1910). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 81) returned 259 Quileute and 44 Hoh. The Quileute seem to have been always a small but warlike tribe. J. Moneey 1928, 15, supposes that the Quileute jointly with the Hoh numbered about 500 souls in 1780.

85. **Samish**, a Salish tribe, Wash. There were 150 souls in 1853, L. Floyd Jones, 5, and in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436); 98 souls in 1856, 37 *Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 46, 75. About 300 souls in 1857, J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 9. At the same time (1857), E. C. Fitzhugh, 615, related that the Samish did not exceed 200 souls, whereas ten to twelve years earlier they were one of the most numerous tribes of the Sound and numbered over 2,000, but they were nearly annihilated by northern Indians, who came down

for the purpose of taking slaves. *I. Aff. 1861*. 829, gives them as 400 souls, probably jointly with some other tribes. G. Gibbs 1877, 180, estimated them jointly with the Lummi and Nooksak at 680 souls. On the Reservation they are not returned separately. J. Mooney 1928, 15, states these three tribes jointly numbered 1,000 souls in 1780 — this is, however, too conservative an estimate.

86. **Saponi**, a Siouan tribe, N. Ca. and Va. Apparently the Saponi and Tutelo were in 1670 living in close relations and had two villages, Lederer (ed. Talbot), 152—154; Th. Batts, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, III. 194, in 1671 referred to one Saponi village. Together with four other tribes they numbered 750 souls in 1701, especially the Saponi, Tutelo and Keyauwee realized they would be stronger when living together, J. Lawson 1714, 48, 234; in 1712 the Saponi and eight other confederated tribes mustered together 250 warriors (700 souls), Al. Spotswood, I. 167; II. 88; 12—14 men and as many women in 1755, Gen. Dobbs, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887), 321, 162. About 20 fighting men in 1761, A. Dobbs, *ib.*, VI (1888), 616; the Saponi, Tutelo, Conoy and Nanticoke, settled on land allotted by the Six Nations, numbered 100 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 582; 30 warriors in 1765, Croghan, 167, and in 1768, Th. Hutchins quoted by Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148 (and at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291).

87. **Sarsi**, an Athapascan tribe. Thirty-five tents and 120 warriors in 1789—'93, A. Mackenzie, I. LXX. Ninety tents and 150 men bearing arms in 1809 (in later years their numbers were much augmented), Henry and Thompson, 532; a hundred and fifty tents in 1820, J. Franklin, I. 170 (according to J. MacLean 1896, 10—12, the tents averaged about eight inmates each); 220 tents in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 52; the Sarsi (Rocky Mountains Indians) jointly with the Tsattine numbered 150 hunters in 1836, A. Gallatin 1836, 19. In the forties the smallpox carried off not less than a hundred tents, there having been an average of 10 corpses per tent, J. MacLean 1896, 10—12; fifty tents and 350 souls in 1841, G. Simpson, I. 102; fifty-five tents in about 1857, Rowand in H. Y. Hind: *Red River*, II. 152; 200 souls in 1871, *Ca. Sess. Pap. 1872*, No. 22, p. 60. Barely 200 souls about 1870—'79, H. M. Robinson, 189; 336 souls in 1889, J. MacLean 1896, 13; 100 souls about 1893, A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 16; 190 souls about 1906, A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906), 173. All the above estimates are subsequent to the epidemic of 1781—'82, which ravaged these districts and probably also reduced the Sarsi in numbers. The Sarsi are said by J. Mooney 1928, 26, to have numbered 700 souls in 1670.

88. **Seshart**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. There were 200 souls about 1856, W. C. Grant, 193; 150 souls about 1860, R. Mayne, 251. *Can. I. Aff.* report: 175 (1883), 170 (1885), 165 (1890), 157 (1895), 124 (1900) souls.



89. **Sewee**, probably a tribe of the Siouan linguistic family, S. Ca. According to J. Lawson 1714, 10, they were formerly a large nation, but were destroyed by an epidemic of smallpox; besides, they lost the best part of their tribe by sending out a great commercial expedition to England in canoes, W. J. Rivers 1856, 37. In 1715 there remained but one village of 57 souls, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Sewee numbered about 800 souls in 1600.

90. **Shakori**, probably a Siouan tribe, N. Ca. In 1654, Yardley, 365, wrote that among the tribes of the interior there was "a great nation, the Cacoires, a very little people in stature, but extreamly valiant and fierce in fight, and swift in retirement whereby they resiste the puissance of this potent people" (of the Tuscarora). J. Lederer 1907, 158, in 1672 reported only one village. In 1701 the Shakori with four other tribes numbered together 750 souls, J. Lawson 1714, 234. They disappeared as a people in about 1720, probably having been incorporated with the Catawba (J. Mooney: *Siouan Tribes*, 62). Perhaps they slightly exceeded the figure of 500 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Shakori, Eno and Adshusheer numbered jointly about 1,500 souls in 1600. At the beginning of the XVIII century, these three tribes were living confederated in the settlement of the Adshusheer, J. Lawson 1714, 56.

91. **Shoto**, a Chinookan tribe, or sub-tribe. It had eight houses and 460 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116; a village of seven houses and 30 fighting men in 1814, Henry and Thompson, 801; J. Morse, 370, repeated Lewis and Clark's figure. J. Mooney 1928, 15, gives the Shoto as 600 souls in 1780.

92. **Sissipahaw**, probably a tribe of the Siouan linguistic family, N. Ca. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, they numbered 800 souls in 1600.

93. **Skih-wamish**, a Salish tribe (of the Nisqualli group), Wash. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 11 (MSS), found 585 souls (including 21 slaves) among the Skaywamish. Thornton in J. Lane, 162, in 1850 put their number at 450 souls; A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853 gave them as 175 souls. In 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436) estimated them jointly with two other tribes at 300 souls. Later they disappeared, probably merging with other tribes.

94. **Smacksop** a sub-tribe of the Chilluckittequaw, on the Columbia River. Lewis and Clark. VI. 116, estimated them in 1805 at 800 souls in twenty-four houses (J. Morse, 370, repeated this figure). G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, and I. I. Stevens, 460, give 200 souls as Lewis and Clark's figure. The same figure appears also in Crawford's estimate in 1844 (in W. Robertson, 129, and in G. Wilkes, 44).

95. **Songish**, a Salish tribe, Vancouver Id. and Brit. Col. The Tsomass numbered 700 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293; the Tsaumas had 400 souls in 1858, Capt. Wilson, 278. *Can. I. Aff.* report: 182 (1880),

115 (1885), 129 (1890), 114 (1895), 103 (1900). J. Mooney 1928, 28, estimates the "Songish tribes" (i. e. the Songish proper, Sooke, Cheeroo, etc.) at 2,700 in 1780.

96. *Sugeree* and *Waxhaw*, two tribes connected with each other, probably of the Siouan stock, N. and S. Ca. J. Lederer (ed. Talbot), 161, visited the Wisacky (Waxhaw): this tribe was then "subject" to a king, residing upon the Lake of Ushery (Catawba). According to J. Lawson 1714, 43, the Sugeree inhabited "a great many villages and settlements" in 1701. At the same time the Waxhaw had two villages, J. Lawson 1714, 33. On the Map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III) the village of Waxhaw with 100 men is indicated (W. J. Rivers 1856, 36, refers to them as to a small tribe). After the Yamasee War both tribes disappeared, probably having merged with the Catawba. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates both tribes jointly at 1,200 souls in 1600.

97. *Suquamish*, a Salish tribe, Wash. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 3 (MSS), found 576 souls, including 72 slaves; jointly with the Twana they came to 500 souls in 1841, Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149; but there were also the Port Orchard Indians, i. e. also Suquamish, with 120 souls (cf. J. Farnham, 111); 525 souls (64 slaves) in 1844, W. F. Tolmie (in G. Gibbs in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 434, and in I. I. Stevens, 459); 485 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, *l.c.*, 435); 441 souls, including 34 slaves, G. A. Paige, in *I. Aff. 1857*, 618; *I. Aff. 1861*, 829, gives the Squamish as 750 souls. They are often returned jointly with the Snohomish. The Skwamish, Snohomish and Suhomish are said to have once consisted of eighteen villages, Father Fouquet (in E. Petitot 1876, XLIV).

98. *Taensa*, a tribe related to the Natchez. Z. Membre (in B. F. French, IV. 171) referred to eight villages in 1681; in 1699, Iberville, 179, was given the names of seven villages being really parts of one great settlement, but not so large as that of the Theloel (Natchez) which numbered 300—400 cabins. There were 700 men carrying arms according to the procès-verbal of taking possession of Louisiana by de la Salle in 1682 (in B. F. French, I. 47) and according to Tonti (P. Margry, II. 189) (and J. de la Metairie, in B. F. French, 2nd series, 1875, 22). About 700 souls in 1698, de Montigny in A. Gosselin, 36. De Montigny (P. Margry, IV. 411) in 1700 visited the majority of the cabins and found 400 cabins over a distance of eight leagues, but Iberville, 413, 414, in the same year reported only 120 cabins over a distance of two leagues adding that this nation had been numerous formerly, but at the time of his visit it did not number more than 300 men; 250 warriors in 1700, La Harpe (B. F. French, III. 18); about forty cabins in 1701, St. Cosme (in A. Gosselin, 36); 150 families in 1702, Iberville, 602; a hundred cabins in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II. 213 (this figure is repeated by Th. Jefferys, 162); 200 persons jointly with the Pakana in 1764, d'Abbadie, in *Am. Antq.*, XIII. (1891). 252 (Charlevoix, VI. 205, in 1722 stated they had become extinct); 150 souls in 1764 jointly with

the Houma and Colapissa, J. Stuart, in C. E. Carter, 827; J. Sibley, 725, in 1805 reported 25 men (this figure is repeated by J. F. Schermernhorn, 28). According to J. Swanton 1911, 43, the Taensa in 1698 numbered a hundred cabins, 250 warriors and 875 souls; it seems to have been a small tribe, and was probably decreasing even before contact with Europeans arose. J. Mooney 1928, 8, places their number at 800 in 1650. Perhaps the figure of 700 warriors is due to a misunderstanding, impossible of correction to-day.

99. **Tahltan**, a Nahane division. The Tahltan probably owing to the changes caused by the coming of the Whites became almost an independent unit only loosely bound with other Nahane divisions. Fr. Boas, quoted by A. G. Morice 1904, 52, estimates them to have been 500 souls in 1850. They (if the Nahane of the Stikine River basin can be fully identified with the Tahltan) were said to number 700 souls, A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113 (also Morice 1892—'93, 16); 229 souls in 1909, F. W. Hodge, II. 671. Taking the high mortality in these regions towards the end of the XVIII century into consideration it is possible that the Tahltan then somewhat exceeded 1,000 souls.

100. **Tatsanottine** (Yellow Knives). They appear to be the Coppermine River Indians mentioned by S. Hearne, 40: seventy tents and not less than 600 persons in 1769—'92. J. Franklin, II. 80, in 1819—'22 estimated them at 190 souls (of which 45 were hunters). Massacred by the Slave Indians and ravaged by diseases, they were in 1833—'35 reduced to 70 families, Capt. Back 1836, 457; J. McLean 1849, II. 256, estimated them at 60—80 warriors previous to 1849; 219 souls in 1859 (incomplete data), Ross in F. W. Hodge, II. 698. Apparently about 600 souls (probably in about 1876—'77), E. Petitot: *Lac des Esclaves*, 183. About 500 according to A. G. Morice, in *Bull. Geo. Par.*, X. (1875). 260, also in *Can. R. I.*, VII (1888—'89). 113, in *West. Dene*, 16, and in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 266. Other estimates (N. Y. Hind. II. 159; G. M. Dawson, in *Ca. Geo. Sur.* 1887, 206 B) reported their number jointly with other tribes. *Can. I. Aff.* 1900, give 194 souls separately. The Tatsanottine were formerly a powerful and numerous tribe, J. McLean, II. 256. According to J. Mooney 1928, 26, the Yellow Knives numbered 430 souls in 1670.

101. **Tenaktak**, a Kwakiutl tribe. It had 990 souls (including 40 slaves), *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 23 (MSS) (this apparently exaggerated figure was also given by P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). *Can. I. Aff.* returned 120 (1885), 151 (1890), 130 (1900) souls.

102. **Tenankutchin**, an Athapascan tribe, Alaska. There were 100 men in 1851, J. Richardson, I. 398; they apparently did not exceed a hundred and fifty families (400 souls) in 1866—'70, in 1866 they were still almost in a state of nature, W. H. Dall 1877, 29, 39 (also in *Alaska*, 537, in *I. Aff.* 1875, 707, and in *Yukon*, 108); 700—800 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 12 (738 souls, according to *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112); 550—600



souls in 1885, H. T. Allen, 137. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 309 souls; less than 400, A. H. Brooks, in *U. S. Geo. Sur.* XX (1900). 493; 400 souls apparently at the beginning of the XX century, A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 400. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 112) returned 415 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 32, supposes that they might have numbered 500 souls in 1740, but he has doubts himself as regards his estimate.

103. *Tlauitsis*, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. They are said to have been 2,490 souls (including 40 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 4 (MSS) (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). *Can. I. Aff.* estimated them at 107 (1880), 85 (1890), 74 (1895), 68 (1900) souls. It is possible they did not even reach 500 souls.

104. *Tohome*, a Muskogean tribe, Lower Mississippi. The Tohome and Mobile jointly numbered more than 700 men, La Harpe 1831, 17; 300 warriors in 1700, Iberville, 427; they were "en tout 300" in 1701, probably Levasseur, in *J. des Amer.*, XIV (1922). 132; 350 men (or families) jointly with the Mobile in 1702, Iberville, 514, 602; in 1715, the Tohome and Mobile numbered jointly 200 men, the Map in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III. There were 60 warriors among the Big Tohome and 30 among the Little Tohome (probably the Naniaba) in 1725—'26, Bienville (in J. R. Swanton 1922, 425): Bienville stated that within his own remembrance they had numbered 300 warriors. Regis de Rouillet gave the number of warriors in both Tohome divisions as 60 and 50 respectively in 1730, J. R. Swanton 1922, 425; in 1718—'30 they were as numerous as the Chatot who lived in forty cabins, du Pratz, II. 212—213; the Tohome, Naniaba and Mobile jointly mustered 100 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 85. According to J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, the Tohome, Mobile and Naniaba in 1698 jointly numbered 1,225 souls (350 warriors) in 140 cabins. J. Mooney 1928, 9, estimates the Mobile and Tohome jointly to have been 2,000 souls in 1650. The Tohome appear to have had a more splendid past than would seem to be the case in the earliest accounts of them. It is possible that like the Mobile, they fell victims to the diseases brought in by the Spaniards in the XVI century.

105. *Tsawatenok*, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. There were 990 souls (including 40 slaves) — an apparently exaggerated estimate, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 16 (MSS) (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). *Can. I. Aff.* returned 148 (1885), 146 (1895), 219 (1900).

106. *Tutelo*, a Siouan tribe, Va. and N. Ca. They were always allied with other tribes — this circumstance attesting that the tribe was not a numerous one. Batts, in *N.Y. Col. Dcts.*, III. 194, in 1671 wrote of one village. Exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois, the Tutelo about 1783 abandoned their ancient abode. J. Lawson 1714, 48, 234, reported for 1701 that the Tutelo, Saponi and Keyauwee were going to live together in order to strengthen themselves; these tribes, confederated with the Shakori and Occaneechi, numbered 750 souls. The nine allied tribes, including the Tutelo,

numbered 250 warriors and 700 souls in 1712, Al. Spootswood, I. 167; II. 88. The Tutelo, Saponi, Conoy and Nanticoke mustered 200 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 582. The epidemic of 1832, and especially that of 1848 destroyed the remnants of this tribe: after 1848 they ceased to exist, and the last surviving full-blood Tutelo died in 1871, H. Hale, in *Pr. Am. Phil.*, XXI (1883). 9.

107. Twana (Skokomish), a Salish tribe, Wash. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 8 and 14 (MSS), reported in a Joo-ah-nough (Twana) linguistic group two divisions: the Joo-ah-nough with 232 souls and the Cils-ah-ne-mish (the Quilsene of M. Eells, in *Smiths. 1887*, 606, i. e., Colcane), with 126 souls (including 7 slaves). But the third Twana band, the Skokomish, was not mentioned. Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149, estimated the Twana jointly with the Suquamish at 500 souls in 1841 (and Th. J. Farnham, 111); the same figure of 500 souls, but for the Twana alone, was reported for that time by M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887). 272. The Whites settled there as late as in 1850. Thornton (J. Lane, 162) placed the numbers of the Twana and Skokomish at 200 souls in 1850. The estimates of A. E. Starling, 460, in 1852 and of L. Floyd Jones, 5, in 1853, put the population of the Twana and Skokomish at 300 souls. I. I. Stevens, 458 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435), estimated them at 465 in 1854; *37 Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 47, gave the Skokomish (the Twana) as 290 souls: this figure was repeated by G. Gibbs 1877, 178, and by M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, l. c., (M. Eells, in *Bull. Geo. Sur.*, III (1877). 61, estimated them at the same time at about 500 souls). *I. Aff. 1861* and *1862* (and M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, l. c., in 1862) reported 450 souls. C. J. King, in *I. Aff. 1868*, 565, estimated the Skokomish at 200, the Twana at 100 souls. *I. Aff.* gave: 291 (1870), 275 (1875), 250 (1880), 201 (1885), 208 (1890) souls. M. Eells, in *Bull. Geo. Sur.*, l. c., in 1875 estimated them at 264 souls; in 1880, M. Eells: *Ten Years*, 142, counted the population and found 245 souls (only 20 full-bloods). The Census of 1890, 603, found 191 souls. According to *I. Aff.*, the Skokomish numbered: 208 (1890), 171 (1900) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93, 94) gives 195 souls among the Skokomish and 61 among the Twana. J. Mooney 1628, 15, assumes that the Skokomish, Toanho (Twana) and Tulilip together numbered 1,000 in 1780.

108. Tyigh, a Shahaptian tribe, Oreg. They numbered 500 souls in 1854, Joel Palmer, 493. There were several tribes living down the river Tyigh in 1857, among them the Tyigh, but their number was small, there not being more than 4,000 souls in four bands (i. e., tribes), A. N. Armstrong, 111; 450 souls, A. P. Denison, in *I. Aff. 1858*, 617, and *ib.*, 1859, 803; 347 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62; 370 souls, Smith, in *I. Aff. 1868*, 575. Later the Tyigh are enumerated together with other Indians, under the collective term of Warm Springs Indians (John Day, Tenino, Tyigh, Des Chutes) with 430 souls in 1890. according to the Census of 1890, 599.

109. **Ucluelet**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. There were 125 souls about 1856, W. C. Grant, 193; 150 souls about 1860, R. Mayne, 251. *Can. I. Aff.* report: 287 (1879 sqq), 225 (1883), 215 (1885), 174 (1890), 175 (1895), 160 (1900).

110. **Umatilla**, a Shahaptian tribe, Oreg. They were apparently included amongst the Walla-walla by Lewis and Clark in 1805, F. W. Hodge, II. 866; 200 souls in 1854, Joel Palmer, 493; 250 souls, A. P. Denison, in *I. Aff.* 1858, 617, and *ib.* 1859, 803; 160 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62; 243 souls, W. H. Barnhurt, in *I. Aff.* 1868, 572; *I. Aff.* returned for Oregon: 169 (1875), 225 (1880), 150 (1885) souls. The Ind. Census of 1890, 559, found 179 souls. *I. Aff.* report for Oregon: 226 (1895), 183 (1900), 203 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 95) returned 272 souls (152 in Oregon). J. Mooney 1928, 18, supposes that the Umatilla jointly with the Walla-walla numbered 1,500 souls in 1780.

111. **Waccamaw**, a (Siouan?) tribe, S. Ca. It had six villages and 610 souls in 1715, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. J. Mooney 1928, 6, puts the collective number of the Waccamaw, Winyaw, Hook and other tribes at only 900 souls in 1600.

112. **Wahowpum**, a Shahaptian tribe, Wash. There were thirty-three houses and 700 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 115 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, quoting these writers, gives 1,000 souls); the figure of 700 is repeated by J. Morse, 370 (and in about 1830 by Hall J. Kelley, 60); 1,000 souls in about 1844, Crawford in W. J. Robertson, 129, and in G. Wilkes, 44. The designation is supposed to be a collective name for the population of the basin of the John Day River. The Wahowpum proper were perhaps less than 500 souls.

113. **Walapai**, a Yuman tribe, Ariz. It had 1,500 souls, *I. Aff.* 1867, 159 (J. Fehnde) and *ib.* 1868, 596; 2,000 souls in 1869, J. Ross Browne 1869, 291; 600 souls in 1869, Col. Jones, 533. *Ind. Aff.* have: 620 (1875, 1880, 1885), 700 (1889). The Census of 1890, 136, returned 630 souls. According to *I. Aff.* there were 619 (1895), 584 (1900), 520 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 110) gave them as 341 souls (96.8% full-bloods). The Walapai seem to have increased in numbers since the advent of the Whites just as have the Apache. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the Walapai at 700 souls in 1680.

114. **Wallawalla**, a Shahaptian tribe, Oreg. and Wash. According to Sam. Parker, 249, the Wallawalla are descendants of slaves formerly owned by the Nez Percés (the publisher of Lewis and Clark, IV. 328, foot-note, added that the Nez Percés permitted their slaves to intermarry in their families, and concluded that it was not right to hold their own descendants in slavery) — they were in about 1835—'37 a „respectable” tribe. At the time when the Hudson Bay Co. established a trading post there, they were a fierce tribe, very hostile to the traders, and after several fights the post had to be abandoned in 1836, J. K. Lord, II. 85. The Wallawalla have always been



closely associated with the Cayuse, Nez Percés and other neighbouring bands, and these bands often been classed as Wallawalla. Thus in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 115, estimated them at forty-six houses and 1,600 (1,000 in the original draft) souls, but this figure certainly included other bands (e. g., the Umatilla), now recognised as independent, F. W. Hodge, II. 866, 900 (Lewis and Clark's figure was repeated by J. Morse, 370, and Hall J. Kelley, 60); G. Gibbs in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, quoting Lewis and Clark's estimate, reports 2,600 souls (also G. Wilkes, 44, W. Robertson, 129 and I. I. Stevens, 460). Al. Ross, 127, estimated the Wallawalla, Shahaptin and Cayuse jointly at 1,500 souls. About 1841 the Wallawalla, Yakima, Paloo, Klikitat were supposed by the missionaries to number in all 2,200, H. Hale, 213 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 14); 1,000 souls in 1841, Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149; the Wallawalla, including the Nez Percés and Snakes numbered 1,100 souls prior to 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 111; the Klikitat and Wallawalla were estimated about 1844 at 1,500 souls, M. Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. The Wallawalla, Nez Percés, Snakes and several tribes amounted to 3,000 in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 10 (this figure of 3,000 was apparently repeated by A. N. Armstrong, 109, about 1857, as that of the Wallawalla alone); C. G. Nicolay, 143, estimated the Wallawalla at 1,500 about 1846; J. L. Meek, 10, in 1847 gave them as 2,000 souls; J. Lane, 160, in 1850 quoted 1,000 souls; at the same time A. J. Allen, 174, reported the Wallawalla to number some 3,000 souls, this figure including the entire population east of the Cascade Mountains. All the above estimates are unreliable as they class various neighbouring bands under the common term of Wallawalla. But there are more reliable ones. M. R. Stuart, XII. 35, places the number of the Wallawalla at 200 men; about 500 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 301; the Wallawalla, including women and children, to the number of about 200, were in 1835 present at a religious ceremony at Ft. Wallawalla, Gairdner, 257; P. J. de Smet (H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Robertson, 991) estimated them at about 500 souls in 1840. According to P. Kane 1862, 132, the Wallawalla sent a war expedition of 200 warriors, among them some Cayuse, to California; 130 souls east of the Cascade Mountains in 1851. A. Dart, 477 — there were very few that he had not personally visited (I. I. Stevens, 431, quoted the number of 1,093 souls, as Dart's estimate); I. I. Stevens, 460, estimated this tribe in 1853 at 300 souls in Washington, G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418, gave them as 500 souls jointly with the Paloos. B. Alvord, 11, reported them as 250 warriors and 800 souls about 1856 (and A. J. Cain, in *I. Aff. 1860*, 435); A. P. Denison, in *I. Aff. 1858*, 617, and *ib. 1859*, 803, gave them as 300 souls; J. K. Lord, II. 85, stated that in 1860 a few lazy horse-thieves were the only representatives of this once powerful tribe; 160 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntington, 62; 223 souls in 1868, W. H. Barnhurt, in *I. Aff. 1868*, 572. *I. Aff.* returned: 404 (1870), 128 (1875), 290 (1880), 240 (1885) souls. The Indian Census of 1890, 559, found 405 souls. *I. Aff.* quote 465 (1895), 528 (1900), 461 (1910)

souls, much mixed with the Cayuse, Nez Percés and Umatilla. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 95) returned 397 souls. The Wallawalla seem not to have reached 1,000 souls. Jointly with the Umatilla they are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 18, to have numbered 1,500 souls in 1780.

115. **Wappo**, a Yukian tribe, N. Cal. According to H. L. Ford in *I. Aff. 1856*, 808, the Wappo, a remnant of a tribe that inhabited the country about the Geysers, numbered 188 souls in 1856. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 109) found 73 souls. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 221, the former number of the Wappo must have been over 500 and may have even reached 1,000 (*ib.* 883, there are supposed to have been 1,000 in 1779).

116. **Wasco**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. The Cathlassis numbered 150 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, XII (1821). 26; 900 souls about 1820, J. Morse, 368; 1,200—1,500 (?) souls in about 1838, G. Hines, 30. The Cathlashoots had 430 souls about 1844, Crawford quoted by W. Robertson, 129, and by G. Wilkes, 44; 500 souls, J. L. Meek, 10; 482 (through a misprint 782) in about 1850. A. Dart, 477, 478; 300 souls in 1853, B. Alvord, 12, and in 1854, J. Palmer, 493; 450 souls in 1858, A. P. Denison 1858, 617; 475 souls in 1859, A. P. Denison 1859, 803; *I. Aff. 1864* returned 384 souls (W. Logan, 242); 317 souls, *ib. 1867* (J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62); 334 souls, *ib. 1868* (J. Smith, 575). There were in Oregon 244 (1870), 320 (1875), 218 (1880), 235 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 559, 603, estimated them at 288 in Oregon and at 150 in Washington state. *Ind. Aff. 1900* reported 347 Wasco and Tenino jointly. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 82) returned 242 souls.

117. **Wateree**, probably a tribe of Siouan stock, Ca. They appear to have been reported in 1567 (as the Guatari). In 1670 they were living in one settlement, J. Lederer (ed. Talbot), 159. J. Lawson 1714, 32, stated that the Wateree Indians were much more numerous than the Congaree and their neighbours. They had 40 warriors in one village in 1715, the Map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton 1722, Plate III). Later they became confederated with the Catawba and disappeared. According to W. J. Rivers 1856, 36, they were a small tribe but J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates them at 1,000 souls in 1600.

118. **Waxhaw**, see Sugeree.

119. **Whilkut**, a practically unknown Athapascan tribe, Cal. At the beginning of the XX century, ten to twelve families were living at their old homes, F. W. Hodge, II. 938. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 79) reported 76 souls (about 50 full-bloods). They cannot have been very numerous: probably about 500 souls, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 141.

120. **Wicocomoco**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were 130 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 52; J. Smith 1624, 348; W. Strachey, 38; the Census of 1669 found

70 warriors, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, table. In 1707 there remained but three men, R. Beverley 1707, 318.

121. **Wishosk** (Wiyot), a tribe of the Wishoskan linguistic family, Cal. It numbered 800 souls in 1853 (F. W. Hodge, II. 964). The Whites arrived in 1850. The Census of 1910 returned over 150 souls, but classed half of them as of mixed blood. The entire Wiyot population could once have amounted to perhaps 800 but not over 1,000 souls, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 116.

122. **Woccon**, a Siouan (?) tribe, N. Ca. There were 120 warriors in two villages in 1701, J. Lawson 1714, 234 (or about 500—600 souls, J. Mooney 1895, 63). There is no other information on the Woccon. Apparently the wars of 1711—'13 caused the Woccon to disappear as a tribe and it probably became incorporated with the Catawba. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates them at 600 souls in 1600.

123. **Yakutat**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. Veniaminoff, 575, 651, in 1840 found in Yakutatskoe (village) 150 souls. There were 380 souls (including 49 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; 250 souls about 1865—'70, W. H. Dall 1877, 40 (also in *I. Aff.* 1875, 707, and in *Alaska*, 537). In 1868, Fr. Mahony in V. Colyer, 1017, estimated them at 300 souls, but F. K. Louthan, *ib.*, 1015, reported 1,000 under the name of the Klakinks. The Census of 1890 returned 500 Yakutats proper and 326 Chilkhaats (and Yaktags), I. Petroff 1880, 32, 177. The Chilkhaat of Controller Bay — not to be identified with the Chilkat tribe on Lynn Canal — were often returned separately and considered as a distinct division or tribe. Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 436 souls and that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) 307 souls. The figures for the Yakutat population differ greatly as the Chilkhaat and Yaktag were often not taken into account.

124. **Yatasi**, a tribe of the Kadohadacho confederacy. In 1690, the Yatasi were united to the Choyo and Onodo, and had three villages together, H. Tonti (in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, II. 335—336; P. Margry 1867, 29) and G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 288; 200 men in 1700, La Harpe (B. F. French III. 19); their scattered cabins extended two leagues along the river, Bienville, 440. They were attacked by the Chickasaw: a part sought refuge with the (Lower) Natchitoch, others fled to the other tribes of the Kadohadacho confederacy, La Harpe (in P. Margry, 264). The remainder of the tribe settled among the (Lower) Natchitoch in about 1714, Penicaut, 563, when the French invited them to settle together with the Natchitoch and Dulchioni on the same island. These three tribes numbered jointly 150 souls in 1719, La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 254, 256 (La Harpe 1831. 179, in 1720 reported 200 souls); there was also in 1719 a petty village of Yatay, La Harpe, in P. Margry, 255. Baudry de Lozières, 248, possibly estimated these three tribes at 80 men probably about 1715; 8 men and 25 women in 1805, but a number of men of other tribes intermarried with the latter, J. Sibley, 722; about 30 men and 100 souls in



about 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 24; 40 souls on Sabine River about 1820, J. Morse, 373; 36 souls, Th. L. McKenney 545, in 1825, and P. B. Porter, 104, in 1829.

125. **Yavapai** (Apache-Mohave), a Yuman tribe. There were 2,000 souls in 1854, Leroux, 17; the Yavapai jointly with the Havasupai and Tontos are said to have numbered 6,000 souls, A. W. Whipple, 16, 19. In 1873, 1,000 of them were placed on the Rio Verde Reservation, and the remainder sent to the San Carlos Agency, Corbusier, in *Am. Antq.*, VIII (1886). 227; 2,000—2,500 souls, *I. Aff.* 1863, 507 (Ch. D. Poston); 2,000 souls, *ib.* 1867 (F. Fehnde), *ib.* 1868, 812, and *ib.* 1869, 533 (Col. Jones). Towards the end of the sixties, J. Ross Browne 1869, 291, reported 2,500; the Census of 1890, 133, gave them as 640; the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 110) returned 289 souls. The Yavapai seem to have increased since the advent of the Whites, but the above-quoted estimates are exaggerated. J. Mooney 1928, 22, supposes that the Yavapai did not exceed 600 souls in 1680.

### 3. Tribes numbering 1000—2500 souls

1. **Acolapissa**, a Muskogean tribe, La. There was much misunderstanding about the Acolapissa in the XVII century as they were confused with the Quinipissa. About 150 warriors in 1699, Sauvole (P. Margry, IV. 449); more than 300 warriors, La Harpe 1831, 15 (and in B. F. French, III. 15); 250 families in 1702, Iberville, 602; 200 warriors in a large village in 1722, Charlevoix, VI. 203 (and Th. Jefferys, 147). An officer under de Noailles placed the joint number of the Acolapissa, Bayougoula and Houma at 90—100 warriors in 1739 (Claiborne, in J. R. Swanton 1911, 278). De Kerlerac, 75—76, in 1758 related that they did not then exist, having been destroyed by the proximity of the French and by the trade in liquor. N. Bossu, I. 34, in about 1761, reported that they were few in numbers. According to J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, the Acolapissa numbered 120 cabins and 300 warriors (1,050 souls) at the end of the XVII century.

2. **Acoma**, a Keresan tribe (pueblo). It mustered 200 warriors in 1539 (under the name of Acuco), Castañeda in G. P. Winship, 490, 569; more than 6,000 souls in 1584, A. de Espejo, in *Col. Doc. ined.*, XV. 116, 179; about 3,000 in 1599, J. de Oñate, *ib.*, XVI. 309 (in a document published by H. E. Bolton 1916, 234, J. de Oñate reported 500 houses). The outbreak of 1598 largely reduced their population. In 1630 A. Benevides, 33, 111, estimated the Acoma at 2,000 souls (according to an exaggerated and unreliable supplement in Benevides, 71, "the marvellous crag (Acoma) numbered more than 2,000 houses, so capacious that there were in them more than 7,000 inhabitants"). There were 1,500 souls in 1680, A. de Vetancur, 101; 750 souls in 1749, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII. 253; 1,052 souls in 1760, P. Tamaron in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; the epidemic of

1780—'81 reduced the population, and Reville Gigedo (H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279) in 1793 gave 820 Indians and 10 Spaniards; F. Osio (F. Hezio) in 1798 found 757 Indians, H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279, and J. F. Meline, 209; 731 souls in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 797 in 1808, J. Ward 1867, 213; 816 in 1809, J. Ward 1867, 213; 350 in 1850, *I. Aff.* 1851, 454; 1,200 souls in 1854, Abert quoted by A. W. Whipple, 12; 523 souls in 1860, J. Ward 1867, 213; 491 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1864, 343. *I. Aff.* have: 436 (1871), 582 (1881) souls; 566 souls, the Census of 1890, 420; 492 souls in 1900, N. S. Walpole, 292. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 86) returned 691 souls. According to A. F. Bandelier, III. 122, the population of 2,000 souls given for 1630 is twice as much as the rock of Acoma will hold conveniently.

3. Alibamu, a tribe of the Creek confederacy. Biedma, 104, referred in 1541 (the expedition of de Soto) to the Alibamo who had built a strong palisade and mustered 300 men to defend it against the Spaniards. Iberville, 594, estimated in 1702 the Alibamu and the Conchaques at 400 families in two villages — according to J. R. Swanton 1922, 427, these probably included some Koasati but not the Tawasa and probably not the Pawokti. There were 770 souls (214 warriors) in four villages in 1715, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. Diron d'Artaguet (in Marc de Villiers, 134) enumerated in 1721 the "Alibama" villages with 560 men, but in this enumeration there were at the most about 220 men of the Alibamu proper. Six towns and 400 men in the third decade of the XVIII century, a French manuscript in J. R. Swanton, 427. Only two towns with 15 and 40 men respectively, a French estimate of 1750 (J. R. Swanton, 427). The Alibamu jointly with the Talapoosa and the Abikha mustered about 1,000 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 83. The Census of 1760 returned 190 men, and that of 1761 (*Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII (1907). 523—524) 120 hunters — in both cases according to J. R. Swanton's, 427, interpretation of the names of Creek towns. H. Bouquet, 245, placed their fighting strength at 600 warriors in 1764 (also J. Buchanan, 138). G. Imlay, 290, has 400 warriors. J. Stuart, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1888). 281—282, estimated the Alibamu, Quapaw and Natchez at 570 warriors in 1766 (according to this author, *ib.*, 281, 282, the Quapaw numbered 220 and the Natchez 150—200 (?) warriors; of course, the Alibamu would be 150—200 warriors). Th. Hutchins 1784, 39, 44, referred to two Alibamu villages, 30 and 25 men respectively. Marbury in 1792 gave them as 190 men (according to J. R. Swanton's, 428, interpretation). *Acc. of La 1803*, 350, reported two Alibamu villages in Louisiana with 100 souls. Lewis and Clark, VI. 113, gave them as 30 warriors (100 souls) in 1804; 2,000 (!) souls, Stiggins (MSS quoted by J. R. Swanton, 428). There were 70 warriors and 250 souls about 1811 amongst the Creek emigrants, J. F. Schermerhorn, 26; 160 souls about 1818, J. Morse, 373; about 600 souls in Texas in 1820, J. A. Padilla, 50; 35 families in Texas in 1828, *Boll. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267; 60 warriors and 250 souls in Texas in 1836, H. M. Morfit, 13. There were about

200 souls in 1862, A. S. Gatschet: *Creek*, 88. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 88, 33) found 298 souls in Texas and 111 souls in Louisiana (96.6% full-bloods), those in Oklahoma not having been enumerated as Alibamu by the Census.

4. **Alsea**, a Yakonan tribe, Oreg. In 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 117, estimated the Ulseah nation, a small town, at 150 souls. The Necketo nation of 700 souls, and the Kahuncle of about 400 souls (Lewis and Clark, *ib.*) are identified as also the Alsea villages of Kutauwa and Kauhuk. Some authors also identified the Youitts nation as the Alsea village of Yahach, 150 souls. (J. Morse, 371, accepted all these names and figures.) The Siuslaw and Alsea bands together numbered 240 souls, *I. Aff. 1857*, 647 (E. P. Drew); 250 souls, *ib. 1858*, 606. There were 77 souls, *I. Aff. 1861*, 829; 150 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntington, 62. *I. Aff.* had 118 (1875), and 162 (1880) souls. *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 108, returned 29 souls. L. Ferrand, in *Am. A. 1901*, 239, assumed that the Alsea were never strong in numbers; J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890), 229—230, enumerates 20 Alsea villages. (The figures of 1805 are questionable as they are not based on the personal observation of Lewis and Clark, but were given by Indians.) The Alsea were probably over 500, and perhaps even somewhat over 1,000 souls.

5. **Attacapa**, a migratory tribe forming the Attacapan linguistic family, La. About 200 warriors at an unspecified date of the XVIII century, Baudry de Lozières, 248. An Attacapan village furnished 60 men in 1779 to the Galvez expedition against the British forts on the Mississippi, a second one sent 120 men, and there were several other villages of the Attacapa; this tribe with the Opelousa furnished then about 400 warriors, A. Martin, in *Am. St. Pap.: Public Lands*, III. 111. At least 360—400 souls in 1784, as a band numbered 180 souls, i. e. nearly half the Attacapa tribe, Milfort de Clerq, 88—91 *passim*. Some 100 souls about 1803, *Acc. of La 1803*, 349 (and Berquin-Duvallon, 97 foot-note). About 50 men, besides some Tunicas and Humas who lived with them in 1805, J. Sibley, 724. At this time, Lewis and Clark, VI. 113, estimated them at 30 warriors and 100 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 26, in 1811 reported 80 men and 250 souls, D. B. Warden, III. 550, about 1819 gave them as 100 souls; J. Morse, 373, estimated the Attacapa jointly with the Coco at 150 souls. There were a few survivors in 1907—'08, J. R. Swanton 1911, 362. J. R. Swanton, *ib.*, 43, estimates the Attacapa, Bidai, Arkokisa, Deadose, etc. altogether at 3,500 souls (1,000 warriors) at the end of the XVII century. According to J. Mooney 1928, 9, they numbered 1,500 in 1650.

6. **Bannock**, a Shoshonean tribe. They were a roving tribe, divided into many groups over a vast area and intermixed with various other bands of the Shoshonean stock. All estimates of their numbers are very questionable. According to Maj. Bridger (quoted by J. Forney in *I. Aff. 1859*, 731) the (southern) Bannock when first he knew them about 1829 numbered 1,200 lodges (Maj. Bridges had traded for thirty years with this tribe).



J. L. Meek, 10, in 1848, estimated the Bannock at 2,000 and the Diggers (a designation of various Shoshonean bands, as also for some Bannock bands) at 7,000 souls. According to J. Lane, 158, in 1850 the Ponashta were so intermarried with the Shoshoni, that it was almost impossible to discriminate between them; he estimated them in his region at 80 warriors and 550 souls. Joel Palmer, 493, placed their numbers at 500 souls in 1854. A. N. Armstrong, 115, in 1857, referred to them as not a large tribe. *I. Aff. 1858*, 617 (A. P. Denison); *ib. 1859*, 805; *ib. 1861*, 830, estimated the Bannock at 700 and the Diggers at 600 souls (J. Forney, *l. c.*, stated in 1859 that the Bannock were a small tribe of only 500 souls). *I. Aff. 1866* put the population of intermingled Shoshoni and eastern Bannock in Utah at 4,500 souls, the Bannock of Nevada at 1,500. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Bannock in Idaho at 810 (1875), 530 (1880), 472 (1885), 514 (1890), 513 (1899) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 96) returned 413 souls. In general, this tribal name was of somewhat uncertain extension and was applied in the past with considerable laxity, estimates are greatly exaggerated and included under this name portions of other tribes. Therefore, J. Mooney 1928, 20, supposes that the Bannock proper numbered only 1,000 souls in 1845.

7. **Bella-Bella**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. Sam. Parker, 259, in 1835—'37, according to the statements of the agents of the Hudson Bay Co., estimated three tribes at Milbank Sound, the Bella-bella doubtlessly among them, at 2,186 souls; a little later J. Work in P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 487, enumerated nine ethnical groups at Milbank Sound, among these groups were three septs of the Bella-bella (Kokaitk, Oetlitk and Oealitk) — 1,250 souls, including 44 slaves (all nine groups then numbered 2,871 souls, including slaves, but were reduced by 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 9, to 1,628 souls). According to G. Simpson, I. 202, 203 (and R. Martin, 90), about 1841 the Bella-bella to the number of 300 warriors attacked a Haida village, and one of the Bella-bella villages had then a population of about 500 souls. In 1859—'60, Dodd, 115, gave them as 60 warriors. Official returns at the end of the sixties (N. R. Scott 1868, 776; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 43, and V. Colyer, 976) estimated them at 300 souls. *Can. I. Aff. 1871 sqq.* estimated the Milbanks and Bella-Coola at 2,500; the Bella-bella were returned at: 204 (1890), 283 (1895), 319 (1900) souls.

8. **Cahokia**, a tribe of the Illinois confederacy. In 1680, La Salle (P. Margry, II. 96) stated that ten Illinois tribes formed a settlement numbering 1,800 warriors and 400 cabins, the Cahokia being amongst these tribes; a little later there is reference to the same tribes (*ib.*, II. 201, although with some phonetic changes), but they then were already living in many villages. La Source and Bergier (in A. Gosselin, 34) reported that the Illinois settlement consisted of about 100 cabins but only a half of which were inhabited as the greater part of the Cahokia were still in hibernal quarters; in addition to the Cahokia, there were the Tamaroa and

Peoria, the Cahokia numbered about 60—70 cabins (the Illinois cabins usually had 4—6 fires, with one or two families to a fire). In 1718 according to the *Memoir of Indians*, in *N.Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 891, the Cahokia nation was very numerous. In 1721, Charlevoix 1766, II. 163, wrote that the Cahokia and Tamaroa were united but “do not together make a very numerous village”. In 1736, Chauvignerie, 1057, reported that the Cahokia, or the Tamaroa, numbered 200 warriors. In 1757 the Cahokia and Metchi (i. e. Metchigamea) together formed a village numbering 400 warriors, de Bougainville, 48. In 1758 the Cahokia were living in one village and mustered 60 warriors, de Kerlerac, 65. Milfort le Clerc, 106, referred to the petty nation of the Kakias but it is doubtful whether it can be identified with the Cahokia. The remnants of the Peoria, Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Illinois probably did not exceed 500 souls in about 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 8 (and D. B. Warden, III. 687). J. Morse, 363, estimated the above-named tribes at 36 souls, in addition he gave 97 Peoria separately, *ib.* 366. The name of the Cahokia shortly after disappeared, the survivors intermingling with the related tribes. The large number of tribes in the Illinois confederacy in relation to the population of the aggregate does not permit the Cahokia to be considered as a very populous tribe, and their co-habitation with other tribes in the same villages renders an exact estimate of their numbers more difficult. However, the Cahokia were one of the leading tribes of the confederacy; it is possible that they somewhat exceeded 1,000 souls, but this is by no means certain.

9. **Cathlapotle**, a Chinookan tribe, Wash. There were 900 souls in fourteen houses in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 117; G. Franchère, 111, about 1811—'14, reported their village as a large one; 180 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. 115; A. Ross, 87, estimated the Cathlapotle and nine other tribes at 2,000 warriors; 1,100 souls, J. Morse, 368; Hall J. Kelley, 60, gave them as 1,000 souls. It is possible that they formerly exceeded 1,000 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, they even numbered as much as 1,500 souls in 1780.

10. **Cayuga**, a tribe of the Iroquoian confederacy. It numbered 300 warriors in 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 206; in 1665, *ib.* XLIX. 258, and in 1672, *ib.* LVI. 50. In 1677—'78 their three towns consisted of about 100 houses, and they passed as having over 300 fighting men, W. Greenhalph, 521; 200 warriors in 1685, P. Margry, V. 9, and de Denonville in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 282; 320 warriors, an official account of 1689, in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IV. 337, 420; 200 warriors in 1697, *ib.*, 337, 420; about the same time 300 warriors, L. Hennepin 1720, 320; 130 warriors in 1721, P. Dudley, 244; 120 warriors in a village in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1056 (apparently not all the Cayugas were given); 130 warriors about 1755, Wm. Douglas, I. 186. There were 200 warriors in 1762, Wm. Johnson, 582; in 1765, G. Croghan, 167, and in 1768, Th. Hutchins 1778, 65. In 1770 (at the Treaty near German Flatts) there were 269 men, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 229; 220 warriors in 1778 (a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561)



and in 1779 (J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148); 230 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War, E. M. Chadwick, 26, and Dalton, 123. At the end of the XVIII century G. Imlay, 291, reported 180 souls. After the Revolution, a part of the Cayuga moved to Canada and a part scattered. McKenney, in *27 Sen. Doc. 1828—'29*, 5, noted only 90 souls in 1825 and P. B. Porter, 95, 100 souls in U. S. in 1829; there were 60 (1847, W. P. Angel), 139 (1851, C. P. Washburne), 368 (1845) — cf. H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 603; 156 (1875), 192 (1880), 173 (1885), 181 (1890), 168 (1895), 167 (1900), 174 (1905), 182 (1910) souls in the United States, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 83. L. H. Morgan 1851, 27, estimated the Cayuga at 3,000 souls at the period (1650) of the greatest prosperity of the Iroquois — an exaggerated figure.

11. **Cheraw**, probably a Siouan tribe, N. Ca. According to W. J. Rivers 1874, 94, there were 510 souls in 1715 (J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, I. 244—245, supposes that the Keyauwee were included in this estimate). Only 50—60 souls in 1768, E. Potter, 120. After an epidemic of small-pox 1759, the Cheraw incorporated with the Catawba, A. Gregg, 16. J. Mooney, *l. c.*, 244, supposes that in numbers they may have once stood next to the Tuscarora among the tribes of North Carolina. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates them at 1,200 souls in 1600.

12. **Chickahominy**, a tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. At the beginning of the XVII century there were about 200 warriors, J. Smith 1612, 51; 250 warriors, J. Smith 1624, 347; 300 warriors, W. Strachey, 62. They numbered 60 warriors in 1669, the Census of 1669, in E. D. Neill, 326. Only 16 bowmen in about 1707, R. Beverley 1855, 184. Nine tribes, including the Chickahominy, numbered jointly 250 warriors (and 700 souls) in 1712, Al. Spootswood, I. 167. In the XVIII century they blended with the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, Th. Jefferson: *Writings*, VIII. 339. J. Mooney, in *Am. A.*, IX (1907), 149, wrote in 1906 of a mixed-blood band in Virginia, about 220 souls, keeping to the name of the Chickahominy. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 73) found 73 souls still residing near the ancient seats. Perhaps, the Chickahominy never reached 1,000 souls.

13. **Chilkat**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. J. Douglas (in I. Petroff, 37), estimated them in 1839 at 498 souls (including 78 slaves); 200 souls in the Chilkatskoe in 1840, Veniaminoff, 575; 598 souls (including 78 slaves) about 1840—'44, J. Work in P. Kane, app., and in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489; 1,616 souls (including 160 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341. For 1865—1877, W. H. Dall 1877, 40 (also in *Ind. Aff. 1875*, 70, and in *Am. A. A. S. 1885*, 379), estimated the Chilkat at 1,300 — too large a figure: perhaps it embraces the entire population of the Chilkat River basin (as in W. H. Dall: *Alaska*, 537, but their numbers were here given as 1,800). R. N. Scott 1868, 774, estimated the Chilkat at 1,200 souls; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38, in 1868 at even 2,000 souls. The figure of 2,000 souls appears also in V. Colyer, 1004, — very moderate in comparison with F. K. Louthan's estimate of 10,000 souls quoted by Colyer (*ib.*, 1016).



and Fr. Mahony's of 2,500 souls (*ib.*, 1017). The Census of 1880 (I. Petroff, 31) found 988 souls. The Census of 1890 (*Alaska*, 158) gave 812; the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) returned 694 souls.

14. **Chilliwick**, a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 17 (MSS), estimated the Chilliwick at 151 souls (including 30 followers of all descriptions); 200 souls about 1858, Capt. Wilson, 278. As every settlement in this region was independent and autonomous, the above figures probably represent the population of some leading village. *Can. I. Aff.* have: 268 (1880, in seven settlements), 296 (1900, in nine settlements). The above figures attest that the Chilliwick population must have been over 1,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 29, places the Chilliwick "tribes" at 1,300 in 1780 — Chilliwick villages are probably understood to be tribes.

15. **Chilluckittequaw**, a Chinookan tribe, Wash. Lewis and Clark, VI. 116, in 1805, estimated them at 1,400 souls (at only 1,000 souls in the original draft) in thirty-two houses, besides there was a separate band of the tribe under the name of Smacksop — 800 souls in twenty-four houses (J. Morse, 370, repeated these figures). Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830, reported 2,000 souls. Crawford about 1844 quoted by G. Wilkes, 44, and by W. Robertson, 129, placed the population of the tribe at 2,400 souls, that of the Smacksop at 200 souls. About 1890 the tribe numbered less than 100, J. Mooney: *Ghost-dance*, 741. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, the Chilluckittequaw and Smacksop probably numbered 3,000 in about 1780.

16. **Chimnapum**, a Shahaptian tribe, Wash. It had 1,860 souls in forty-two lodges in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 115 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, and I. I. Stevens, 460, gave 2,000 souls as Lewis and Clark's estimate); in the forties Crawford quoted by W. Robertson, 129, and by G. Wilkes, 44, seems to have repeated the same figure but in the erroneous form of 200 souls; 1,860 souls, J. Morse, 370; Hall J. Kelley, 60, gave a lower figure, viz., 1,500 souls; 100 souls in 1868, C. J. King, in *Ind. Aff. 1868*, 565. A few were still living at the time of the Ghost-dance in 1890, J. Mooney: *Ghost-dance*, 739. The only reliable estimate is that of 1805, others quoted this figure either in correct or erroneous form. J. Mooney 1928, 16, estimates them at 1,800 in 1780.

17. **Chowanoc**, an unclassified tribe, N. Ca. When first known they were said to consist of two or perhaps of four villages (the village of Ohanoak alone was said to have in 1585 about 700 warriors), jointly with their allies the Chowanoc could muster 3,000 bowmen, R. Grenville and R. Lane in Hakluyt, VIII. 322, 326. This number of 2,000—3,000 bowmen reappears in J. Smith 1624, 312. Only 15 warriors in 1701 in a single village, J. Lawson 1714, 234. At the close of the Tuscorora War (1711—'12) the Chowanoc are said to have numbered about 240 souls, J. Mooney in F.W. Hodge, I. 292. In 1731, G. Burrington, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 153,

referring to some tribes, among them the Chowanoc, estimated none of them at more than twenty families. In 1755, Militia Returns, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, XXII (1907). 312, and Gen. Dobbs, *ib.*, V (1887). 321, 162, found two men and three women and children. It is difficult to assume that such a numerous tribe as the Chowanoc according to the statement of 1585, had disappeared without having left any more important vestige of their dwindling away in documents and accounts. Their numbers seem to have been exaggerated or the designation was applied to an aggregate of many allied tribes. Already in 1609 Sicklemore (J. Smith, 474), after his return from the Chowanoc, stated that the people there were few, and Wm. Strachey 1849, 143, reported that in 1584 three "kings", among them the king of the Chowanoc, were in league. The documents of 1653, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, I (1886). 17, and of 1663, *ib.*, 54—55, attest that the population on the Chowanoc River could not have been numerous. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Chowanoc numbered only 1,500 souls in 1600.

18. **Clackama**, a Chinookan tribe, Oreg. It numbered 1,800 souls in eleven villages in 1805, Lewis and Clark, IV. 241; VI. 118 (only 800 souls in the original draft); the figure of 1,800 souls reappeared in J. Morse, 372, in Hall J. Kelley, 60 (and in the forties thanks to Crawford quoted by W. Robertson, 129, and by G. Wilkes, 44). A numerous tribe in 1814, Henry and Thompson, 810—811. P. Kane 1862, 91, about 1845, stated that the Clackama, once a numerous tribe, were reduced to six to eight cabins. Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, in 1844 estimated the Clackama jointly with the Cowlitz at 500 souls; Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 81), placed the population of "several" Clackama tribes at 200 souls. The estimates in 1847—'51 are divergent: J. L. Meek, 10, estimated them at 400; J. Quinn Thornton, 9, only at 80 souls; J. Lane in 1850, 160, gave them as 60 souls; A. Dart, 476, in 1851, placed their population at 88 souls. *I. Aff.* estimated the Clackama at: 72 (1861), 59 (1867), 66 (1875), 65 (1895), 59 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 81) returned 40 souls. According J. Mooney 1928, 16, they numbered 2,500 souls in 1780.

19. **Clallam**, a Salish tribe, Wash. and the southern end of Vancouver Id. There were 1,262 souls in 1839 (including 63 slaves), *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIII. 15 (MSS). In 1841 the Clallam and the Port Townsend Indians were estimated at 420 souls, Ch. Wilkes, V. 149; the census of Ch. Wilkes comprised only about half the tribe, M. Eells, in *Am. Antq.*, IX (1887). 272; 420 souls in about 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 111. The census of Findlayson (of the H. B. Co.) in 1845 returned 1,500 souls, M. Eells, *l. c.*; but M. Eells himself, in *Smiths. 1887*, 613, gave the same census as 1,760 souls. (The Hallams of Warre and Vavasour, 9, to the number of eleven "tribes", living on the Straits of S. Juan de Fuca and on Vancouver Id., were probably Clallams — 1,485 souls including 40 slaves); 200 warriors (1,400 souls) in 1850, J. Lane, 173; 1,000 (of whom 200 were Pistchin) souls in 1852, A. E. Starling, 460; 600 souls, L. Floyd

Jones, 5; 850 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 457 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435; 926 souls, G. Gibbs 1877, 177). The Clallam were a strong tribe in 1855, M. Eells: *Ten Years*, 19; 1,100 souls, Th. J. Hauna, in *Ind. Aff.* 1857, 625 (over 1,000 souls, M. T. Simmons, *ib.*, 623). J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 7, placed the numbers of the Duganess and Clalms at 1,100 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1861, 799 (W. B. Gosnell), estimated the Clallam jointly with two neighbouring bands at 1,500 souls (*ib.*, 829: 518 men and 720 women among the Clallam alone). There were 600 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1868, 565 (C. J. King); M. Eells (*Smiths.* 1887, 607—609), apparently at the end of the seventies, undertook a registration and found 594 souls in twelve villages. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 600 (1860), 575 (1875), 525 (1880) (M. Eells: *Ten Years*, 140, found 485 souls in 1880), 380 (1885), 345 (1890), 317 (1895), 331 (1900), 367 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 90) returned 398 souls. The above figures appear not to have included the Clallam of Vancouver: W. C. Grant, 293, found 75 souls there in 1857; probably they were reported by Capt. Wilkes, 304, in 1858 jointly with the Sooke to the number of 120 souls. According to E. Günther, 180, the total number of the Clallam was formerly 1,500 souls, or somewhat less. J. Mooney 1928, 15, is more liberal: he places their number at 2,000 in 1780.

20. **Clayoquot**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. About 400 warriors in 1803—'05, J. R. Jewitt, 104; 3,000 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293; 300 men about 1860, R. Mayne, 251; a powerful tribe, in an expedition against the Kyoquot about 1868 they sent 22 canoes averaging 10—15 men to a canoe — some of the crews were natives of small neighbouring tribes, but the Clayoquot prevailed, G. M. Sproat, 189, 192. *Can. I. Aff.* have: 305 (1885), 280 (1890), 253 (1895), 245 (1900) souls.

21. **Colville** (Wheelpo), a Salish tribe, Wash. They consisted of 130 houses and 2,500 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (also J. Morse, 372; G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, and I. I. Stevens, 460, gave this figure as 3,500). Sam. Parker, 304, basing himself on the agents of the Hudson Bay Co., reported 560 Kettle Falls Indians in 1835—'37; 600 souls in 1840, P. J. de Smet (H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 1005). The Colville, Spokane and other tribes jointly numbered 450 souls in 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 111; the "Gens des Chaudières" numbered 500 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; a Colville village of 500 souls was reported in 1845 by P. Kane 1862, 146; at the same time the Colville and the Spokane jointly numbered 450 souls, Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 82); 100 warriors (800 souls) in 1850, J. Lane 159; 320 souls in 1850, A. Dart, 478; 500 souls in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 460 (and G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 418). According to I. I. Stevens, the original Colville were nearly extinct in 1854 and their place had been filled by Indians from neighbouring tribes (J. Mooney: *Ghost-dance*, 732). But their name did not disappear: Capt. Wilson, 292, estimated them at 100 souls in 1858; *Ind. Aff.* gave: 616 (1870), 650 (1875), 670 (1880), 600 (1885),



247 (1890) souls. The Census of 1890, 603, found 247 souls in the state of Washington. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop 1910*, 90) regarded the Colville as almost identical with the Senijextee and gave this aggregate as 785 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 16, supposes that they numbered 1,000 souls in 1780. According to J. Teit 1927-'28, 211, the Colville may be safely estimated, say, at 2,500 souls.

22. **Comox**, a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. It had 1,960 souls (including 100 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV. 12 (MSS) (this figure is also given by P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). At least 800 souls in three villages about 1847, G. Simpson, I. 186; 400 souls about 1857 (probably on Vancouver Id.), W. C. Grant, 293; a large tribe about 1862, R. Mayne, 245. *Can. I. Aff.* have: 102 (1872), 51 (1885), 47 (1890), 60 (1900) souls. The Comox tribes (the Comox proper, Clahoose, Homalko and Sliammon) are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 29, to have numbered about 400 souls on Vancouver Id. and 1,400 souls on the mainland in 1780.

23. **Conoy**, an Algonquian tribe, Mass. Harrased by the Conestoga, shortly after the year 1634, they abandoned their ancient seats. Henceforth, the Conoy were often forced to change their domiciles and remove farther afield. These conditions were not favorable for a more exact appraisal of their population whilst even their numbers, and even their designation as Conoys appeared only at the beginning of the XVIII century. It is probable that the Patuxent and Mattapanient, reported by J. Smith, were Conoy bands. A few estimates date from the second half of the XVIII century. Wm. Johnson, 582, in 1763 estimated the Conoy jointly with the Nanticoke, Tutelo, Saponi and others at 200 warriors. G. Croghan, 167, in 1765 gave them as 30 and G. Imlay, 291, as 40 warriors. J. Mooney 1928, 6, supposes that the Conoy, Patuxent and other related bands numbered about 2,000 souls in 1600.

24. **Etchareottine** (Slave Indians), an Athapascan tribe, Canada. In 1819-'21 the "Brushwood Indians" were little known, apparently they were those Indians who to the number of 160 hunters then carried their furs to the Great Slave Lake and 40 hunters to Hay River, J. Franklin, II. 87, 242. About 1857, there were 3,100 Indians frequenting the posts in the district of Mackenzie River: Ft. Simpson, Ft. aux Liards and Ft. Norman, *Rpt. on the HBC 1857*, 365, among them there were at least 1,500—2,000 Slave Indians (according to the records of the number of Indians visiting posts as cited by E. Petitot 1883, 653, and G. M. Dawson 1887-'88, 206B). About 1875 there were 1,200 souls, E. Petitot 1875, 261. E. Petitot 1883, 653, collected their statistics with great care, family by family, even including the names of the individuals, and found 397 Etchaottine or Slave Indians, 500 Slave Indians, 515 Etchaottine (the Etchaottine are usually said to be a division of Slave Indians; E. Petitot differentiated them as a distinct tribe). A. G. Morice 1888-'89, 113, estimated them at 1,000 souls (in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 265, at 1,100). *Can.*

*Ind. Aff.* 1900 returned 282 Slave Indians, besides whom there were 1,158 Indians frequenting Forts Providence, aux Liards, Nelson and Simpson, most of them having probably been Slave Indians. J. Mooney 1928, 26, supposes there were 1,250 Slave Indians in 1670.

25. **Etheneldeli**, an Athapascan tribe. In 1769—'72, northern Indians visiting their southern friends contracted the smallpox which carried off nine-tenths of them, S. Hearne, 178, foot-note. The Etheneldeli suffered from this disease. A. Dobbs, 47, about 1740 stated that about 200 "Northern Indians" (probably Etheneldeli) carrying furs came to Ft. Churchill. In 1818—'21 there were 240 Indians in the tribe who carried furs to Ft. Chipewyan, J. Franklin, II. 242. E. Petitot 1875, 260, estimated them at 2,000 souls (in 1879, 318 Etheneldeli traded at Fond du Lac, E. Petitot, in *R. G. S.*, V (1883). 653). A. G. Morice gave their number either at 1,200 souls (in *Western Dene*, 16, and in *Ca. R. I.*, VII (1888—'89). 113) or at 1,700 (in *Anthropos*, I. 267). J. Mooney 1928, 26, supposes that the Etheneldeli numbered about 1,250 souls in 1670.

26. **Eudeve**, see tribes numbering 5,000—10,000 souls: Opata.

27. **Hesquiat**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. It numbered about 400 warriors in 1803—'05, J. R. Jewitt, 103; 100 men about 1860, R. Mayne, 251; about 1868 they were a tributary tribe of the Clayoquot and had to furnish them six war canoes, 10—15 men in each, in an expedition against the Kyoquot, G. M. Sproat, 189. According to *Can. I. Aff.* there were: 215 (1885), 224 (1890), 209 (1895) and 200 (1900) souls.

28. **Houma** (Huma), a tribe of Muskhogean stock, Miss. The Houma numbered 140 cabins and about 350 warriors in one village in 1699, Iberville, 177, and La Harpe 1830, 12 (also B. F. French, III. 15); Montigny, in Am. Gosselin, 36, placed the number of cabins in 1699 at 100; at the same time *Journal de la Badine*, 271, put the population at 600—700 souls; in 1700, Iberville, 408, found that half of the tribe had been carried off by an epidemic. Seventy to eighty cabins in 1700, Gravier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 146, 148; 150 families in 1702, Iberville, 602. The Tunica who had settled among them, massacred more than half of them in 1706, La Harpe 1831, 100 (and in B. F. French, III. 35). The Humaws and Ballaws numbered 400 men in 1715, the Map in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III. Sixty cabins and 200 warriors in 1718, La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 244—245); a small village in 1722, Charlevoix, VI. 202 (repeated by Th. Jefferys, 147); 90—100 warriors in 1739 jointly with the Bayougoula and Acolapissa, an officer under de Nouailles (Claiborne, quoted by J. R. Swanton 1911, 41); about 60 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 75; 25 warriors in 1784, Th. Hutchins 1784, 39. Baudry de Lozières, 247, related that (at an unspecified time in the XVIII century) they were reduced to 50 men. *Acc. of La 1803*, 349, estimated the Houma at 60 souls (this figure is repeated by J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 96, and by D. B. Warden, III. 550); J. Sibley, 724, in 1805 related that the



Houmas already then scarcely existed as a nation, some of them having married into the Attacapa and lived with them. The remnants of the tribe, of mixed blood, still existed at the beginning of the XX century, J. R. Swanton 1911, 291. According to J. R. Swanton 1911, 43, at the end of the XVIII century, the Houma seem to have numbered about 1,225 souls (350 warriors in a hundred and forty cabins). J. Mooney 1928, 11, gives them only 1,000 souls in 1650.

29. **Huna**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. (After an epidemic) Veniaminoff, 575, 568, mentioned the Ltuiskoe (Akvetskoe) village with 200 souls, and the Ledyanoprolivskoe village with 250 souls; 782 souls (including 94 slaves), J. Douglas in I. Petroff, 37 (also J. Work in P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489). Wehrman (P. Tikhmenief, II. 341) in 1861 estimated the population of Cross Sound (i.e. Ledyanoprolivskoe) at 331 (23 slaves) and that of Ltuia at 590 (58 slaves) souls. In 1868 Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 39, and R. N. Scott 1868, 774, gave them as 1,000 souls; F. K. Louthan in V. Colyer, 1015, put the Huna at 2,000, Fr. Mahony, *ib.* 1017, at 1,300, V. Colyer, 1004, at 1,000; I. Petroff, 31, gave them as 908 in 1880. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 592 souls; the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) returned 625 souls.

30. **Hutsnuvu**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. The epidemic of 1837—'39 was here very disastrous: some barabaras were carried off entirely, P. Tikhmenief, I. 311; J. Douglas (I. Petroff, 37) in 1839 gave 729 souls (including 40 slaves); Veniaminoff, 575, in 1840 estimated the village of Kootznovskoe at 300 souls; Wehrman (in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341) in 1861 found 600 souls (including 40 slaves); in 1868 Fr. Mahony in V. Colyer, 1017, estimated the Hutsnuvu at 1,000 souls; Maj.-Gen. Halleck (and V. Colyer, 1017), 38—39, quoted them once as the Koutznous with about 800, and apparently again as the Hoodsnahoos with 1,000 souls. According to R. N. Scott 1868, 773—'774, the Hoodsnahoo numbered 700, and the Hoidxnous 800 souls. In 1880 there were 666 souls, I. Petroff, 32. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 420 souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) returned 536 souls. It is possible that the Hutsnuvu never reached the number of 1,000 souls.

31. **Iowa**, a tribe of Siouan stock. In 1676 they were living in a very large settlement, L. André, in *Jes. Rel.*, LX. 202. In 1680 the Kickapoo and Iowa are said to have had two villages, L. Hennepin 1903, 166; 300 families jointly with the Oto in 1702, Iberville, 601; in 1718, 30, du Pratz, II. 251, referred to them as one of the smaller tribes on the Missouri River. Other figures of the XVIII century are very questionable: Chauvignerie, 1055, in 1736 estimated them at not more than 80 warriors, but J. Gorrel, 23 in 1761 put their number at 8,000 (souls? — perhaps a misprint). H. Bouquet, 145, estimated them in 1764 at 1,100 warriors (also J. Buchanan, 138, and S. Drake: *Ind. Biogr.*, 10); G. Imlay, 293, reduced Bouquet's figure for the end of the XVIII century to 1,000 warriors; Alcedo: *Geography* (quoted by F. V. Hayden, 446—447), about



1786—'89, reported two Iowa towns: one mustered 400 warriors and another, twenty years before, could furnish 300 warriors. But for the XVIII century there are also other estimates available: de Bougainville, 48, reported in 1757 about 200 Iowas (jointly with the Oto?) carrying furs to French posts; de Kerlerac, 68, estimated the Iowa (Oyuovois) at 200 warriors in 1758; the Spanish Report of 1777, in Louis Houck, I. 145, put their fighting strength at 250 warriors. A single village and 200 warriors (800 souls) in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 92 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. (1832). 711) (N. Biddle, I. 13, reported 300 warriors, smallpox having carried off 100 men besides many women and children in 1803). There were 300 warriors and 1,400 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 39); 200 warriors (600 souls) in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87; 250 warriors (1,000 souls) in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 1,000 souls, and in addition 1,800 souls jointly with the Oto and Missouri, J. Morse, 360, 363; 400 warriors in 1818, E. Tanner, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1879). 288; 1,100 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 1,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 100; 1,400 souls in one village in 1832, G. Catlin, 1841 II. 22, but the tribe lost very much by the ravages of the smallpox, and numbered 922 in 1836, Th. Donaldson, 143. *Ind. Aff.* returned 1,200 (1836), 1,500 (1837 and 1841), 470 (1844 and 1845) souls; 706 souls in 1846, H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 621; *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 433 (1855), 431 (1859 and 1861); 450 souls in 1862, F. V. Hayden, 446. *Ind. Aff.* gave them as: 298 (1862), 291 (1863), 303 (1866), 254 (1867), 214 (1870) souls besides those who lived jointly with the Sauk and Fox. According to *Ind. Aff.* there were 176 (1880), 165 (1890), 212 (1900), 225 (1905), 273 (1910) souls in Kansas, and 46 (1880), 67 (1890), 90 (1900) and 80 (1910) souls in Oklahoma. The Census of 1890, 323, found 267 souls in both divisions; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 100) returned 244 souls (24.2% full-bloods). J. Mooney 1928, 13, assumes that their number in 1780 was 1,200 souls.

32. **Kaigani**, a tribe (really a branch of the Haida), Alaska. The Kaigani numbered 1,735 souls in 1836—'39, J. Douglas (quoted by I. Petroff, 37) (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489). There were 1,500 souls (the Kaiganskoe, i. e. the Kaigani town, numbered 1,200 souls) in 1840, Veniaminoff, 651, 576; 758 souls in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; 787 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32 (W. H. Dall, in *Ind. Aff.* 1885, 379, repeated that figure); 600 souls in 1868, R. N. Scott 1868, 772, V. Colyer, 1007, and Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 38. The Census of 1910 (*Population*, II. 1137) returned 530 souls. J. Mooney, 1928, 27, supposes there were 1,800 souls in 1780.

33. **Kaiyukhotana**, an Athapascan tribe, Alaska. In 1839 one of its local divisions, the Inkalich, numbered 100 men, another, the Inkalik, 700 souls, but others are not reported, Baer and Helmerson, I. 119, 121; L. Zagoskin, II, app. 40—41, estimated in 1844 the whole tribe at 1,070 souls (the epidemic of 1838 swept off at the most one-fifth of the population); 2,000 souls in 1865—'70, W. H. Dall 1877, 39 (also in *Alaska*, 537,

and in *Ind. Aff.* 1875, 707) and A. G. Morice, *Anthropos*, I (1906). 259; 953 souls (805 souls on the Yukon River, according to W. F. Hodge, I. 643, 148 souls on the Kuskokwim River), I. Petroff, 12, 16; 1,300 souls in 1887, H. T. Allen, 143; 846 souls in 1890, Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158. The Census of 1910 returned the Kaiyuhkhotana at 160 souls (owing to some uncertainty in the application of the name, comparison with the Census of earlier years is said to be of little value, e. g. *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 111, quoted such estimates as 1,222 souls in 1880 and 1,140 souls in 1890). According to J. Mooney 1928, 32, the Kaiyuhkhotana (Ingalik) numbered about 1,800 souls in 1740.

34—35. Kalispel and Pond d'Oreilles, two Salish tribes, Idaho and Wash. They were usually considered as one and the same tribe and both names were often indifferently applied to them both. J. Teit 1927—'28, 295, 311, 312 passim, decidedly distinguished them as two tribes in the Flathead group of Salish stock. The Coospellar nation numbered 1,600 souls in thirty lodges in 1805 (perhaps the Micksucksealton with twenty-five lodges and 300 souls were a local division of the Kalispel), Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (J. Morse, 372, repeated these figures). In 1835—'37, according to the agents of the Hudson Bay Co., the Ponderas numbered about 2,200 souls, Sam. Parker, 303; P. J. de Smet (in H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 992) estimated in 1840 the Ponderas (Pond d'Oreilles) at more than 1,200 souls (but in 1845, *ib.*, 996, he reported separately the Pond d'Oreilles, i. e., Upper Kalispel, with 600 souls, and the Lower Kalispel with the same population). According to G. Simpson, I. 146, in 1841—'42, the Pond d'Oreilles did not number more than 120 families; Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, put the Pond d'Oreilles at 500 souls in 1844; 300 (?) souls in 1845, Warren and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 82); J. Lane 1850, 159, estimated the Calespelin at 450 warriors and 1,200 souls; 1,000 (480 Upper Pond d'Oreilles, 520 Lower Pond d'Oreilles) souls in 1851. A. Dart, 478 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418, gave the same figures in 1853); I. I. Stevens, 418, 460, in 1854 placed the number of the Kalispel in both divisions at a hundred lodges and 700 souls. R. H. Lansdale (*Ind. Aff.* 1857, 667) estimated the Upper Pond d'Oreilles at 600, and the Lower or Kalispelin at about 300 souls. Capt. Wilson, 292, reported only 200 souls, probably in one of their divisions. Revais stated that about 1860, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Kalispel and the Pond d'Oreilles each to number about 1,000 souls, J. Teit, *l. c.*, 314 foot-note; Ch. Hutchins (*Ind. Aff.* 1865, 429, 430) gave the number of their annuities as 751 and the number of the population as 908; *Ind. Aff.* 1870, 481, 645, returned 403 souls in Washington, 700 in Idaho (*ib.* 1866, gave the Upper Kalispel alone as 918 souls). *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Kalispel in Montana and Washington at 730 (1875), 736 (1880), 914 (1895) souls; those in Idaho together with the Kutenai and Skitswish numbered respectively: 1,000, 600 and 600 souls. Later they were confederated with the Kutenai and other tribes and their numbers were not differentiated from other tribes of that aggregate. The Indian Census



of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 87) returned the population at 538 souls (47.4% full-bloods, *ib.* 38) but afforded no comparison with previous years, owing to the irregular character of the returns for the Kutenai in the *Reports of Ind. Affairs*. (*Ind. Aff.* estimated the Pend d'Oreilles in Montana at 640 (1905) and 665 (1909) souls; the Kalispel at 197 (1905) and 182 (1909) in Montana, and at 98 (1905) and 96 (1909) in Washington, J. Teit, *l.c.*, 315. The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles suffered severely from smallpox in about 1800; prior to the advent of the fur traders, the Kalispel are said have numbered the same as the Spokane, and the Pend d'Oreilles more than either (i.e., over 1,000 souls in each case); the Lewis and Clark estimate was probably much too low for the time, J. Teit, *l.c.*, 314, 315 *passim*. J. Mooney 1928, 16, places their number at 1,200 souls in 1780.

36. **Kaskaskia**, a leading tribe of the Illinois confederacy. J. Marquette (in J. G. Shea 1852, 51, and in *Jes. Rel.*, LIX, 161), found in 1673 seventy-four cabins in their town. In 1674 this missionary preached there to a great gathering of 500 chiefs and old men seated in a circle, the youth stood outside to the number of 1,500, not counting very many women and children, the town being composed of 500—600 fires, J. Marquette in J. G. Shea 1852, 56. (J. Tailhan in N. Perrot, 225, referring to Marquette's relation estimates the population of the town at that time at more than 3,000). Allouez (in J. G. Shea 1852, 74, and in *Jes. Rel.*, LX, 159), related in 1676 that the town had much increased since the year before: it was formerly composed of only one nation, the Kaskaskia; in 1676 there were eight nations, the first having called in the others who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi; the Indians were lodged in 351 cabins, easily counted, for they were mostly ranged on the banks of the river. The only large Illinois village, i.e. Kaskaskia, in 1680 consisted of 7,000—8,000 souls, Z. Membre, in J. G. Shea, 150, but this writer did not include those Kaskaskias whom he seems to place on the Chicago River. This largest village of the Illinois may have had 400—500 cabins, every cabin of 5 or 6 fires, one or two families to each fire, L. Hennepin, ed. Thwaites, 153. A village of 100 warriors (besides 8 warriors living among the Potawatomi) in 1736, Chauvignerie 1056, 1057; the Kas (Kaskaskia) numbered about 400 warriors in 1757, de Bougainville, 48; 100 men in 1758, de Kerlerac, 63, foot-note; 600 warriors jointly with the other Illinois in 1764, Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III, 555. The Kaskaskia (or the Illinois generally) numbered 600 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 146 (and J. Buchanan, 138); 300 warriors, G. Croghan, 168, in 1765, and Th. Hutchins (in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149) in 1768. The Kaskaskia and Peoria together numbered 100 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report in L. Houck, I, 148; 300 warriors jointly among the Kaskaskia, Peoria and Michigamea, Th. Hutchins 1778, 66. There were 250 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 290. In 1803 at St. Geneviève (Arkansas), in the settlement among the Whites, there were about 30 Kaskaskias, Peorias and Illinois, "the remains of a nation which fifty years ago



could bring into the field 1,200 warriors", *Acc. of La 1803*, 350. In 1812 the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Cahokia and Illinois jointly numbered 500 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 9 (and D. B. Warden, III. 587). There were 15 warriors and 60 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 77; 36 souls in 1817 (jointly with the Peoria and Cahokia), J. Morse, 363, and in 1825, McKenney, 545; 8 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 9. About 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 100, wrote that the remnants of the Kaskaskia had long before merged into the Peoria and it was difficult to state if a dozen of them still existed. In 1836 when they removed to the reservation, there were 25 souls and in 1868 there remained only 15, *Ind. Aff. 1868*, 727—728. But generally they were returned jointly with the Peoria, Wea, Piankashaw and other remnants of the Illinois tribes. The early references to the numbers of the Kaskaskia are questionable as the tribe was usually living jointly with other Illinois: data on their population at the end of the XVII century are not available, but probably this never exceeded 1,000—1,500 souls.

37. **Kickapoo**, an Algonquian tribe. About 1672—'73 the Kickapoo were living jointly with the Miami and Mascouten in the same bourg (at the mission of St. Jacques) and numbered there thirty cabins (such a cabin among the Illinois contained 4 or 5 fires, with one or two families per fire), but before that they had been living by themselves in a separate village, Allouez, in *Jes. Rel.*, LVIII. 23; Marquette, in B. F. French II. 282, IV. 13. A small nation in 1680, Z. Membre, in J. G. Shea 1852, 158; about 200 warriors in a camp in 1680, La Salle (in P. Margry, II. 127); in 1680 the Kickapoo and Iowa are said to have had two villages, L. Hennepin 1903, 166. Jointly with the Mascouten they were estimated at 450 warriors in 1702, Iberville, 601; more than 100 good warriors in 1712, a letter of Marest (in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 289, and in E. M. Sheldon, 299); they were living with the Mascouten in the same village in 1718, and numbered 200 warriors jointly with them, *N.Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 889; a small tribe in 1721, Charlevoix, V. 277; only 80 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1055. The Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Mascouten and Wea were estimated together at 360 warriors in 1757, de Bougainville, 47; 300 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan, 168; 180 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583; 300 warriors, Th. Hutchins in 1764, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150; H. Bouquet, 146, in 1764 (also repeated by J. Buchanan, 138, in 1824), and a Spanish Report in 1777, in L. Houck, I. 147; the whole of the Kickapoo, Mascouten, Piankashaw and the principal part of the Wea consisted of about 1,000 warriors, Th. Hutchins 1778, 66 (a part of the Kickapoo was living in still another place), in G. Imlay, 497; 250 warriors in 1779, Dodge, in Th. Jefferson, *l.c.* 150; 500 warriors in 1783, Dalton, 123; 300 warriors at the time of the Treaty of Granville, F. Schermerhorn, 8 (also D. B. Warden, III. 534); 1,000 warriors jointly with the Fox and "Musquiakis" in 1812, an officer quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555; at the same time H. R. Schoolcraft,

III. 554, placed the fighting strength of a joint body of the Piankashaw, Kickapoo, Mascouten and Wea, also at 1,000 men; 400 warriors (1,000 souls) in 1815, Wm. Clark, 77; 1,800 (and 4,00?), J. Morse, 363; 2,200 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545, P. B. Porter, 98, in 1829 and in 1837 McKenney and Hall, I. 26; in 1828 a body of 112 Kickapoo families was living in Texas, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 268. There were 600—800 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 97. Official statistics in the XIX century usually referred to only a part of the tribe. 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1837—'38, 20, gave them as 200 warriors. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 588 (1836, 1837 and 1841), 516 (1845, R. W. Cummins), 344 (1855 in Kansas), 325 (1860), 380 (1875), 234 (1880), 235 (1885), 237 (1890), 231 (1895), 255 (1900), 185 (1905) souls in Kansas and 600 (1860), 426 (1875), 380 (1880), 346 (1885), 195 (1890), 271 (1895), 260 (1900), 247 (1905) and 243 (1910) souls in Indian Territory (Oklahoma); in addition there were some hundreds in Mexico. J. D. Lang and S. Taylor, 19, about 1842 estimated the Kickapoo at 400 souls, but this figure referred to only one division of the tribe. The Census of 1890, 322, found 562, that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 74) 348 in Kansas and Oklahoma; the number in Mexico was presumed to be about 400. According to J. Mooney 1928, 11, the Kickapoo numbered 2,000 souls in 1650.

38. **Kiowa**, a tribe of the Kiowan linguistic group. They probably suffered from smallpox in 1801. The Wetepahatoes and Kayauwa numbered seventy tents, 200 warriors and 700 souls in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 100 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 715). The Kiowa are supposed to have been 1,090 men (probably together with Kiowa-Apache) in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 336. As the Ryuwas and Watepanatoes they were estimated at 200 warriors (900 souls) in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85; 1,000 warriors and 3,500 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 28. In about 1818, in J. Morse, 336, 237, they were twice reported: as 1,000 souls (Kiawas) and as 900 souls (Ryawas); 140 families in 1828 in Texas, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 265; 1,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 104. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 1,400 (1836, p. 403), 1,800 (1837, p. 612, and H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 611), 1,800 (1841, p. 246); 2,000 (1844, p. 316, and 1864, Ch. Bent, 11) souls; 300 warriors, 1,500 souls in 1849, R. S. Neighbors, 963. J. Mooney, 17 *B. Am. E.*, 236—237, reported for the period 1850—'96 figures for the Kiowa almost every year (thirty-four figures): their population oscillated between 1,017 (1893) and 2,800 (1854) souls. But larger oscillations disappear after 1875, the date of their last uprising. *Ind. Aff. 1875* returned 1,070 souls and this figure remained almost constant till 1892, when an epidemic carried off some hundreds. The Census of 1890, 528, gave 1,140 souls. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 1,336 (1900), 1,195 (1905) and 1,366 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 86) returned 1,126 souls (full-bloods 72.8%, *ib.* 33). According to J. Mooney, *l. c.*, 235, the combined population of the confederated Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, since they have been put upon the reservation, has never been much over 1,600 or



1,800 souls at the most, of whom the Kiowa-Apache numbered nearly one-fourth. J. Mooney 1928, 11, estimates the Kiowa at 2,000 souls in 1780.

39. *Kitkehahki*, a tribe of the Pawnee confederacy. In 1777, a Spanish Report (L. Houck, I. 143), estimated them at 350—400 warriors. In 1804 they were living in the same village with the Pawnee proper and numbered 300 warriors and 1,400 souls, Lewis and Clark, VI. 87 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 709) (N. Biddle, I. 39, reported only 250 warriors); 350 warriors and 1,600 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85; fifty lodges, 250 families, 1,000 souls, E. James (S. H. Long), II. 364; 1,500 souls, J. Morse, 366; 250 warriors (1,250 souls) in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606; 1,823 souls, J. V. Hamilton (in *Ind. Aff.* 1840, 319).

40. *Klamath*, a Lutuamian tribe, Oreg. The Lutuami, Shasta, and Palaihnik have been greatly diminished in numbers by disease and all together are supposed not to have comprised more than 1,200 souls in about 1841, H. Hale, 218 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 18). The Klamath numbered 300 souls about 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 112; 2,000 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 1,000 souls in 1844, J. L. Meek, 10. Several tribes of the Klamath numbered 800 souls in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 81); 300 souls in 1852, G. F. Emmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 201; 415 souls, Joel Palmer, in *I. Aff.* 1854, 470; there were 100 warriors among the Low Klamath and 100 warriors among the Upper Klamath, G. Wright, in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 28; G. H. Abbott, in *Ind. Aff.* 1859, 804, estimated them at 472 souls; about 2,000 souls in about 1860, J. K. Lord, I. 276; 1,200 souls in 1867, J. W. P. Huntingdon, 62. The Klamath, Modoc and four bands of Snakes were estimated at 4,000 souls in *Ind. Aff.* 1868, 812. *Ind. Aff.* reported in Indian Territory 1,125 (1875 and 1880) and 213 (1885) souls, at the same time there were in Oregon 543 (1875), 752 (1880), 763 (1885, jointly with the Modoc), and 835 (1890, jointly with the Modoc and Snakes) souls. The Indian Census of 1890, 559, found 835 souls jointly among the Klamath, Modoc and Snakes, besides those few who were returned jointly with 31 other tribes *Ind. Aff.* 1900 estimated the Lower Klamath at 617 in California, and at 721 in Oregon; *ib.* 1910 returned separately 745 in California and 1,126 souls jointly among the Klamath, Modoc and Snakes in Oregon. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 87) gave the Klamath as 696 souls. A. S. Gatschet: *Klamath*, LXXV, states that the statistics of this tribe furnish reliable data only from the time when annuities were first distributed among its members; the distribution of annuities in 1877 covered 565 souls, besides whom there were 194 Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 320, the available data indicate that the Klamath have long been at least twice as numerous as the Modoc; the combined population of these tribes at the time of discovery may have aggregated 2,000. The former number of the Klamath is supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 18, to have been only 800 souls in 1780.



41. *Knaiakhotana*, an Athapascan tribe, Alaska. There were 1,471 souls (on Cook Inlet) in 1818, a Colonial Report of 1819, in P. Tikhmenief, I. 253; 1,299 souls in 1826, Wrangell in I. Petroff, 34; 500 families in 1827—'36, Wrangell, in *Nouv. Ann. Voy.* 1853, I. 201; 460 families in 1839, Baer and Helmersen, I. 103 (the same number of families was reported forty years later by A. Krause, 326). There were 1,628 souls and over 450 families in 1840, Veniaminoff, IX, 651; 937 baptized Indians in 1860, I. Petroff, 38; 500—600 souls on Cook Inlet about 1868, Fr. Mahony in V. Colyer, 1017; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 39, reported the fantastic number of 25,000; W. H. Dall 1877, 40, and in *Ind. Aff.* 1875, 707, gave the Tehaninkutchin as 1,000 souls. The Census of 1880 returned 614 souls (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112) (also W. H. Dall, in *Smths.* 1885, 838); the Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 766 souls (839 souls in *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112), and that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112) 697 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 32, there were 1,200 souls in 1740.

42. *Koskimo*, a Kwakiutl tribe, Vancouver Id. It had 1,960 souls (including 100 slaves), *HBC Ind. Census* 1839, No. XIV. 28 (MSS); (J. Work quoted by P. Kane, app., and by H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489, reported 1,986 souls, including 100 slaves); 800 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293; the Koskimo, Nawiti (a petty tribe) and Quatsino numbered jointly 500 men about 1860, R. Mayne, 251; 306 souls (130 men) in a camp, J. W. Powell, in *Can. Sess. Pap.* 1880, No. 4, p. 131. *Can. Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 192 (1883), 145 (1885), 153 (1890), 127 (1895), 96 (1900) souls. It is possible that they never came to 1,000 souls.

43—44. *Kutenai* (Upper and Lower), a people of the Kitunahan linguistic family. The Kutenai are divided into two groups using slightly differing dialects: Lower (Flatbows) and Upper Kutenai. These two groups are often treated as two distinct tribes. The circumstance that some of the Kutenai live in Canada and some in the United States makes it more difficult simultaneously to estimate their population in both countries: and most estimates cover only a part of this people. No doubt, they were known to Lewis and Clark. These explorers in 1805, VI. 120, reported the Tushepaw nation and estimated it at 430 souls in 35 lodges; *ib.*, VI. 120, they referred to Tushepaw tribes: the Hohilpo with 300 souls in 25 lodges, and to the Micksucksealton also with 300 souls in 25 lodges, and finally, *ib.*, III. 54, to still another Tushepaw tribe, that of the Ootlashoot, having 450 lodges. But it is difficult to decide to what extent the Tushepaw and their tribes can be identified with the Kutenai. G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, identified only the Tushepaw proper with the Kutenai and placed their number in 1805 at 800 souls; J. Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, 731, is of the same opinion; according to A. S. Gatschet the term of Tushepaw covers not only the Kutenai but also the Nez Percés. Henry and Thompson, 707, in 1811, reported that the tribe of the (Upper) Kutenai did not exceed 50 families; the Flatbows were but little known to them. J. Morse, 372, estimated the Tushepaw and Ootlashoot jointly at 5,600 souls. Cox Ross,

II. 152, only stated that they were the remnant of a once brave and powerful tribe. G. Catlin 1841, I. 52, gave the number of their lodges as 250. In 1840 the Upper Kutenai numbered 166, the Lower Kutenai 397, and those who frequented the Flathead country 266 souls, A. C. Anderson, 80 (and R. Mayne, 298). The Kutenai were a small tribe of about 400 souls, H. Hale, 205 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 10). Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 82) wrote of several tribes of Rootoonais, having in all 450 souls. The Flatbows numbered 500 souls in about 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335 (that figure reappears in 1850, J. Lane, 158; in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 460, and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418; in 1857, R. H. Lansdale, in *Ind. Aff.* 1857, 667; and finally, H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 460). In about 1845-'46, P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 483) referred to some tribes, among them to the Upper Kutenai and the Flatbows as distinct tribes, and estimated each to average about 500 souls. J. L. Meek, 10, gave the Kutenai as 1,000 souls. Capt. Wilson, 304, estimated the Upper Kutenai at 450, and the Lower Kutenai at 200 souls in 1858. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought in 1860 to number less than 2,000 souls, Revais in J. Teit 1927-'28, 214 (foot-note). P. J. de Smet 1865, 104-105, placed the number of the Kutenai and Flatbows in 1861 at 1,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* usually reported the Kutenai (in the United States) jointly with other tribes, namely with the Kalispel and Skitswish; the character of these returns is so irregular, that, according to *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 87, a comparison of figures is of little value. A. S. Farwell, quoted by A. F. Chamberlain (in *A. A. S. 1902*, 550-551), estimated the Kootenai at 800 souls in 1883, namely 450 in British Columbia, 200 in Idaho and Montana, and 150 migratory. *Ind. Aff. 1900* stated that the Kutenai in Montana confederated with the Flatheads and Kalispel. Only a part of the Kutenai in Montana was separately returned: 385 (1875), 336 (1880), 480 (1885), 61 (1900). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 87) reported 538 souls. In Canada, in 1843 Rowand estimated the Kutenai living there at 100 tents, i. e. at about 800 souls, J. McLean 1896, 140. *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned in the Kootenay Agency (without the Kinbasket, a Shuswap tribe): 338 (1887), 459 (1890), 367 (1895), 324 (1900) Upper Kutenai, and 160 (1887), 141 (1890), 162 (1895), 161 (1900) Flatbows. J. McLean, *ib.*, estimated the Indians in the Kutenai Agency at 696 souls in about 1896 (including 41 Shuswap). J. Mooney 1928, 27 supposes that the Kutenai numbered 1,200 souls in 1780, i. e., they have not materially decreased in numbers since the advent of the Whites, as they came to 1,122 (573 in Montana, 549 in British Columbia) souls in 1906. It is possible that the Lower Kutenai never came to 1,000 souls.

45. Kwakiutl, a Wakashan tribe in the neighborhood of Ft. Rupert. The estimates often confuse the true Kwakiutl with the entirety of tribes speaking the Kwakiutl sub-dialect of the Kwakiutl dialect and even with the Kwakiutl branch of the Wakashan stock. All these groups are likewise Kwakiutl. A. J. Hall (*R. Can. I.*, VI (1888), pt. II, p. 59) estimated the



Kwakiutl in the extended sense of the term at 7,000 in 1853 and at 3,000 in 1884: they were once a powerful nation and the terror of the Haida and Tsimshian. W. C. Grant, 293, in 1857 placed the number of the Kwakiutl in the restricted sense at 1,500 souls; and jointly with the Kwakiutl tribes (Lekwiltok, Koskimo and Nawiti) at 3,300 souls on Vancouver Id. *Can. Ind. Aff.* in 1871—1880 estimated all the Kwakiutl tribes at from 2,000 (1871) to 3,500 (1880) souls. J. R. Swanton (in F. W. Hodge, I. 745) gave the total population of the Kwakiutl branch of the Wakashan stock as 2,173 souls in 1904. J. Mooney 1928, 28, supposes that the tribes speaking the Kwakiutl dialect of the Kwakiutl branch on Vancouver Id. and on the mainland numbered 4,500 souls in 1780. During the XIX century the Kwakiutl population was steadily decreasing: 4,000 Indians frequented Ft. Rupert in about 1857, *Rpt. on HBC 1857*, 367; whilst R. M. Scott 1868, 776 reported only 400 Indians at Ft. Rupert and in the area of its influence. Probably the Kwakiutl were not meant in the restricted sense when D. A. Galiano and C. Valdes, 103, stated in 1802, that the Quacos possessed a large number of canoes — a circumstance which is evidence of a numerous population. The estimates as regards the Kwakiutl in the restricted sense, yield smaller numbers. *HBC Ind. Cens. 1839*, No. XIV. 1, 2, 13 (MSS), reported the following septs of true Kwakiutl: the Komkutis (Cum-qua-his) numbering 340 souls (including 20 slaves) — a moderate estimate; the Komoyue (Qua-ha-qua-colt) 2,440 souls (including 50 slaves) — an exaggerated estimate; and the Kwakiutl (Qua-calt) 1,420 souls (including 50 slaves) — likewise an exaggeration (also P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). Dodd, 115, in 1859—'60 estimated the Kwakiutl at 100 warriors. J. K. Lord, I. 165, in 1866 gave five "tribes" living near Ft. Rupert as having 1,100 warriors; these "tribes" were the Komoyue (who then seem to have separated from the Kwakiutl) with 800 warriors (probably a misprint instead of 80), the Kwakiutl with 100 warriors and their septs: the Komkutis with 70 warriors, the Walas with 80 warriors and the Wanlish (?) with 50 warriors. *Can. Ind. Aff.* give the Kwakiutl as: 83 (1883), 65 (1885), 39 (1890), 33 (1895), 97 (1900) souls, the Walash as: 66 (1883) and 48 (1885), the Komoyue as: 82 (1883), 59 (1885), 58 (1890), 56 (1895), 43 (1900) souls. Thus, the true Kwakiutl, if all the septs, including the Komoyue, be taken into account, probably exceeded the number of 1,000 souls.

46. *Kyuquot*, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. In 1803—'05, it was a more numerous tribe than the Nootka who numbered 500 warriors, J. R. Jewitt, 104. The description of the naval expedition of the Clayoquot against the Kyoquot, G. M. Sproat, 189, 192, in the sixties of the XIX century permits to consider them to have been as powerful as their aggressors, who on that occasion mustered 22 war canoes, 10—15 men in each. About 1860 there were 500—600 men, R. Mayne, 251; 300 men and at least 700—800 souls in 1879, J. W. Powell, in *Can. Sess. Pap. 1880*, No. 4, p. 131. *Can. Ind. Aff.* have: 597 (1885), 488 (1890) and 347 (1900) souls.



47. **Lekwiltok**, a powerful Kwakiutl tribe, Brit. Col. The census of 1839 had taken into account not the tribe, but its septs or portions (Wiwakae, Wiweakam, Kueha, Tlaaluis, Neculta, Larqualibba), in all 10,060 tribesmen and 460 slaves, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No XIV, Nos. 7—11 (MSS) (also J. Work quoted by P. Kane, app., and by H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 488). But the total of souls and the figures for the above named septs are not reliable, being much exaggerated. There were 500 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293. *Can. Ind. Aff.* have: 1,500 souls in 1871—'74, too liberal an estimate; later, *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned: 377 (1883), 331 (1885), 299 (1890), 293 (1895), 251 (1900) souls.

48. **Makah**, a tribe of the Wakashan family, Wash. J. Meares, 230—231, in 1788—'89 referred to Tatootch Id. (where a chief of the same name resided) and estimated the number of its inhabitants at about 5,000 people (on a previous page there is mentioned a chief named Detootche residing on a small island inhabited by 1,500 people, perhaps these islands are really one and the same); the district of this chief extended to Queenhitte (Quinaielt or rather Quileute) and contained five villages and about 3,000 inhabitants. The above territory is that claimed by the Makah: they inhabited Tatoosh Id. and had five winter towns; there was likewise the village of Tatooshe among their summer settlements. The Kla-ir-zarts (Makah) were a numerous and powerful tribe with more than 1,000 warriors in 1803—'05, J. R. Jewitt, 101; 2,000 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 118 (and J. Morse, 371); 2,500 souls (600 warriors) about 1830, Hall J. Kelley, 69; in addition, Kelley, *ib.*, 60, reported the Totooshe as having 2,000 souls. About 1841 the Makah were one of the most numerous tribes on the coast that Ch. Wilkes (IV. 517—518) had an opportunity of seeing; the population of the district of Flattery Cap was about 1,250 souls in 1843, Warre and Vavasour, 9 (also R. M. Martin, 81, and Th. J. Farnham, 111); P. Kane 1862, 108, a little later reported that the Makah mustered 144 warriors in a war expedition; 1,000 souls about 1850, J. Lane, 162; 800 souls in 1851, A. E. Starling, 460; 400 souls, L. Floyd Jones, 5; 150 souls in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 457 (and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435); 596 souls in 1856, 37 *Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 48. According to G. Gibbs 1877, 174, previous to the smallpox epidemic of 1852, the tribe mustered 500 fighting men, but about 1877 (?) they were reduced to a total of souls little more than that number of warriors. Yet, A. N. Armstrong, 136, in the fifties reported as many as 2,000 warriors! *Ind. Aff.* reported: 600 (1857, M. T. Simmons and Th. J. Hauna) and 500 (1858, M. T. Simmons) souls. J. G. Swan 1870, 2—3, took two censuses of the Makah by visiting every lodge himself: he found 654 souls in 1861 and 663 souls in 1863. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 500 (1861), 680 (1867), 526 (1869), 558 (1870), 553 (1875), 728 (? 1880), 523 (1885), 454 (1890), 407 (1900) and 360 (1905). The Census of 1890, 603, found 457 souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 107) returned 360 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 15, places their numbers at 2,000 in 1780.

49. **Malecite**, an Algonquian tribe. According to Sam. Champlain, II. 8—9, the Malecite jointly with the Algonkin and Montagnais mustered 1,000 warriors in 1603; Biard, in *Jes. Rel.*, II. 73, estimated the "Eteminquois" at less than 1,000, although from his statement, *ib.* III. 111, in 1616 they seem to have numbered 2,500, but probably this figure covers the population of the whole territory: "Eteminquois to Pentagoet"; 400—500 souls, in 1677, Morain, in *Jes. Rel.*, LX. 263; 350 warriors among the St. John's River Indians in 1690, and only 80 in 1726, Wendell, 9; not more than 100 men over 16 years, J. Gyles, 359; the St. John's River Indians did not exceed 150 fighting men about 1760, W. Douglas, I. 184. In contradiction to the above estimates which seem to be trustworthy, are those of 1765—'85: the Malecite were there said to number 550 fighting men by Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 553, in 1764, by H. Bouquet, 144, in 1764, by Smith in H. R. Schoolcraft, *l.c.*, in 1785 (and by J. Buchanan, 139, in 1824); G. Imlay, 292, at the end of the XVIII century gave them as 400 warriors. McKenney, 545, in 1825 reported 300 souls among them (St. John's Indians). *Can. Ind. Aff.* estimated the Malecite in Nova Scotia and Quebec at: 803 (1885), 864 (1890), 826 (1895), 784 (1900) souls. Besides, the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 74) found 142 souls (almost all in the state of Maine). The Malecite were always a small tribe: at the most they could have exceeded but little the figure of 1,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 24, estimates them at only 800 in 1600.

50. **Manhasset**, a tribe (or a band of the Montauk), Shelter Id. (Long Island). According to a tradition, they could bring into the field at one time more than 500 fighting men, B. F. Thompson, I. 95; E. M. Ruttenber, 74. The number of 500 men is probably exaggerated, and the figure of some 1,000 souls is a liberal estimate of their population.

51. **Maricopa**, a Yuman tribe, Arizona. They are said to have numbered 6,000 souls in 1742 jointly with the Pima, J. Sedelmayer quoted by M. Venegas, II. 182; 2,500 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, II. 443; 3,000 souls in 1799, J. Cortez, 123 (and in 1834 J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228); 192 warriors and 518 souls in 1858, G. Bailey, in *Ind. Aff. 1859*, 559 (and A. W. Bell, in *J. Ethn. Ld.*, I 1868—'69, 231); at the same time, E. Domenech, II. 181, reported about 3,000! *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 800 (1867), 700 (1869, Col. Jones) souls; 338 souls about 1869, J. Ross Browne 1869, 591; *Ind. Aff.* returned: 300 (1875), 500 (1880), 550 (1885), 345 (1900), 321 (1905) souls. The Census of 1890, 133, found 315 souls; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 109, 34) returned 386 souls (95.1% full-bloods). Probably they did not exceed 2,500 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, they numbered 2,000 souls in 1680.

52. **Mascouten**, an Algonquian tribe. There exists much confusion about their identity in the first half of the XVII century. They are said to have been identical with the Atsistagherronnons, or Nation of Fire, but in G. Dreuillette's list (*Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 347—349) they are distinctly differentiated: the Makoutensak (Mascouten) appear as the third item, and



the Atsistagherronnons in thirty villages as the fourteenth item. According to H. Lalemant (*Jes. Rel.*, XXVII. 27), the Nation of Fire was more populous than all the Neutral Nation, all the Hurons and all the Iroquois together: in 1643, their village, attacked by the Neutral Nation, was defended by 900 warriors, Lalemant, *l. c.*, 25. Undoubtedly, by the name of the Nation of Fire there seem to have been designated not only the Mascouten, but also other confederated (Illinois) tribes. In 1670—'71 the Mascouten with the Miami inhabited the same village protected by a palisade and the two tribes numbered together 3,000 souls (400 warriors in each tribe), Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 199, 201; in 1672 there were in that village several tribes and about 193 cabins, the Mascouten occupied fifty cabins, Allouez, in *Jes. Rel.*, LVIII. 23; Marquette (in B. F. French, II. 282) referred to this settlement in 1673 as consisting of three nations, viz., the Miami, Mascouten and Kickapoo. In 1673, in addition there were Mascouten inhabiting eight or nine cabins who had separated from the others in order to obtain subsistence, Marquette, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIX. 171. In 1676 the village of Mascoutens was made up of two different peoples who spoke entirely different languages, namely the Miami with six tribes and the Mascoutens who also had five or six other tribes with them — there were many thousand savages, A. Sylvy, in *Jes. Rel.*, LX. 207. Probably this village was identical with the Mascouten mission of 1679 where the population consisted of many tribes and 20,000 souls, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXI. 149, 155. (Father Dablon was not very clear about the Mascouten: for instance, "the Mascouten who number as many as twelve nations speak three different languages and who, when gathered together in this village, aggregate at least 20,000 souls.") In 1680 a part of the Mascouten was living together with the Miami and Wea, P. Margry, II. 99. In 1690—'91 if three tribes, the Mascouten, Kickapoo and Foxes, jointly formed a village, it would have mustered 1,400—1,500 men, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 619. Jointly with the Kickapoo they mustered 450 warriors in 1702, Iberville, 597, 601. About 1712, 800 men, women and children of the Fox and Mascouten were killed, but in this number were not reckoned 40 warriors, 60 women and more than 100 children killed near the "Great River", whilst ten Mascouten families retired to the Kickapoo, a letter from Father Marest, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 289, and in E. M. Sheldon, 299. At later times the Mascouten were living elsewhere separately. In 1718 the Mascouten and Kickapoo resided together in a village and did not even attain 200 men, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 889; a small tribe in 1721, Charlevoix, V. 277; Chauvignerie, 1055, estimated the Mascouten, who were living together with the Kickapoo, at 80 fighting men (there were also other settlements of the Mascouten: another part settled on the Ohio and Wabash, still another to the number of 150 men and women was massacred by the Ottawa, see J. G. Shea, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, III (1857). 133). In 1757 the Mascouten, Kickapoo, Wea and Piankashaw were estimated jointly by de Bougainville, 47, at 360 warriors; 90 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583.



The Spanish Report of 1777 put the fighting strength of the Mascouten at 200 warriors, L. Houck, 146. This is the last moderate estimate in the XVIII century. Some subsequent estimates are high as they confused the Mascouten with other Illinois: 500 warriors, Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554) in 1764 and H. Bouquet, 144, in 1764 (also J. Buchanan, 139); the Kickapoo, Piankashaw and Mascouten are said to have numbered 800 warriors in 1778, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561; at the same time the Mascouten, Kickapoo, Piankashaw and the main body of the Wea could muster jointly about 1,000 warriors, Th. Hutchins in G. Imlay, 497; 250 warriors in 1783, Dalton, 123. At the end of the XVIII century G. Imlay, 290, estimated the Piankashaw, Kickapoo and Mascouten jointly at 200 warriors. The last mention made of them is in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554—555: a collective body of the Mascouten, Piankashaw, Kickapoo and Wea numbered 1,000 warriors. After this estimate their name disappears from Indian Reports and the Mascouten vanish from history. According to J. Mooney, 1928, 11, the Mascouten numbered 1,500 souls in 1650. Dr. T. Michelson identifies the Mascouten with the Peoria (J. Mooney 1928, 11, J. R. Swanton's footnote). As regards this statement it should be pointed out that both are simultaneously mentioned by some trustworthy sources. For instance, J. Marquette, in B. F. French, II. 282, reported a village of the Mascoutens, and *ib.*, 288, the Illinois who called themselves Peouarea (the same in B. F. French, IV. 13 and *ib.* 28, 29). Likewise Chauvignerie, 1055, referred to the Mascouten, and, *ib.* 1057, to the Peoria; de Bougainville, 47, wrote of the Mascouten, and, *ib.* 48, of the Peoria. A Spanish Report, quoted by L. Houck, I. 146, enumerates the Mascouten and *ib.*, I. 148, the Peoria. The Mascouten are usually mentioned jointly with the Kickapoo and Miami (or Miami sub-tribes), the Peoria with the Kaskaskia. There probably were important reasons for making such a difference. (Unfortunately, we do not know Dr. Michelson's argumentation, as we have not been able to find his original paper in Europe.)

53. **Massapequa**, one of the Algonquian tribes on Long Island, N. Y. About 1648 there were four "kings" (and probably four tribes) and 800 bowmen on Long Island, *A Descr. of the Province of New Albion* in P. Force, II. 25. The Massapequa were one of these tribes. They built a place of refuge capable of holding 500 men which was destroyed in 1653, M. B. Flint, 48.

54. **Mdewakanton**, one of seven Dakota fires. In 1657—'58, G. Dreuillette (in *Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 249) mentioned the Mantouek (Mdewakanton) and the Nadouechiouek (Sioux). From this reference of Dreuillette to the Mantouek it is evident that he considered them as having the same importance as all the other Dakota. All the eastern Sioux were probably identified by him with the Mdewakanton. In 1695 (?) there is a reference to the arrival of 100 Mdewakanton (Mantanton) warriors, Le Sueur, 95. Le Sueur, 86, in 1700 amongst seven villages ("nations")

of the eastern Sioux, reported the Mendeouacanton and the Mantanton. The first of these names is that of the Mdewakanton, the second was at Sueur's time the designation of a village and to-day is only the name of one of the divisions of the Mdewakanton fire. Both "villages" in the act of taking these regions into French possession in 1689 by N. Perrot, 304, are given as two independant entities. Probably it was only after some time that they formed one and the same fire (it is, however, possible that they even then were only parts of the same fire). Taking the more moderate estimates of Sioux of those times, viz. about 4,000—6,000 warriors, for both these villages (or "nations") we receive on an average approximately 400—600 warriors, i. e., both villages undoubtedly together exceeded 1,000 souls. Estimates of the Mdewakanton population are of a late date. The Mdewakanton, Sisseton and Nehogatawonah consisted of about 400 warriors in one village in 1766—'68, J. Carver, 60. There were 120 tipis, 300 fighting men and 1,200 souls in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 94 (and in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 712); 305 warriors (2,105 souls) in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134; 160 lodges, 305 warriors (1,500 souls) in about 1823, Wm. H. Keating, I. 380; at the same time, J. C. Beltrami, II. 207, estimated them at 2,550 souls; 1,658 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1839, 494, and 2,200 souls, *ib.* 1849, 1015 (A. Ramsay); S. R. Riggs, XV, gave them as 2,000 souls about 1851; G. K. Warren, 15, in about 1855 placed the collective population of the Mdewakanton, Sisseton, Wahpekute and Wahpeton at 6,200 souls (this aggregate approximately covers the extension of the former Santee who consisted of the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute, and perhaps also of the Sisseton and Wahpeton and are said to have numbered 4,000 men in 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 160, — an exaggerated estimate; H. Bouquet, 145, estimated the Sioux of the Woods — another designation of the Santee — at 1,800 warriors in 1764). Subsequent issues of *Ind. Aff.* reported the Mdewakanton population jointly with some other Dakota bands.

55. *Mississauga*, a division of the Chippewa, usually treated as a distinct tribe. In 1653, *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVIII. 180, related that in an assemblage of men of various Algonquian tribes, there were 100 Mississauga and Archiligouan. *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 132, in 1669—'71 referred to the Mississauga and two other Algonquian bands and estimated them at more than 400 souls. *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 888, reported that the Mississauga numbered 60—80 men in 1718. All the above figures seem to refer to one or other of the scattered bands of the Mississauga. In 1736, their three scattered villages contained 150, 50 and 60 men, *Chauvignerie*, 1054, 1056, 1058. A. Dobbs, 27, about 1744 reported them under the name of the Ishisageek Roanu: they were said to have three large towns east of Lake Huron inhabited by 600, 800 and 1,000 able-bodied men. Wm. Johnson, 583, in 1763, identified them with the Chippewa: the Chippewa or Mississauga were estimated at 720 men; 250 warriors in 1778, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 560. Th. Hutchins (H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556) in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144, in 1764 (also J. Buchanan, 139, and

S. G. Drake: *Ind. Biogr.*, 13), have probably comprised under this name various Indian bands between Lake Huron and Lake Superior and estimated them at 2,000 warriors; G. Imlay, 292, reduced that figure to 1,500 warriors. *Can. I. Aff.* reported: 715 (1873), 729 (1880), 752 (1885), 783 (1890), 749 (1895) and 762 (1900) souls. There is much confusion in relation to the Missisauga and their numbers. According to J. Mooney 1928, 24, they numbered about 1,300 souls in 1600.

56. *Missouri*, a tribe of Siouan linguistic stock. There were 200 families in 1702, Iberville, 599, 601; a more numerous tribe than the Iowa, Oto or Osage in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II, 251; they were living in a single village in 1723, Bourgmont in P. Margry, VI, 393; 150 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 67; 400 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148; 3,000 (?) warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145 (and J. Buchanan, 139); 200 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, L. Houck, I, 142. G. Imlay, 294, at the end of the XVIII century, placed their number at 1,500. *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 100, foot-note) estimated them at 25—30 warriors living among the Oto; 80 warriors and 300 souls in one village jointly with the Oto (after an epidemic of smallpox in 1804), Lewis and Clark, VI, 85—86; 80 warriors and 450 souls jointly with the Oto in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85; about 150 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, XII (1821), 109; the Missouri and Oto jointly probably numbered 1,400 souls in a hundred lodges in 1819—'20, S. H. Long in E. James, II, 363; the Missouri, Oto and part of the Iowa were estimated jointly at 1,800 souls, J. Morse, 366; the Missouri and Oto in 1824 were small tribes, J. Pilcher, 453; 80 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 100. G. Catlin 1841, II, 24, placed the number of the Missouri at 400 souls in 1832. For subsequent estimates — see *Oto*, a tribe with which the Missouri were consolidated in the XIX century. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 101) returned 13 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 11, places their number in 1780 at 1,000 souls.

57. *Mohawk*, a tribe of the Iroquois confederacy. It had 700—800 warriors in 1642, B. Vimont, in *Jes. Rel.*, XXIV, 270 (apparently an over-estimate); in 1644, guns were sold to 400 Mohawk warriors, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, I, 150; 500 warriors in 1660 in three or four villages, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV, 206, and in 1663, J. Josselyn, 294; 300—400 warriors in 1665, *Jes. Rel.*, XLIX, 256; four towns besides one small village, ninety-six houses and 300 warriors in 1677, W. Greenhalph, 250 (and Col. Coursey in de Witt Clinton, 80); 200 warriors in 1685, de Denonville, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX, 282, and P. Margry, V, 9; 270 warriors in 1689, an official figure in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV, 337, 420, and 110 warriors in 1697, *ib.*, IV, 337, 420; 400 warriors at the most in three villages at the end(?) of the XVII century, L. Hennepin 1720, 320; not over 160 warriors in 1721, P. Dudley, 244; 80 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1056 (a part only); 74 warriors settled on the waters of the Ohio in 1748,



C. Weiser, 31. There were 160 warriors in two villages, Wm. Douglas, I. 185—186, about 1760, Wm. Johnson, 582, in 1763, G. Croghan, 167, in 1765 and Th. Hutchins 1768, 65. At the Treaty near German Flatts in 1770 there were 209 men from three villages, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 229; over 200 warriors in 1772, St. John de Crève-Coeur, in *Am. Hist. Mag.*, II (1878). 362; 406 fighting men in 1774, Wm. Tryon, 452; 100 warriors, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, in 1778 and J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148, in 1779; about 700 warriors in 1768—'82, J. Long, 44; 300 warriors at the time of the Revolutionary War in 1783, E. M. Chadwick, 26, and Dalton, 123; 140 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292. *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned: 889 (1880), 975 (1885), 1,056 (1890), 1,153 (1895), 1,248 (1900) souls separately at the Bay of Quintè, besides there were Mohawks probably at other places. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 83) enumerates 368 Mohawks within the United States. L. H. Morgan 1851, 27, estimated the Mohawk at the period of the greatest development of the Iroquois (1650) at 5,000 souls but this is an over-estimate.

58. **Montauk**, an Algonquian tribe, Long Id. About 1648 there were on Long Id. four kings and 800 bowmen, R. Evelin, 23 (according to de Vries, 118, there were sixteen chiefs about 1632—'48). These tribes seem to have been loosely confederated, the Montauk were the leading tribe in this aggregate. At the first settlement of Long Id. the Montauk were numerous, but their numbers were diminished by their wars against Ninigret (1655) and by the pestilence of 1658—'59, and especially by emigration to the Indian settlements on the mainland shore, the so-called River Indians were there remnants of the Montauk and other tribes from Long Id., the Wappinger, etc., and numbered about 300 fighting men in 1773, Wm. Tryon, 451, Silas Wood, 67. Even after the pestilence they were estimated at about 500, J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, I. 935. In 1761 the Montauk amounted in their ancient abodes to 38 families and to 192 souls (Rev. Devotion gives only 162 souls, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X. (1809). 111), and in 1828 to 12 families, Silas Wood 67. The name of the Montauk did not die out: the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) enumerates 29 Montauks, chiefly in Wisconsin.

59. **Mooachaht**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. About 500 warriors in 1803—'05; in an expedition against the Hachaath there were forty canoes with from 10 to 20 men each, J. R. Jewitt, 96, 170. Their principal settlement, Yuquot (Nootka in 1778), at the time of Cook was said to contain about 2,000 souls, Cook 1784, II. 323. The same population was also given about ten years later by J. Meares, 229. If the Nootka of W. C. Grant, 293, are the same as the Mooachaht, they numbered 2,000 souls about 1857. About 300 men in about 1860, R. Mayne, 251. In the expedition against the Clayoquot in 1868, they mustered fourteen war canoes, with 10—15 warriors in each, G. M. Sproat, 192. *Can. I. Aff.* estimated them at: 279 (1885), 273 (1890), 216 (1895) and 190 (1900) souls.

60. **Nauset**, an Algonquian tribe, Mass. They escaped the pestilence which raged along the New England coast in 1617, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1802), 106, and were thought to number 500 souls in 1621, but F.W. Hodge, II, 40, assumes that this is probably below their real strength at that time as they seem to have been as many in numbers eighty years later. Their village of Potanumaquut numbered about 140 souls towards 1720 and only 64 souls remained in 1762, E. Stiles, 112, 113. Manamoyik (Monymoyk) and Mashpee seem to have once been their villages: the Monymoyk Indians were in 1762 less than 30 souls, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809), 114, and the Mashpee Indians numbered 57 families (263 persons over ten years of age), Grafon, *ib.*, 133, and 75 families in 1762, Hawley, *ib.*, 113, probably jointly with other tribes. According to J. Mooney 1928, 4, the Nauset numbered about 1,200 souls in 1600.

61. **Nimkish**, a Kwakiutl tribe, Vancouver Id. It had 2,030 souls (including 40 slaves) in 1838, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XIV, 20 (MSS) (also J. Work quoted by P. Kane, app., and by H. R. Schoolcraft, V, 488). In 1867-'69 they numbered about 200 souls, R. N. Scott 1868, 776; V. Colyer, 976; Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 43. *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned 190 (1883), 162 (1885), 172 (1890), 145 (1895), 147 (1900). If the Nuchimases of D. A. Galiano and C. Valdes, 102, were the same as the Nimkish (cf. F.W. Hodge, II, 65), they were a populous tribe in 1792 but it is possible that they never came to 1,000 souls.

62. **Nitinat**, a Nootka tribe, Vancouver Id. The first estimate (in 1857) is from too late a date. The Nitinat then numbered 1,000 souls, W.C. Grant, 293. R. Mayne, 251, estimated them in the sixties at 400 men. *Can. Sess. Pap. 1872*, No. 22, p. 60, put their number at 1,500 souls — an exaggerated estimate. *Can. Ind. Aff.* have: 269 (1885), 219 (1890), 191 (1895) and 208 (1900) souls.

63. **Nottoway**, an Iroquoian tribe, Va. The Nottoway (Mangoak) jointly with the Chesepeak (numbering then about 100 bowmen) and their friends, mustered 700 bowmen in 1586; they were then "a great people", R. Lane in Hakluyt, VIII, 337; 90 bowmen according to the census of 1669, E. D. Neill, 326; 30 warriors in one town in 1701, J. Lawson 1714, 234; about 100 bowmen in 1707, R. Beverley, 317; the Nottoway and eight other tribes in 1712 jointly numbered 250 warriors (700 souls), Al. Spootswood, I, 167; not over 50 warriors in 1730, Gooch, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886), 89, and in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1057; the number of the Pamunkey and Nottoway together was not above 60 fighting men in 1754, R. Dinwiddie, I, 386. According to Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 137, at the end of the XVIII century, of the Nottoway not a single male was left, a few women constituting the whole tribe. In 1819 there were 30—40 souls, D. B. Warden, III, 530; J. Morse, 31, reported only 27 souls; McKenney, 545, in 1825 found 47 souls. According to J. Mooney, in *Am. A.*, IX (1907), 131, the Nottoway were a strong, influential tribe in 1669; they greatly outnumbered the principal Powhatan tribes and



retained their name and language as late as 1820. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates them at 1,500 in 1600.

64. **Occaneechi**, a tribe of the Siouan family, Va. and N. Car. According to Lederer 1907, 154—155, about 1670 they dwelt on an island of some commercial importance. Th. Batts in 1671 mentioned one village, *Am. A.*, IX (1907). 55. In 1676 the Whites perfidiously murdered 50 persons, probably men, *Aspinwall Papers*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ser. IV, v. IX (1871). 167—168. In 1701, the Occaneechi together with the Tutelo and Saponi, Keyauwee and Shakori numbered 750 souls, J. Lawson, 1714, 234; in 1712, Al. Spootswood, I. 167, estimated nine confederated tribes, including the Occaneechi, at 250 warriors and 700 souls. The Occaneechi were an important tribe, if not a populous one. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, they would have numbered about 1,200 souls in 1600.

65. **Okinagan**, a Salish division. There was much confusion as regards the Okinagan. For instance, Al. Ross 1849, 290, referred to the Okinagan nation: it was said by him to branch out into twelve tribes under different names and to number 600 warriors, amongst these tribes being the Spokane, Pisuow, Methow, Sanpoil, Colville, etc., i. e., the populous divisions of the Salishan stock. Al. Ross evidently identified the Okinagan with the Salish in general. As the Okinagan live in Canada and in the United States, and are further divided into independent bands, the estimates of their population are confused and cover only a part of their numbers. G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, erroneously identified the Okinagan with the Catsahnim whom Lewis and Clark, VI. 119, in 1805 had given as 2,400 souls; 1,050 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304. The Okinagan were supposed to number 200 souls in about 1842, Ch. Wilkes, IV. 462; 750 souls, C. G. Nicolay, 144; 500 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. Warre and Vavasour, 10, reported several "tribes", numbering 300 souls; according to P. J. de Smet: *Oreg. Miss.*, 227, the Okinagan on Thompson River numbered 685 souls in about 1846 (only 500 in Chittenden and Richardson, 483). The estimates dating from the fifties covered the Washington Okinagan: 700 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 159; 870 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 478; 550 souls jointly with the Pisuow in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 460 (there were 274 Okinagan in six bands, *ib.* 445), also G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 418, and Emmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490; 300 souls together with Similkameen in about 1858, Capt. Wilson, 292. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 330 (1875 and 1880), 300 (1885), 374 (1890), 562 (1895), 575 (1900), 692 (1905) souls. *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 92, found 272 souls within the United States (*Ind. Aff.* gave 538 souls). According to *Can. Ind. Aff.* there were in British Columbia in four groups (Nkamip, Nkamaplix, Penticton and Spahamin): 524 (1886), 486 (1890), 474 (1895) and 555 (1900) souls; the Similkameen in three groups (Chuchunayha, Keremeus, Shennosquankin) numbered respectively: 198, 174, 84, 123 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 16, 29, the Okinagan numbered 2,200 souls in 1780. J. Teit 1927—'28, 212,



is more liberal: according to him the Okinagan may have been from 2,500 to 3,000 souls.

66. **O n e i d a**, a tribe of the Iroquois confederacy. It numbered 100 warriors about 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 206; not over 140 warriors about 1665, *ib.*, XLIX. 256; 200 warriors (one town and about 100 houses) in 1677—'78, W. Greenhalph, 250 (and Col. Coursey, 80); 160 warriors in 1669—'70, *Jes. Rel.*, LIII. 246; 250 warriors in 1685, P. Margry, V. 9; 150 warriors in 1685, de Denonville, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 282; 180 warriors in 1689, and 70 in 1697, an official document in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 337, 420; 150 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, L. Hennepin 1720, 320; 200 warriors in 1721, P. Dudley, 244; 100 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1056; about 200 warriors in about 1760, Wm. Douglas, I. 185; 250 warriors in two villages in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 582; 300 warriors in 1765, G. Croghan, 167, and Th. Hutchins 1778, 65. At the Treaty near German Flatts in 1770 there were 232 (men), *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 229; at least 1,500 souls in 1774, Wm. Tryon, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 452; 400 warriors jointly with the Tuskarora in 1778, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, and in 1779, J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148; 150 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123 (Kirkland, *ib.*, estimated them at 410 souls). There were 628 souls in the United States and 460 souls in Canada in 1794, de Witt Clinton, 82. G. Imlay, 292, at the end of the XVIII century, estimated them at 250 warriors; 1,096 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 1,100 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 95. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 249 in the state of New York and 978 in Wisconsin (1855); 1,268 (1862, besides some Oneidas living amongst the Onondaga); 1,583 (1875), 1,762 (1880), 1,838 (1885), 1,960 (1890), 2,107 (1895), 2,304 (1900), 2,348 (1905), 2,577 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 84) reported 2,436 souls. *Can. I. Aff.* gave them as: 641 (1880), 770 (1885), 715 (1890), 783 (1895 and 1900) souls. L. H. Morgan 1851, 27, estimated that at the period of the greatest prosperity of the Iroquois and of their highest numbers (about the year 1650) they were about 3,000 — too liberal an estimate.

67. **O n o n d a g a**, a tribe of the Iroquois confederacy. It numbered 300 warriors in 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 206, and in 1665, *ib.* XLIX. 256; 350 warriors (one town and one small village, 164 houses) in 1677—'78, W. Greenhalph, 251 (and Col. Coursey, 80); 300 warriors in 1685, P. Margry, V. 9, and de Denonville in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 282; 500 warriors in 1689, and 250 warriors in 1697, an official document in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV (1854). 337, 420; 300 warriors at the end of the XVII century, L. Hennepin 1720, 320; 250 warriors in 1721, P. Dudley, 244; 200 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1056; a body of 35 Onondagas was settled on the Ohio River in 1748, C. Weiser, 31; 250 men about 1760, W. Douglas, I. 186; 150 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 582; 260 warriors in 1765, G. Croghan, 167, and in 1768, Th. Hutchins 1778, 65. At the Treaty near German Flatts

in 1770 there were 250 (men), *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 229; 230 warriors in 1778, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, and in 1779, J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148; 300 served in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123; 200 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Im lay, 291; 450 souls in 1794, de Witt Clinton, 82; 446 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 450 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 95. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 453 (1875), 384 (1885), 534 (1895), 556 (1905), 547 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 reported 365 souls (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 84). But the figures for the end of the XVIII century and those for the XIX century do not comprise all Onondaga: they had scattered — a part living in Canada and the rest in the United States, merged with other Iroquois tribes. L. H. Morgan gave the total number of the Onondaga in 1851 as 900 souls. L. H. Morgan 1851, 27, at the period of the highest numbers of the Iroquois, i. e. about 1650, estimated them at 4,000 souls — too liberal an estimate.

68. **Paloos**, a Shahaptian tribe, Idaho and Wash. The Pelloatpallah numbered 1,600 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 114, also J. Morse, 369 (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, gave 3,000 souls as Lewis and Clark's figure). About 300 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 302, and in 1840, P. J. de Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson, 991. Jointly with the Klikitat, Wallawalla and Yakima they were supposed about 1841 to number 2,200 souls, H. Hale, 213 (also A. Gallatin 1848, 14, and 76 *Ho. Doc. 1847—'48*, 7); about 300 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 159; 181 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 478; about 500 souls in a hundred lodges in 1854, I. I Stevens, 430, 460 (G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 418, gave this figure as the number of the Paloos together with the Wallawalla); 400 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1860* (A. J. Cain, 435). Their name exists in subsequent reports, but they are returned collectively for several tribes, i. e., they were not officially recognized. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 95) returned 82 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 16, puts their number in 1780 at 1,800.

69. **Pamunkey**, the leading tribe of the Powhatan confederacy. It numbered 300 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith 1612, 51; J. Smith 1624, 347. W. Strachey, 62, in 1612 reported them under the name of the Pamereke with 400 warriors, and as Chepecko with 300 warriors; 50 warriors in 1669, the census in E. D. Neill, 326; 40 warriors at the beginning of the XVIII century, R. Beverley 1855, 184. Nine tribes, including the Pamunkey, numbered jointly 250 warriors and 700 souls in 1712, Al. Spootswood, I. 167; not above ten families in 1730, Gooch, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 89; the Pamunkey and Notoway in 1754 did not number together above 60 fighting men, R. Dinwiddie, I. 386; at the end of the XVIII century they were reduced to about 10—12 men, racially tolerably pure, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 137; 27 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 364; 30—40 souls about 1819, D. B. Warden, III. 529. They occupied a reservation in Virginia in the XIX century. The Census of 1890, 602, estimated them at 150, of a mixed-blood population; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) at 83 souls.



70. **Pecos** (*Cicuye*), a pueblo of the Tanoan family, the most populous of the pueblos of New Mexico. At the time of Coronado's expedition, in 1540, it numbered fifty houses and 500 warriors, Castañeda, in G. P. Winship 523, 525, and Icazbalceta, *ib.*, 570; A. de Espejo (in *Coll. doc. ined.*, XV (1871). 123 and in H. E. Bolton 1916, 189) in 1583 reported the province of Tamos (Tanos), with three large pueblos, amongst them Pecos and placed the population of the province at 40,000 souls! J. de Oñate, in *Coll. doc. ined.*, XVI (1871). 309, referred to the nation of Cocoyes (Pecos) as to an innumerable people. A. Benevides, 103, in 1626 found more than 2,000 souls (in the supplement the population was given as 6,000, *ib.*, 72). The same number of 2,000 souls is reported by A. de Vetancur, 102, in 1680. There were 1,000 souls in 1749, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 252, foot-note; 599 souls (jointly with the pueblo of Galisteo) in 1760, P. Tamaron, MSS in H. H. Bancroft, XII. 279, foot-note; 152 souls jointly with the pueblo of Galisteo in 1793, Revilla Gigedo in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*; 189 Indians and 150 Spaniards in 1798, F. Osio (Hezio) in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, and in J. F. Meline, 208; 104 Indians and 402 Spaniards in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 50—100 souls about 1834, J. Gregg, I. 272. About 1838 the pueblo was abandoned. At the time of Coronado the pueblo consisted of two great houses containing 585 and 517 rooms, E. L. Hewett, in *Am. A.*, VI (1904). 428. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 105) returned 10 souls located mainly at Jemez. E. A. Houton, 336—337, on the basis of his studies in excavated burial grounds determined the population of the Pecos as 2,600 souls in 1500, at 2,440 in 1533, at 2,120 in 1700, at 1,140 in 1766, at 1,200 in 1800. Moreover, his studies on the sequence of colours and glazes of ancient pottery, found in burial grounds, permitted to reach still farther into the past. He had found that the population of the Pecos was only 1,189 souls in the years 800—950; it was the highest in the years 1100—1200, namely 4,006 on the average; it fell to 3,484 in the years 1200—1350, to 2,950 in the years 1350—1500, and to 2,149 in the years 1500—1650.

71. **Penobscot**, a tribe of the Abnaki confederacy. The tribe numbered 350 men in 1690, Wendell, 9. Previous to 1702 there were said to be 450 fighting men from Penobscot westwards; they were by 1810 reduced to about 300, S. Penhallow, in *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, I (1824). 71; 130 men over sixteen years in 1726, J. Gyles, 359; 90 men in 1726, Wendell, 9; 200 men in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1052; 700 souls in 1753 and 400 in 1759, J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, II. 227; 150 warriors about 1760, Wm. Douglas, I. 184; 700 souls in 1760 and 350 in 1786, J. Mooney, *l. c.* In 1792 there were 60 families, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I (1792). 216; 347 souls in 1803, J. Sullivan, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IX (1804). 210; 57 families and 241 souls in 1811 and 277 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 65, 361; nearly 100(!) families in 1819, D. B. Warren, III. 529; 277 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; about 300 souls, A. Galatin 1836, 32. It is somewhat strange to find an Indian tribe numbering



about 500 souls still remaining in its ancient abode and retaining its language and religion, F. Kidler, 233. The Census of 1890, 329, found 387 Indians in Penobscot county. In 1910 the Penobscot language was still spoken by some 350 persons, J. D. Prince, in *Am. A.*, XII (1910). 182. In 1616 the Penobscot numbered 1,300 souls according to Wm. D. Williamson (in J. Morse, 67).

72. **Peoria**, one of the leading tribes of the Illinois confederacy. The early estimates go back to the period when the Illinois confederacy was already broken up and in consequence of this dissolution the confederated tribes were partly scattered, and partly intermingled in the same villages so that the name of the Peoria was sometimes extended to cover other tribes. Marquette and Joliet in *Jes. Rel.*, LIX. 123, and in B. F. French II. 287, 288, IV. 28—29, 244 (and L. Hennepin 1903, 650) in 1673 related that the Peoria village consisted of fully 300 cabins, and that they were escorted to their canoe by the chief with nearly 600 persons. A little later, in 1680, the Peoria were said to be living jointly with several other tribes in the village of the Illinois, which numbered four hundred cabins and 1,600 fighting men, La Salle in P. Margry, II. 96; they were then the most numerous tribe amongst the Illinois, *ib.*, II. 134. Bergier (in A. Gosselin, 34) reported that a few Peoria were living in the village of the Tamaroa — there were in that village in all about 100 cabins. But the above estimates shed no light on the real population of the Peoria and later estimates refer to a broken-up and scattered tribe. Chauvignerie, 1057, in 1736 estimated the Peoria at 50 men; de Bougainville, 48, described the Peoria in 1757 as a collective aggregate of tribes and placed their number at 700 men. One village and 250 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 65, foot-note; 800 warriors in 1764—'65, H. Bouquet, 146, and Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft III. 555). According to the Spanish Report of 1777, L. Houck, I. 148, the Peoria and the Kaskaskia numbered together 100 warriors. These two tribes jointly with the Michigamea are said to have mustered 300 warriors about 1778, Th. Hutchins 1778, 66; 400 warriors, G. Imlay, 299. *Acc. of La 1803*, 350, reported the Peoria together with other Illinois tribes to the number of 30 souls on the Arkansas River; in addition, there were the Peoria vagabonds. J. F. Schermerhorn, 8, 13, and D. B. Warden, III. 587, estimated the total body of four Illinois tribes (including the Peoria) at 150 warriors (500 souls). Wm. Clark, 76, in 1815 reported 10 warriors and 40 souls; J. Morse, 362, 367, put their number at 97 souls, besides 36 intermingled with other tribes; 120 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 99; 200 souls in about 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 101. Later the Peoria were returned jointly with other Illinois tribes; these tribes were in 1854 consolidated under the name of Peoria; in 1834 when the Peoria removed to the reservation, they are said to have numbered 600 souls; in 1868 there remained 50 souls, *I. Aff. 1868*, 727—728. The Census of 1890, 245, found 160 souls, that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) 128 souls, mixed with the Wea, Piankashaw, etc. About 1680 the Peoria were

said to be the most numerous tribe in the Illinois confederacy, P. Margry, II. 134. But all estimates of their numbers at any time are unreliable. Dr. Michelson considers that the Peoria were identical with the Mascouten.

73. **Piankashaw**, formerly a sub-tribe of the Miami (cf., St. Cosme, 24), but later a separate tribe. About 1680 the Piankashaw and four other tribes gathered near Ft. Illinois in a village of 200—300 fires (about 400—600 families), La Salle (P. Margry, II. 201). The Piankashaw, Pepikokia, Wea and two other tribes were living in five villages which were continuous the one to the other in 1718 and jointly numbered 1,000—1,200 men, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 891. The Piankashaw, Wea and Pepikokia were "the same nation, though in different villages" and in 1736 could place 350 men under arms, *Chauvignerie*, 1057; jointly with the Wea, Kickapoo and Mascouten they could furnish 350 warriors, *de Bougainville*, 47; 80 warriors in 1758, *de Kerlerac*, 69; 100 men in 1763, *Wm. Johnson*, 583; 300 warriors in 1765, *G. Croghan*, 168; 250 warriors in 1764, *Th. Hutchins* in *H. R. Schoolcraft*, III. 555, and *H. Bouquet*, 146 (also *J. Buchanan*, 138); 300 warriors in 1768, *Th. Hutchins* in *Th. Jefferson: Notes*, 149; jointly with the Mascouten and Kickapoo they mustered 800 warriors in 1778, a trader quoted by *H. R. Schoolcraft*, III. 900; 400 warriors in 1779, *Th. Jefferson: Notes*, 149; 950 souls in 1780 but once 3,000 (!), *S. G. Drake* 1844, X; 400 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War, *Dalton*, 123. The Piankashaw, Mascouten and Kickapoo (Vermillon) mustered 600 warriors and the Upper Piankashaw 300 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, *G. Imlay*, 290, 291; 250 warriors (800 souls) in 1795, *J. F. Schermerhorn*, 8 (this figure was in 1819 repeated by *D. B. Warden*, III. 536). The Piankashaw, Wea, Mascouten and Kickapoo numbered 1,000 warriors in 1812, *H. R. Schoolcraft*, III. 554; 200 souls (40 warriors) in 1815, *Wm. Clark*, 76; 207 souls about 1817, *J. Morse*, 366; 207 and 27 souls in 1825 in Louisiana, *McKenney*, 545; 350 souls in 1829, *P. B. Porter*, 99; 170 about 1832, *G. Catlin* 1841, II. 101. *Ind. Aff.* returned 162 (1836, 1837 and 1841), and 220 (1854, jointly with the Wea, Peoria and Kaskaskia) souls. The consolidated Piankashaw, Wea, Miami, Peoria and Kaskaskia numbered 200 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1875. The Piankashaw moved in 1834 to the reservation (there were then 300 Piankashaw); in 1854 they confederated with the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea and by 1868 were reduced to 15 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1868, 727—728. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75) returned 2 souls. The Piankashaw seem to have originally numbered about 1,000 souls or somewhat less.

74. **Picuris**, a Tigua pueblo, New Mexico. In 1626 more than 2,000 souls, *A. Benevides*, 30, 108; 3,000 souls in 1680, *A. de Vétancur*, 101. (In 1704 the pueblo was abandoned for a time). There were 322 Indians and 64 Spaniards in 1749, *A. Bonilla* in *H. H. Bancroft*, XII (1888). 252, foot-note; 328 Indians and 208 Spaniards in 1760, *P. Tamaron*, MSS in *H. H. Bancroft*, *ib.*, 279, foot-note; 212 souls in 1788, *I. Ilzarbe*,



MSS in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 254 Indians and 1,310 Spaniards in 1793, Revilla Gigedo in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 251 Indians and 566 Spaniards in 1798, F. Osio (Hezio) in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279, and in J. F. Meline, 208; 250 Indians and 17 Spaniards in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 309 souls in 1808, J. Ward 1867, 213; 313 in 1809, A. W. Bell, I. 160; 222 souls in 1851, S. Calhoun in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633; 800 souls in 1854, A. W. Whipple, 12; 143 souls in 1860, J. Ward 1867, 213; 122 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1864, 343, and J. F. Meline, 222. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 127 (1871), 115 (1881), 91 (1890), 96 (1900, N. S. Walpole) souls. The Census of 1890, 420, returned 108 souls; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 104) 104 souls.

75. **Pisquow**, a Salish tribe, Wash. They seem to have been in 1805 an aggregate of loose bands. Lewis and Clark, VI. 119, 263, wrote of the numbers of four such bands: 100 souls in the Shallattoo, 400 souls in the Shanwappom, 200 souls in the Skaddal, 120 souls in the Squannaroo (A. Gibbs: *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, doubled the figures of Lewis and Clark, exclusive of the Shanwappom). J. Morse, 372, repeated Lewis and Clark's figures. M. Duflot de Mofras, II. 335, about 1844 estimated the Pisquow at 800 souls; J. Lane, 163, in 1850 reported 350 souls. About 1853 they were so largely intermarried with the Yakima as to have almost lost their identity: at that time jointly with the Okinagan, they numbered 550 souls, I. I. Stevens, 460 (and G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, I. 418). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93) returned 52 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 16, estimates the entire Pisquow aggregate at 1,400 souls in 1780.

76. **Ponca**, a tribe of Siouan stock (of the Dhegiha group). In 1803 there were 250 warriors, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (this figure is repeated by J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 100, foot-note). Lewis and Clark, IV. 88 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 709) in 1804 reported 80 warriors and 200 souls in twenty tents (this number apparently did not include the Ponca who were living with the Omaha) as the remnant of a once considerable nation but reduced by the smallpox (the Ponca are said to have once numbered 400 men, N. Biddle, I. 66). H. M. Brackenridge, 85, in 1811 put their number at 80 warriors and 450 souls (D. B. Warden, III. 559, repeated this estimate) and stated, *ib.*, 76, that they were almost destroyed by the Sioux, their village broken up, they were compelled to lead an altogether wandering life, but within a few years they had re-established their village. J. F. Schermerhorn, 35, estimated them at 50 warriors and 300 souls; 100 warriors (400 souls) in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 200 souls in about 1819, E. James (S. H. Long), II. 364; 1,250 souls at about the same time, J. Morse, 366; a small tribe in 1824, J. Pilcher, 453; 180 warriors (900—1,000 souls) in 1825, H. Atkinson and O'Fallon, 606; 600 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 102; 75—80 lodges, not more than 400—500 souls in about 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 212 (reduced one-half by the smallpox in 1824—'25). There were 800 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403; 900 souls, *ib. 1837*, 612. At the same time, M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, I. 314, estimated



them at 300 warriors; *Ind. Aff.* reported 900 (1841), 800 (1842; D. D. Mitchell, 425), 777 (1844; D. Miller, 437), 1,600 (1847; G. C. Matlock), 700 (1855) souls; 800 souls according to H. Howe, 356. There were 300 warriors in about 1855, G. K. Warren, 19. According to *Ind. Aff.* there were: 973 (1861), 1,054 (1862), 980 (1866 and 1867), 973 (1870), 734 (1875), 633 (1880), 752 (1885), 822 (1890) souls. The Census of 1890, 528, found 605 Ponca in Oklahoma, 869 in Nebraska. *Ind. Aff.* reported 797 (1895 and 1900), 813 (1905), 873 (1910). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 101) returned 875 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 13, assumes that the Ponca numbered only 800 souls in 1780.

77. **Quigyuma**, a Yuman tribe on the Rio Colorado. There were 5,000—6,000 souls in 1540 — an exaggerated estimate, F. Alarçon (in Ternaux-Compans, IX. 342). The Tlalliquamala, according to J. Oñate (in H. E. Bolton 1916, 276), in 1604 contained six pueblos, more than 2,000 persons were gathered to offer maize to the Spaniards. They were the most populous tribe on the Rio Colorado in 1762, Rudo Ensayo in F. W. Hodge, II. 340; 2,000 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, I. 176, II. 443; 2,000—3,000 in 1799. J. Cortez, 123, 18; 2,000 in 1834, J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228. They were probably absorbed by some other Yuman tribe. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 796, Garcès' estimates for this region are high, especially for the smaller groups (as the Quigyuma): it seems impossible that three or four separate tribes should each have shrunk from 2,000—3,000 to a mere handful in less than a century, during which they lived free and without close contact with the Whites. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the Quigyuma at 2,000 in 1680.

78. **Quinaielt**, a Salish tribe, Oreg. J. Meares, 231, in 1788 reported a large village of Queenitett near Queenhithe and also several other smaller ones — apparently this statement refers to the Quinaielt. Lewis and Clark, VI. 118, in 1805 estimated the Calasthocle at 200 souls in ten houses, the Quiniilt at 1,000 souls in sixty houses, the Calasthocle and Quiniilt being two divisions of the Quinaielt (J. Morse, 371, repeated both the above figures; Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830, reported the Quiniilt alone with 1,000 souls); 700 souls jointly with the Chekalis in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 300 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 162; 500 souls in 1854, I. I. Stevens, 457 (also G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 435, and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490); 158 souls in 1855, J. G. Swan 1857, 346; 493 souls in 1855 jointly with the Quileute, 37 *Ho. Doc.* 1856—'57, 49. *Ind. Aff.* give 200 (1860), 130 (1870), 111 (1875), 133 (1880), 102 (1885), 98 (1890) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93) returned 288 Quinaielts jointly with the Quaitso. J. Mooney 1928, 15, places the population of both these tribes together at 1,500 in 1780.

79. **Salish**, a Salish division. Lewis and Clark, VI. 120, referred to the Hohilpo, 300 souls in twenty-five houses. The Map of 1814, Lewis and Clark (ed. Coues), 1256, shows 600 souls, and this figure was repeated by I. I. Stevens, 460 (J. Morse, 372, reported 300 souls). These Hohilpo

are supposed to be the Salish proper. The name of Flatheads is often applied to the Salish, but this name, applied also to many other tribes of this region, is also used as a collective term: it is often difficult to say whether the Salish alone are covered by it or jointly with other tribes. Agents of the Hudson Bay Co. quoted by Sam. Parker, 302, in 1835—'37 estimated the Flatheads at 800 souls, but probably not only the Salish were included in that figure. H. Hale, 207, seems to have used the term in the wider sense stating the Salish live in bands of 200—300 souls. (According to A. Gallatin 1848, 10, the name of Salish included some independent tribes, and their total number is estimated at about 300 souls; a small tribe of 200 warriors, A. Gallatin 1836, 134.) The number of 800 souls appears for the Flatheads in P. J. de Smet (H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 992) in 1840 (and only 550 in 1845, *ib.* 993), in W. Robertson, 129 (Crawford), and in D. D. Mitchell, in *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425 (eighty lodges, 250 warriors, 800 souls); 200 souls about 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 100 warriors and 320 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 158; 70 warriors in 1853, B. Alvord, 12; 350 souls in sixty lodges in the same year, I. I. Stevens, 460 (and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490); 325 souls in 1854, G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418; 400 souls, Joel Palmer, 493, in 1854. They were somewhat less than 1,000 souls in 1860, Revais quoted by J. Teit 1927—'28, 314, foot-note. *Ind. Aff.* returned 400 (1857; R. H. Lansdale, 667), 551 (1865, Ch. Hutchins), 558 (1866), 500 (1868). Owing to the irregularities of the returns of the Flathead reservation as given in *Ind. Aff.*, the only comparable figures for this tribe in Montana since 1875 are: 681 (? 1875), 450 (1885), 557 (1905). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 91) gives 486 souls (401 in Montana), but there were only 42.4% full-bloods. Of course, we have taken into account the Flathead as being identical with the Salish only where there is certitude or at least a great probability that such Flatheads were the Salish proper. We have therefore omitted all such references, as that of M. R. Stuart, XII (1821), 43 (the Flatheads number 1,800 warriors) or of A. N. Armstrong, 132 (the "Salish or Flatheads" have 5,000 souls.) The Salish suffered from smallpox about 1800 and were much reduced by wars, especially owing to the constant hostilities between them and the Blackfeet, J. Teit 1927—'28, 114—115, Ross Cox, I. 236—237. It is possible that they did not reach 1,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 16, gives them as 600 souls in 1780.

80. **Sanetch**, a Salish tribe, Vancouver Id. The Eusanich (Sanetch) in 1838 numbered 183 souls (including 107 followers), *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 5 (MSS). These Eusanich were undoubtedly included in Warre and Vavasour's, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 81), list among the twenty-four tribes speaking the Clallam and Cowichan languages. Besides, there were also in this list three other Sanetch "tribes" totalling 445 souls. But apparently these figures did not embrace the entire population of the Sanetch, as later estimates are much larger. There were 800 souls in 1857, W. C. Grant, 293;



600 souls in about 1858, Capt. Wilson, 278. *Can. Ind. Aff.*, under five designations (settlements or divisions) estimated the Sanetch at: 240 (1885), 232 (1890), 250 (1895), 274 (1900) souls.

81. **Sanpoil**, a Salish division, Wash. Lewis and Clark, VI. 119, estimated the Sanpoil (Hihighenimmo) in 1805 at 1,300 souls in forty-five houses (only 800 souls in the original draft). J. Morse, 372, repeated this figure (G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, gave it as 1,500 souls, J. Hall Kelley, 60, reduced it to 1,000); 1,000 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304 (according to the estimates of agents of the Hudson Bay Co.); 400 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 351; 1,000 souls in about 1840, P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 1005); in about 1844—'49, Smet, *ib.*, 483, estimated five tribes, among them the Sanpoil, to average 500 souls each; about 500 in 1850, J. Lane, 159; 58 warriors in about 1858, Capt. Wilson, 292. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 532 (jointly with the Nespelim in 1860), 500 (1875), 400 (1880), 350 (1885), 239 (1897), 354 (1905). *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93, found 240 souls. They were sometimes returned jointly with the Nespelim who numbered: 67 (1890), 59 (1891), 41 (1905), and 46 (1910) souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 92. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, the Sanpoil and Nespelim together numbered 800 souls in 1780, but J. Teit 1927—'28, 212, on the basis of his studies amongst the Salish, estimates the Sanpoil in the past at 1,500 souls (jointly with the Nespelim).

82. **Santee**, a tribe in S. Ca., probably Siouan. J. Lawson 1714, 18, in 1701 related that their settlement had plantations scattered here and there for a great many miles; 43 men in two villages in 1715, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. After, in about 1715, they disappear, probably incorporated with the Catawba. According to J. Mooney 1928, 6, they numbered 1,000 souls in 1600.

83. **Seechelt**, a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. The Seechelt seem to be the Tseashalls of the *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 11 (MSS) with 131 souls (including 35 followers). If so, the Census would seem to have returned only a part of this tribe. *Can. Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 167 (1879—'82), 261 (1885), 240 (1890), 228 (1895), 226 (1900) souls. Hill-Tout estimates the Seechelt at 325 souls in 1902. Probably the population of the Seechelt formerly even somewhat exceeded 1,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 29, supposes that this tribe numbered 1,000 souls in 1780.

84. **Seminole**, a Muskogean tribe of recent origin, Florida, composed about 1750 of runaways and emigrants from the Creek nation. The Oconee tribe was the nucleus about which the Seminole tribe grew up. The Oconee emigrated to Florida at various times since the Yamasee War of 1715, J. R. Swanton 1922, 398—400. The Oconee were not a large tribe, its population when in Florida is given by J. R. Swanton, *ib.*, 435, namely: 50 men in 1738 (Spanish census), 30 men in 1750 (French census), 50 men in 1760, 50 hunters in 1761 (*Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII (1907). 522). The first estimate of the Seminole population was that of W. Bartram, 209,



in 1778, who stated that it would have been insufficient to people one of the Creek towns, for instance Uches (Yuchi) which contained nearly 2,000 inhabitants (an exaggerated estimate of the Yuchi according to J. R. Swanton, *ib.*, 440). There were 1,500 souls or a little more before the Creek American War (1813—'14), *ib.*, 440. In 1822 J. M. White in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, II (1834), 411, assumes that the numbers of the Indians within the limits of Florida probably came to 3,000; a return of the Indian population of Florida, by the Indians themselves, yielded 4,883 persons (exclusive of Negroes), *ib.* 439. On account of the peculiar origin and composition of the Seminole their population figures at various times are of little value for our purposes: the corresponding figures are given by J. R. Swanton, *ib.*, 442—448. He assumes that the Seminole numbered 1,500 in 1780 and 2,500 in 1906 (including freedmen).

85. *Senijextee*, a Salish tribe, Wash. and Brit. Col. The Lake Indians numbered 500 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304, and in 1840, J. P. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 1005); perhaps about 1,000 souls in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10 (if his Lakes are the same as the Senijextee); 150 souls about 1858, Capt. Wilson, 292 (probably in British Columbia). *Ind. Aff.* reported them as Lakes and estimated them at 242 (1875), 253 (1880), 295 (1885) souls in the United States. The Ind. Census of 1890, 603, found 303 souls; about that time J. Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, 732, estimated them at 350 on the Colville reservation with perhaps a few others across the boundary. *Ind. Aff.* have: 550 (1890), 551 (1895), 609 (1900), 635 (1905), 712 (1910) souls among the Lakes and Colville jointly. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 90) returned 785 souls for these tribes. According to J. Mooney 1928, 15, they numbered 500 souls in 1780. But J. Teit 1927—'28, 211, assumes that the Lake tribe must have numbered 2,000 souls or more; a conservative estimate of their twenty village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 souls for each, would give 1,000, but this is probably too low an estimate; the villages in Washington were fewer in number but larger.

86. *Sia*, a Keresan pueblo (and tribe). Castañeda in G. P. Winship, 525, in 1541 wrote of this pueblo as a social unit. A. de Espeio, in *Col. doc. ined.*, XV (1871). 115, 178, reported the "province" of Punames in 1584 with five pueblos of which Sia was the largest estimating the province at apparently 20,000 souls (the numbers are exaggerated, as usual in that source); 606 Indians and 100 Spaniards in 1749, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 279, foot-note; 568 souls in 1760, P. Tamaron, MSS. in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279, foot-note; 275 souls in 1793, Revilla Gigedo in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 262 souls, F. Osio (Hezio) in J. F. Meline, 209, and in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 254 souls in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 278 souls in 1808 and 286 souls in 1809, J. Ward 1867, 213; 124 souls in 1851, S. Calhoun in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633; 450 souls, A. W. Whipple, 12; 117 souls in 1860, A. W. Bell, I. 160; J. Ward 1867, 213; 103 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1864, 343. *Ind. Aff.* esti-

mated them at 110 (1869), 121 (1871), 58 (1881), 110 (1890), 114 (1900, N. S. Walpole); the Census of 1890, 420, found 103 souls; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 86) returned 109 souls.

87. **Sisseton**, one of the seven Dakota fires. The Songeskitoux for the most part used to live in 1689 amongst the Mdewakanton, N. Perrot, 305. They were in 1700 reported as a village (or a "nation") of the Eastern Sioux, le Sueur, 86. At the most they could have then numbered about 300 warriors; it is even possible that their population was below the average for Siouan villages. This population approximately agrees with the estimate given by Lewis and Clark, VI. 95 (also *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 712) in 1804, when they numbered eighty lodges, 200 warriors and 800 souls (after the smallpox); 360 warriors (2,160 souls) in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 136; 750 souls about 1817, J. Morse, 364; 290 lodges, 710 warriors, 2,500 souls in 1823, W. H. Keating, I. 380; 3,000 souls in 1828, J. C. Beltrami, II. 208. *Ind. Aff. 1839*, 495, 497, and *ib.*, 1849, 1021 (A. Ramsay) estimated them at 3,800 souls. St. R. Riggs, XVI, previous to 1851, placed their population at 2,500 souls. Later estimates usually reported them jointly with the Wahpeton: for instance in 1880 the Sisseton numbered 411 souls in an agency, in another, jointly with the Wahpeton, 1,500 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1880*. The Sisseton have since approximately the year 1870 been so closely associated with the Wahpeton that these two fires cannot be separated. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 102) returned 2,514 souls for them jointly.

88. **Sitka**, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. Jointly with the Taku and Sumdum, 493 (119 slaves) souls about 1839, Douglas in I. Petroff (and J. Work in P. Kane, app.); 750 souls in the Sitkhinskoe at the end of the thirties, Veniaminoff, 575; 1,344 souls (including 94 slaves), Wehrman in 1861 in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341. There were in 1868: 1,200 souls, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 39; 1,250 souls, V. Colyer, 982; 1,200 souls in fifty-six houses, F. K. Louthan in V. Colyer, 1014 (1,000 souls, Fr. Mahony, *ib.*, 1017). In the seventies W. H. Dall: *Alaska*, 537, gave them as 1,000 souls, but W. H. Dall 1877, 40 (and in *Ind. Aff. 1876*, 707), put the number of the Sitkans or Sitkakwan, apparently a geographical name, at 2,200. There were 721 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 815 souls; the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115) returned 608 souls. It is possible, that they formerly did not reach 1,000 souls.

89. **Siuslaw**, a Yakonan tribe, Oreg. The "Shiastuckle nation" consisted of a large town of 900 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 117 (and J. Morse, 371). In 1835—'37 jointly with two other tribes at the mouth of the Umpqua River, they numbered 2,050 souls, Sam. Parker, 259. J. Owen-Dorsey, in *J. Am. F.*, III (1890). 230, ascertained thirty-four former villages of the Siuslaw. *Ind. Aff.* (1857; E. P. Drew, 647), returned 240 souls jointly with the Alsea. *Ind. Aff.* have: 104 (1862), 104 (1862), 133 (1867; J. W. P. Huntingdon), 45 (1875) souls. Later they were



not returned separately. Probably, they somewhat exceeded the number of 1,000 souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 108) gave them as 7 souls.

90. **Skagit**, a Salish tribe, Wash. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII, 1 (MSS), estimated the "Skadchads" at 874 souls (including 422 followers of all descriptions). They were undoubtedly included by Warre and Vavasour, 9 (also R. H. Martin, 81), among the twenty-four tribe speaking the Clallam and Cowichan languages; besides, the "Skatcat" were mentioned by Warre and Vavasour with 543 souls, but we do not know if they can be identified with the Skadchads. They were estimated at 650 souls in 1841 by Ch. Wilkes, V. 149 (and in 1843 by Th. J. Farnham, 111). In 1846 the whole camp of the Skagit gathered around P. J. de Smet 1847, 62: he shook hands with a file of 650 persons, 150 others who had passed the night near his tent were not included in his list; he baptised 150 children aged less than seven years; in the camp there were some Clallam, but the Skagit prevailed. J. Lane, 162, put the number of the Skagit at about 500 in 1850, A. E. Starling, 460, at 800 in 1852; I. I. Stevens in 1854, 458, gave them as 300 souls (also G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 436). G. Gibbs 1877, 180, enumerated with the Skagit other related tribes or bands and estimated them jointly at 1,475 souls. 37 *Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 46, estimated them at 1,300 souls in 1854; 600 souls in 1856—'57, L. Floyd Jones, 5. *Ind. Aff. 1858* (R. C. Fay, 590) gave the Skagit jointly with the Kikiallu and other tribes as about 1,350 souls; 700 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1860*, 829. The explanation of these relatively large figures is given by J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 13—14: the Skagit proper, being the most powerful race in the region, subdued all minor tribes in their neighbourhood and about 1857 they were all mixed together under the general denomination of Skagits. The large number of followers of all descriptions in 1839 is perhaps already a symptom of this tendency. It is possible that the Skagit proper never numbered 1,000 souls, but that they greatly increased owing to such an infiltration of neighbouring Indians. *Ind. Aff. 1870* returned these tribes separately and estimated the Skagit proper at only 122 souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 93) gave them as 56 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes, that the Skagit, Swinomish, etc., i. e., the whole aggregate of "Skagits", numbered 1,200 souls in 1780.

91. **Skitswish** (Coeur d'Alene), a Salish tribe, Idaho. It numbered 2,000 souls in 120 houses in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (J. Morse, 372, and Hall J. Kelley, 60, repeated this figure; I. I. Stevens, 460, and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, reported 2,600 souls); a small tribe, Ross Cox, 232; about 700 souls in 1835—'37, agents of the Hudson Bay Co. quoted by Sam. Parker, 302. P. J. de Smet (H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 902, 997) reported 700 souls in 1840 and 500 souls in 1845; 90 men and 450 souls in Oregon in 1841, 76 *Ho. Doc. 1847—'48*, 7; 90 men or 300—400 souls in 1841, H. Hale, 109 (and



A. Gallatin 1848, 13); 400 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 1,800 souls in 1846, Crawford quoted by W. Robertson, 129 (and in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 8); 40 warriors and 500 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 159; 200 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 478; 325 souls in 1853, G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 418. There were seventy lodges and 500 souls in 1854 in Washington, I. I. Stevens, 424, 460; 800 souls at the same time, A. N. Armstrong, 131; 100 souls in 1858, Capt. Wilson, 292. *Ind. Aff.* 1860, 435 (A. J. Cain) returned 600 souls; 200 souls in Washington and 300 souls in Idaho, *ib.* 1870. The Idaho Skitswish were returned jointly with the Kalispel and Kutenai; those in Washington numbered 450 (1880), 442 (1885), 422 (1890), 450 (1900) souls. The Census of 1910 reported them at 293 souls (284 in Idaho). The tribe claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000; J. Teit 1927—'28, 39, assumes that the Skitswish may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. According to J. Mooney, they numbered about 1,000 souls in 1780.

92. **Spokan**, a Salish division. Lewis and Clark VI. 119, in 1805 estimated the Lartieto at 600 souls in thirty houses. This figure is often repeated up to 1859 (J. Morse, 372; Hall J. Kelley, 60; I. I. Stevens, 460; Emmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490; this agreement seems to have been a coincidence in the case of *Ind. Aff.* 1859, 785, A. J. Cain). The Okinagan nation "branched out" into twelve tribes, the Spokan being among them; these tribes taken together could never muster above 600 warriors, A. Ross 1849, 290; 800 souls in 1835—'37, besides some small "tribes" adjoining them who might be counted as a part of the Spokan nation, Sam. Parker, 302; 800 souls in 1840, P. J. de Smet (in Chittenden and Richardson, 991); 500 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. Ch. Wilkes, IV. 487, referred to a camp of Spokan Indians numbering about 300 in 1842; 450 souls in about 1843 "about Colville, Spokan, etc.," Th. Farnham, 111; 500 in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 82). According to P. J. de Smet, *l. c.*, 483, the Spokan, Sanpoil, Okinagan, Kutenai each numbered, on an average, about 500 souls; 3,000 (!) in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10; 1,000 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 159; 450 souls in 1853, G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418; about 350 souls in 1858, Capt. Wilson, 292; about 1,000 souls in 1860, Revais, in J. Teit 1927—'28, 314, foot-note. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 716 souls in Washington and 400 in Idaho (1870); 685 (1875 and 1880), 792 (1885), 587 (the Census of 1890). J. Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, 733, estimated the Spokan in about 1890 at 900—1,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 765 (1895), 680 (1905). *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 94, returned 643 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 15, supposes that they numbered about 1,400 souls in 1780. J. Teit, *l. c.*, 314, considers Lewis and Clark's figures as much too low for the beginning of the XIX century. The Spokan suffered severely from smallpox in about 1800: whole bands were wiped out. They appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present name of Spokein being probably less than a hundred

years old. Before this tribal name came into use it seems that they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some writers, cf. J. Teit, 297, 298.

93. *Squawmish*, a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839* enumerates a tribe of Skohomus (Skokomies). Warre and Vavasour, 9, doubtlessly listed them amongst the twenty-four Cowichan and Clallam tribes. It is difficult to identify this tribe, as its homes are not pointed out in the Census of 1839: this Census had registered them only between the Tseashall and Musqueam, and stated that they were related to these tribes and to the Lillooet. The Skohomus seem to be the same tribe as the Squawmish (Skqomic and Skqoamic, Squouhamish). They are said to have numbered 784 souls in 1839, including 143 followers, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. XII. 13 (MSS). The Squouhamish numbered 200 (souls?) in 1858, Capt. Wilson, 278. *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1880, gave the Skwawmish as 639 souls among the tribes of the Cowichan nation and 267 in five settlements in the Fraser River Superintendency. There were: 679 (1885), 690 (1890), 679 (1895), 363 (1900) souls under six local designations. About 1900, the Skqomic numbered less than 200 souls, formerly they were a strong and populous tribe, numbering, when the Whites first came into contact with them, many thousands; the tribe appears to have been divided into a number of villages communities, each of which was governed by its own local chief, Hill Tout, in *A. A. S.* 1900, 472, 473, 475. According to J. Mooney 1928, 29, the Squawmish tribes numbered about 1,800 souls in 1780.

94. *Stikine*, a Tlingit tribe, Alaska. There were 1,410 souls (including 14 slaves) in 1839, J. Douglas (in I. Petroff, 37); the epidemic of 1839 was very disastrous, P. Tikhmenief, I. 312; 1,500 souls in Stikhinskoe in 1840, Veniaminoff, 575; 1,546 souls (including 144 slaves) about 1836—'41, J. Work in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489, and in P. Kane, app.; 150 warriors about 1859, Dodd, 115; 697 souls (including 81 slaves) in 1861, Wehrman in P. Tikhmenief, II. 341; 1,500 souls in 1858 and 1,000 about 1868, R. N. Scott 1868, 773; about 1,000 souls in 1868, Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 39; 1,200 souls at the same time, Fr. Mahony in V. Colyer, 1017 (W. Well, *ib.* 1010, reported 300 souls divided into nine tribes); 1,500 souls on the Stikine River in 1868—'75, W. H. Dall 1877, 40 (also: *Alaska*, 537; *Ind. Aff.* 1875, 707); 317 souls in 1880, I. Petroff, 32; 255 in 1890, Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158; 189 in 1910, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 115.

95. *Tamaroa*, a tribe of the Illinois confederacy. There were three hundred cabins in about 1680, La Salle (P. Margry, II. 201). About 200 families in 1680, L. Hennepin 1903, 183 (and in B. F. French, IV. 108); about that time the Iroquois attacked them, capturing nearly all the women and children. A hundred cabins in the village of Maroa in 1682 without inhabitants, cited in the account of taking possession of Louisiana by La Salle, in B. F. French, I. 46; 300 cabins in 1699 in the Tamaroa village, there were as many inhabitants as in Quebec (Quebec numbered

1,500 souls in about 1706), La Source in A. Gosselin, 34; the Tamaroa, or a part of them were living jointly with the Cahokia and Peoria, they inhabited there thirty cabins, and the Cahokia about sixty to seventy; a little later (1701) the Tamaroa separated and inhabited a village by themselves, La Source and Bergier, *ib.* 34. The Illinois, including the Tamaroa in a great settlement, numbered 800 families in 1702, Iberville, 601; the Tamaroa were united with the Cahokia and "did not together make a very numerous village" in 1721, Charlevoix 1766, VI. 136; the Tamaroa and Cahokia numbered jointly 200 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1057. But most of the above estimates shed no light on the numbers of this tribe from the fact that the Tamaroa seem to have usually been living jointly with other Illinois tribes. It is possible that they did not number 1,000 souls, at least at the end of the XVII century.

96. **Taos**, a Tigua pueblo. Suceso, a companion of Coronado in 1540, seems to have reported this pueblo under the name of Yuraba as numbering 15,000 souls, G. P. Winship, 575. A. Benevides, 109, in 1626 estimated the Taos at 2,500 souls, A. Vetancur, 101, in 1680 at 2,000 Indians and a few Spaniards; 541 Indians and 125 Spaniards in 1749, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 252, foot-note; 505 Indians and 160 Spaniards in 1760, P. Tamaron, MSS., in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279, foot-note; 578 Indians in 1788, I. Ilzarbe, MSS. in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279; 518 Indians and 403 Spaniards in 1793, Revilla Gigedo, in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279; 531 Indians and 789 Spaniards in 1798, F. Osio (Hezio) in J. F. Meline, 208, and H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279; 508 Indians and 1,337 Spaniards in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 527 souls in 1809, J. Ward 1867, 213, and A. W. Bell, I. 160; 361 souls in 1850, *Ind. Aff.* 1851, 453; 800 souls in 1854, A. W. Whipple, 12; 363 souls in 1860, J. Ward 1867, 213; 361 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1864, 343. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at: 397 (1871), 391 (1881), 382 (1890), 414 (1910, N. S. Walpole). The Census of 1890, 420, returned 401 souls; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 104) 517 souls. According to A. F. Bandelier, III. 122, foot-note, the figure of 2,000 in 1680 as the population of Taos is vastly exaggerated.

97. **Tawakoni**, a tribe of the Wichita confederacy. In 1719 according to La Harpe (in B. F. French, III. 72), the Tancaros (Touacaros) jointly with other roving tribes (the Waco, Nabadache (?), Kichai) numbered 2,000 men dispersed through the country; but this identification of the Tancaros with the Tawakoni is very questionable, as in La Harpe 1831, 199 (and in P. Margry, VI. 277—278), the above tribes are again mentioned with some variations as numbering 2,500 men, but instead of the Toncara the Tancaoye (Tonkawa) are reported. It is probable that in 1719 the Tawakoni were reported in connection with eight other tribes all living along the Arkansas River and together consisting of 6,000 souls (La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 289, but Beaurain, *ib.*, and La Harpe 1831, 208, gave them as only 4,000) — among these tribes there were the Touacaros (Tuacaras), perhaps the same as the Tawakoni. In 1763 the Tawakoni



village was composed of forty-seven houses, with twelve families each, and 250 warriors, Calahorra y Saenz in H. E. Bolton: *Texas*, 92, foot-note; in 1772 they occupied two villages, one composed of 30 families with a great number of children, and the other of thirty-six houses and 120 warriors with women in proportion and an 'infinite' number of children, A. Mezières, II. 292, 289; in 1773 the four confederated villages of Tawehash, Wichita, Yscani (Niscaniche) and Tawakoni numbered in all 1,000 warriors, J. Gaignard in A. Mezières, II. 85; in 1777 they could furnish 60 warriors against the Osage, without leaving their villages vacant and exposed to any insult, A. Mezières, II. 145; in 1777 an epidemic ravaged the Tawakoni, Tawehash and Kadohadacho, A. Mezières, II. 231—232; the Council at San Antonio de Bexar estimated the fighting strength of the Tawakoni in 1778 at 250 warriors, A. Mezières, II. 165; jointly with the Yscanis they could muster 150 warriors in 1778 against the Apache, *ib.*, II. 181; one village contained about 150 warriors, the other exceeded the former in number, *ib.*, II. 195, 197; in 1779, the Tawakoni to whom the last epidemic was very disastrous, had 250 men, *ib.*, II. 274. In the XIX century the Tawakoni were reported together with the Waco, who according to H. E. Bolton (in F. W. Hodge, II. 704) were probably only a part of the Tawakoni. In 1805, J. Sibley, 723, estimated the Tawakoni at 200 men. In 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 88, put their number at 200 warriors and 700 souls, and J. F. Schermerhorn, 25, at 350 warriors and 1,000 souls. D. B. Warden, III. 552, in 1819 gave them at 2,500 (!). J. Morse, 373, estimated the Tawehash and Tawakoni at 1,200 and the Waco at 800 souls; at the same time, J. A. Padilla, 57, estimated the Tawakoni as numbering 800 souls. According to St. F. Austin (MSS) in F. W. Hodge, II. 888, in 1824 the main Waco village consisted of thirty-three grass houses, inhabited by about 100 men, another village was of fifteen houses; in 1828 there were 80—100 families of the Tawakoni and 160 families of the Waco in Texas, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 265, 266. In 1836 the Tawakoni numbered 50 warriors and 200 souls, the Waco 150 warriors and 400 souls, H. M. Morfit, 12; there were 1,000 (200 warriors) associated Tawakoni and Waco (and Wichita), *Ind. Aff.* 1849 (R. S. Neighbors, 963, and H. G. Catlett, 969). *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Waco at 114 (1851), 361 (1857), 135 (1868), 66 (1875), 47 (1880), 39 (1885) souls and the Tawakoni at 141 (1851), 199 (1858), 157 (1868), 102 (1875), 146 (1880), 162 (1885) souls. (A. Domenech, II. 34, about 1860, stated that one of the Waco chiefs gave 3,000 as the number of their warriors!) The Census of 1890, 528, returned 150 Tawakoni and Waco, and 34 Waco and Wichita; that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 80) found 5 Waco and Tawakoni jointly.

98. *Tawehash*, a tribe of the Wichita confederacy. Earlier estimates do not separate the Tawehash from related tribes and refer to their aggregate: see *Tawakoni*. De Ripperda (A. Mezières, I. 270—271) in 1772, referred to the Tawehash nation as one of those whose friendship was most

important (only the Comanche exceeded them), the Tawehash numbering 2,000—3,000 warriors (cf. the relation of Jose Areche, *ib.*, 281). This is a great exaggeration: even the whole Wichita confederacy which was probably thought of in these statements did not muster so many warriors. In 1772, the Tawehash and Wichita proper numbered 600 men and a great multitude of women and children, A. Mezières, I. 294 (and in *Texas Qu.*, VIII. 67); in 1773, four villages of the Wichita, Tawehash, Yscanis (Niscaniche) and Tawakoni contained in all 1,000 warriors, J. Gagnard in A. Mezières, II. 85; against the Osage in 1777 the Tawehash could furnish 300 men without leaving their villages defenceless, A. Mezières, II. 145; in 1778 they could muster 250 warriors against the Apache, A. Mezières, II. 181; a little earlier in the same year the report of the Council at San Antonio de Bexar placed their whole fighting strength at 500 men, A. Mezières, II. 165; the Tawehash consisted then of two villages (probably one village was composed of the Wichita tribe), one containing thirty-seven houses, and the other one a hundred and thirty-three, in each dwelling there were from 10 to 12 beds, and the number of men including youths exceeded 800, A. Mezières, II. 201—202 (de Croix reported only 600 warriors, *ib.*, II. 226); at the end of 1777 a severe epidemic visited the Tawehash, Tawakoni and Kadohadacho and swept off 300 persons, A. Mezières, II. 231—232. In 1801 a great number of them were killed off by the smallpox and in 1805 they and the Wichita were said to have jointly 400 men in two villages, J. Sibley, 723; in 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 26, put their number at 400 warriors and 1,300 souls. A little over 1,000 in 1820, J. A. Padilla, 58; at the same time, J. Morse, 373, estimated the Tawehash and Tawakoni jointly at 1,200 souls, and besides reported separately a group of the Tawehash numbering 400 souls. In 1828, there were in Texas 200 families of the Tahuayaces and 58 of the Tamayacas and Huichites (Wichita), *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 268; in 1845—'46 they did not exceed 150 souls, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7. There is a tendency to identify the Tawehash with the Jumanos of early Spanish writers, A. de Espeio, in *Coll. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 105, described the Jumanos as numbering 10,000 souls in five pueblos but this is an exaggeration, inseparable from this writer; Iberville, 316, related that the Choman were as numerous as the Ceniz, i. e. the Caddo confederacy, which mustered 600—700 men. In 1691 there were five tribes including the Jumanos in a temporary rancheria, Masanet estimated this aggregate at 3,000 and Teran gave it as 2,000 souls, the autos of the Teran expedition placed the fighting strength of the Yumanos met there at 300 warriors and that of the whole rancheria at 900, *Texas Qu.*, XV. 77. The identification of the Jumanos with the Tawehash is perhaps reasonable in some references to them, but for the most part it is very doubtful.

99. **Thlingchadinne** (Dog Ribs), an Athapascan tribe (or even a group of tribes). Franklin in 1819—'22, 82, erroneously considered

the Horn Mountain Indians as the chief tribe of the Dog-ribs and stated that "they" (it is not clear, whom he had in mind: the Dog-ribs or the Horn Mountain Indians alone, or both groups jointly) mustered about 200 men and boys capable of pursuing the chase. In 1858 there were 926 souls, of whom 533 were men, Ross (MSS) quoted by F.W. Hodge, II. 744. In 1859 they were said to number 1,200 souls, but an epidemic ("mal du Fort Rae") reduced them to 788 souls, E. Petitot 1891, 189, 303; the same writer, in *Bull. Geo. Par.*, X (1875). 261, estimated them at 1,200 souls prior to 1891 and even at 1,500 prior to 1875; E. Petitot, in *R. G. S.*, V (1883). 653, reported 835 souls. A. G. Morice, 1888—'89, 113, put their number at 1,000. At the beginning of the XX century there were some 1,150 souls, A. G. Morice in *Anthropos*, I. (1906). 265. E. Petitot in 1865 (in F.W. Hodge, II. 674) referred to the Takfwelottine with 600 souls: the Takfwelottine were apparently a band of the Dog-ribs. J. Mooney 1928, 26, placed their number at 1,250 in 1670.

100. **Tillamook**, a Salish tribe, Oreg. In 1805, the Calamax inhabited ten villages, but they were said to be not very numerous, Lewis and Clark, III. 295; the same explorers, VI. 117, reported the Callamaks as numbering 200 souls in ten houses and the Killamucks as 1,000 souls in fifty houses; 200 warriors in 1812, M. R. Stuart, X. (1821), 90. A. Ross 1849, 87, estimated ten tribes, including the Tillamook (Killimux) jointly at about 2,000 warriors; 1,200 souls as the Callimix and 1,000 as the Killamucks, J. Morse, 368, 371 (Hall J. Kelley, 60, about 1830, repeated this figure of the Killamucks). In 1835—'37, they were numerous, but their numbers then were not known to Sam. Parker, 259; 400 souls about 1840, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 379, V. 149; 700 souls, H. Hale, 212 (also: A. Gallatin 1848, 13, and 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7); 400 souls in 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 111; 2,000 souls jointly with the Calapooya in 1844, Dufлот de Mofras, II. 335; three Tillamook "tribes" numbered 800 souls in 1845, Warre and Vavasour, 10 (and R. M. Martin, 81); 500 souls about 1848, J. L. Meek, 10 (J. Quinn Thornton, 9, reported 370 souls in Oregon); 200 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 161; 150 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 476. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 183 (1857, 642; W. W. Raymond), 300 souls. (1867, 62, jointly with the Salmon River Indians and Nestucca). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 94) returned 25 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 17, the Tillamook, Nestucca, Siletz, Salmon River Indians, etc., jointly numbered 1,500 souls in 1780.

101. **Tlalkluit**, a Chinookan tribe, Wash. The Eskellute nation numbered 1,000 souls in twenty-one houses (600 souls in the original draft) in 1806, Lewis and Clark, VI. 115; 200 men in 1812, R. M. Stuart, X. (1821) 112, and XII. (1821) 26; J. Morse, 370, 369, reported them as the Eskeloot, 1,000 souls, and then as the Hellwits, 1,200 souls; Lewis and Clark's figure is repeated by Hall J. Kelley, 60, W. Robertson, 129 (and 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 8) and G. Wilkes, 44. The village of Wisham (the main settlement of the Tlalkluit) numbered about 400 regular inhabitants



in forty good lodges about 1840, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 414—415; about 200 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 162; 150 souls in 1856, B. Alvord, 12. *Ind. Aff.* 1859, 781 (R. H. Landsdale) and *ib.* 1861, 729, reported 471 souls among the Wisham. At the beginning of the XX century there were 150 souls (F. W. Hodge, II. 762). The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 82) returned 82 Wishrams (or Tumwater). J. Mooney 1928, 15, puts their number at 1,500 in 1780.

102. **Tlatskanai**, an Athapascan tribe, Wash. The Clackstar in twenty-eight houses numbered 1,200 souls in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 116 (and J. Morse, 371). Ten tribes, including the Clatskania, mustered jointly about 2,000 warriors. A. Ross 1849, 87; a small isolated band, comprising not more than 100 individuals, without permanent habitation, H. Hale, 204 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 9). J. Lane estimated them erroneously at about 300 souls in 1850. They were extinct by the late fifties of the XIX century (Lewis and Clark, IV. 218, foot-note of the editor); and W. W. Raymond, in *Ind. Aff.* 1857, 642, found only eight individuals. J. Mooney 1928, 17, places their numbers at 1,600 in 1780.

103. **Tonkawa**, a tribe of the Tonkawan linguistic stock. It is said to have been a conglomerate of the remnants of other tribes. B. La Harpe in P. Margry, VI. 277—278, wrote in 1719 of an aggregate of six tribes with 2,500 men and mentioned the Tancaoye, probably the Tonkawa, among them (but in B. F. French, III. 72, La Harpe referred only to four tribes and named the Tancaros, i. e. the Tawakoni, instead of the Tonkawa). About 1750 they were in touch with missions and suffered from a terrible epidemic of smallpox. In 1772, jointly with the Mayeye and Yojuane they numbered 150 warriors or somewhat more, A. Mezières, I. 290; they could furnish 60 warriors against the Osage without leaving their settlements vacant and exposed to any insult, A. Mezières, II. 145; the Council of San Antonio de Bexar, in 1778, estimated their fighting strength at 300 warriors, A. Mezières, II. 166 (and *ib.*, II. 192, 225); against the Apache they could muster, jointly with the Aranama, 150 warriors in 1778, A. Mezières, II. 181 (since the epidemic of smallpox in 1778 they remained at the number of 150 warriors in 1779, A. Mezières, II. 274). In 1782 a spy reported that at a gathering of Apache and Tonkawa, 600 Tonkawa were present, the rest having remained at home, H. E. Bolton in F. W. Hodge, II. 782. About 200 men in 1805, J. Sibley, 723; 250 families in 1809, Davenport (MSS) quoted by H. E. Bolton (in F. W. Hodge, II. 782); 200 warriors (700 souls) in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 88 (J. F. Schermerhorn, 25, reported 600 warriors and 2,000 souls); 700 souls in about 1817, J. Morse, 374; they did not exceed 500 in number in 1820, J. A. Padilla, 57; 80 families in 1828 in Texas, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 266; 200 warriors and 800 souls in 1836, H. M. Morfit, 12; 700 souls in 1846, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Tonkawa at 130 warriors and 650 souls in 1849 (R. S. Neighbors, 963, and H. G. Catlett, 966) and at 400 souls in

1874 (Howard, 576). In 1862, other tribes attacked the Tonkawa and massacred 137 men, women and children out of a total of about 300 souls, H. E. Bolton, in F. W. Hodge, II. 782. The Census of 1890, 528, returned the Tonkawa jointly with the Lipan at 76 souls in Oklahoma and that of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 106) at 42 souls. *Ind. Aff. 1900* and *ib. 1910* give 59 and 53 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 11, places the numbers of the Tonkawan tribes at 1,600 in 1780.

104. **Trotsikkutchin**, an Athapascan tribe on the Yukon River. The Tathzeykutchi numbered 230 men in 1851, J. Richardson, I. 398 (i. e., 1,100 souls according to A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 261). Other estimates are not reliable, as the Trotsikkutchin are there returned jointly with other Kutchin tribes.

105. **Tsattine** (Beavers), an Athapascan tribe. About 100 warriors in 1789—'93, A. Mackenzie, 145 (and A. Gallatin 1836, 19); 70 hunters in 1819—'22, J. Franklin, II. 87; 1,000 souls jointly with the Sarsi, E. Petitot 1875, 261; 700—800 souls in 1883—1906, A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113 (also in *West. Dene*, 16, and in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 272). *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned 255 (1880) and 326 (1900) souls, but probably not all were included. The epidemic of 1781—'82 ravaged these districts and decimated the population, A. Mackenzie, XVI, XVII. They are supposed by J. Mooney 1828, 26, to have numbered 1,250 souls in 1670.

106. **Tsilkotin**, an Athapascan tribe, Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. V (MSS), returned 600 souls (including 77 followers and strangers) in 1838 in the Chilcotin Post district. About 1840, Ch. Wilkes 1844, IV. 479, described them as a small tribe numbering about 60 families — evidently a local division; at the same time, H. Hale, 202, considered the Tsilkotin as a Takulli clan, and stated that the number of persons in Takulli clans varied from 50 to 300. Three villages in 1846, each village on an average consisting of about 200 souls, P. J. Smet: *Oreg. Miss.*, 226, 227. A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 276, estimates this tribe shortly before the epidemic of 1864 at 1,500 souls. This epidemic of smallpox killed off one-third of the tribe, A. G. Morice: *North. Indians*, 317 (he saw the graves of perhaps 600 Indians); 460 souls previous to 1888, A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113 (450 souls at the beginning of the XX century, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 276). According to the data in *Can. Ind. Aff.*, in Anahim's, Kanini's and Toosen's bands and in the Stones (Williams Lake Agency) there were 393 (1890) and 461 (1900) souls. J. Mooney 1928, 27, puts their number at 2,500 souls in 1780. A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113, stated that if we can rely on the old men among them and on the Hudson Bay Company's employees, it would be necessary to decuple the number existing in 1888 in order to obtain an idea of the population in 1793.

107. **Tunica**, a tribe of the Tonikan linguistic family. La. In 1698 (jointly with the Ofogoula and Yazoo) they numbered 2,000 souls, Montigny in A. Gosselin, 35; in 260 cabins dispersed in little villages, La Source,

*ib.*, 36 (and in J. G. Shea 1861, 80); 50—60 small cabins in seven hamlets, Gravier. in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 130; jointly with their neighbours (the Ofo, Yazoo, and perhaps Koroa) they numbered 300 families in 1702, Iberville, 602; at the same time, Bergier, in A. Gosselin, 36, stated that they were reduced to a small number; 460 souls in 1719, La Harpe (P. Margry, VI. 247); in 1722 three villages (hamlets) were all that remained of a formerly very populous people, Charlevoix 1776, II. 211; 120 warriors at an unspecified date in the XVIII century, Baudry de Lozières, 251; 90—100 warriors in 1739, an officer under de Nouailles, in Claiborne, quoted by J. R. Swanton 1911, 314; 60 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 75; 20 warriors, Th. Hutchins 1784, 44. The remains of the Tunica consisted of 50—60 souls, *Acc. of La 1803*, 349 (and J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 96, foot-note). They did not exceed 25 men in 1805, J. Sibley, 725; 18 warriors (60 souls) in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 113; 30 souls on the Red River, J. Morse, 373; about 50 souls in 1908, F. W. Hodge, II. 838. The Census of 1910 returned 43 souls in Louisiana. J. R. Swanton 1911, 42, estimated the Tunica at 180 cabins, 450 warriors and 1,575 souls in 1698. J. Mooney 1928, 8, places their number jointly with the Yazoo, Ofogoula and Koroa at 2,000 in 1650.

108. *Umpqua*, an Athapascan tribe. A tribal name of somewhat vague application, Cal. Sam Parker, 258, in 1835—'37 referred to the "Umpqua nation divided into six tribes", i. e. to the aggregate of Athapascan tribes, amongst them the Umpqua, and estimated this aggregate at 7,000 souls. By 1842 the Umpqua tribe, but a few years before numbering several hundreds, by disease and their family wars had been reduced to 75 souls, G. Hines, 117; according to H. Hale, 204, they were supposed to number not more than 400 in about 1840, having been greatly reduced by disease (this figure of 400 souls appears in Th. J. Farnham, 112, in 1843; in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 201 (G. F. Emmonds) and in A. Gallatin 1848, 9). In 1844 instead of six tribes there were but a few miserable fish-eaters, D. Lee and J. H. Frost, 100. Three "tribes" of the Umpqua numbered 1,200 souls in 1844, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335; 800 souls in 1847—'48, J. L. Meek, 10; about 200 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 161; 243 souls in 1851, A. Dart, 477; a band of the Umpqua (Cow Creek) numbered 150 souls in 1856, G. Wright, in *76 Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 28. The confederated bands of the Umpqua and Calapooya had 262 souls, J. Ross Browne 1857—'58, 23; the Umpqua bands, Skoton and Coos, jointly numbered 450 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1858*, 606 (E. P. Drew); 184 in the Grand Ronde agency, 21 at Cow Creek, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 829. *Ind. Aff.* give: 525 souls (1868, the Umpqua and Coos jointly), 136 souls in Indian Territory, besides 200 souls mixed with the Siuslaw and Coos in Oregon (1880); in Oregon: 121 (1885), 88 (1895 and 1900), 78 (1905) souls. The Census of 1890 found 80 souls in Oregon but intermixed with other tribes. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 79, 77) returned 109 souls, besides the Cow Creek band of 9 souls. It is difficult to estimate the Umpqua



population, as their name was generally applied also to the other Indians of the Upper Umpqua River. It is possible that the Umpqua proper were less than 1,000 souls.

109. **Unakhotana**, an Athapascan tribe, Yukon River. The epidemic of smallpox in 1838 carried off about one-fifth of the population, L. Zagoskin, II, app. 41. There were 345 in 1844 in both divisions: the Koyukukhotana and Yukonikhotana, namely the Koyukukhotana numbered 289 souls (only 70 adult men) in twenty-three houses, the Yukonikhotana were only 56 souls (apparently not all were registered), L. Zagoskin, *ib.*, 40; 800 souls in 1866—'75, W. H. Dall 1877, 39 (also in *Alaska*, 537 and in *Ind. Aff.* 1875, 707). Disease and scarcity of food had reduced the Koyukukhotana and they could hardly muster over two hundred families, W. H. Dall 1898, 53. From the Koyukuk settlements to Rampart village there were 637 Unakhotana in 1880 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112, gives only 596 souls), I. Petroff, 12. The Mnakhotana numbered about 550 souls in 1887, H. T. Allen, 143. The Census of 1890: *Alaska*, 158, found 502 Koyukukhotana. The Unakhotana numbered 193 souls in 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 112). According to J. Mooney 1928, 32, the Koyukukhotana numbered 1,000 souls in 1740, the Unakhotana (identified with the Kuilchana) 500 souls. (Perhaps it would be more suitable to place the Koyukukhotana alone amongst the tribes numbering 1,000—2,500 souls and to exclude the Yukonikhotana entirely, treating them as a distinct tribe having a population of about 500 souls.)

110. **Wahpekute**, one of the seven Dakota fires. It numbered 150 warriors (400—500 souls) in sixty tents in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 94 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 712); 90 warriors (450 souls) in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 136; the Leaf nation numbered 600 souls, J. Morse, 364; 100 warriors (800 souls) in a hundred lodges in 1823, W. H. Keating, I. 380. J. C. Beltrami, II. 207, in 1823 estimated the Wahpekute at only 150 souls; 150 warriors in 1834, J. Sibley, in *Min. Hist. Coll.*, III. 250 (quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 891); 325 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1839, 496; 600—800 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1849, 1019 (A. Ramsay); 500—600 souls about 1851, St. R. Riggs, XV. Later estimates returned the Wahpekute jointly with the Mdewakanton. The Wahpekute during the XIX century numbered less than 1,000 souls. They seem to have been declining already in the XVIII century and even earlier; they were inseparable from the Mdewakanton, probably included with them under the same designation of the Santee. It is impossible to identify them with any of the "nations" reported by Le Sueur, 86—87, in 1700. If they were one of Le Sueur's nation-villages, they in any case should have numbered 250—350 warriors, i. e. about 1,000 souls.

111. **Wahpeton**, one of the seven Dakota fires. In Le Sueur's list, 86, there appear amongst the Eastern Sioux the names of two "nations" (villages), namely the Ouadebaton and Ouioepeton, and among the Western Sioux that of the Ouepeton, of which one was undoubtedly the name of

the Wahpeton, others, according to all probability, also belonged to them. It is true, these three villages were then separate units, but they were probably included in the same fire, and together numbered at least 500—600 warriors. At the close of the XVII and at the beginning of the XVIII century, when the first contacts between the Whites and Sioux were established, the manner in which the name (or names) of the Wahpeton appears, gives the impression, that among the Sioux this fire played a vastly more important role than in the XIX century (the circumstance that they belonged to the Eastern Sioux and had greater ease of contact with the Whites must also have had some influence). The Wahpeton numbered eighty lodges, 200 warriors and 700 souls in 1804 (after an epidemic), Lewis and Clark, VI. 93 (and *Amer. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 712); 180 warriors (1,060 souls) in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134; Leaf bands numbered at least 1,000 souls, J. Morse, 362, in about 1818, and J. C. Beltrami, 207, in about 1823; a hundred and twenty lodges, 240 warriors and 900 souls in 1823, W. H. Keating, I. 380; 700 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1839*, 495—496; about 1,500 souls, *ib. 1849*, 1020 (A. Ramsay); 1,000—1,200 souls in 1851, St. R. Riggs, XV. Later estimates do not differentiate them sufficiently from other Dakota bands.

112. **Wailaki**, an Athapaskan tribe, Cal. It had 37 souls in 1861 on Nome Lacke reserve, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 829. A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 16, assumed, there might be about 130 souls. In 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 79, 32) the Wailaki numbered 227 souls, though only a minority (36.1%) were listed as full-bloods. Their original numbers may have been about 1,000, but possibly somewhat more, A. L. Kroeber 1925, 154.

113. **Washo**, a tribe forming a distinct linguistic family, Nev. and Cal. A small tribe in 1856, *Ind. Aff. 1856*, 779 (Hurt). At the time of the coming of the Whites in 1859 they numbered about 900 souls, F. Dodge, *Ind. Aff. 1859* (Sen. Doc.), 742; 700 souls, J. Forney, in *Ind. Aff. 1859*, 733; about 500 souls in the period 1861—'70, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 724; *ib. 1866*, 115 (H. G. Parker); *ib. 1870* (H. Douglas). About 400 at the end of the XIX century, J. Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, 1051. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 107, 34) returned 819 souls, among them 78.5% full-bloods. A. L. Kroeber 1925, 570, repeating the figures of the Census of 1910 (of the Washo, one-third were in California, two-thirds in Nevada), states that their lack of any reservation had caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers and that their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or less seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity and their unity of speech. J. Mooney 1928, 20, gives them at about 1,000 souls in 1845.

114. **Wea**, formerly a sub-tribe of the Miami, later a separate tribe. La Salle (P. Margry, II. 201) wrote of a settlement of the Wea with thirty-five cabins. In 1680 the Wea were living together with the Miami and Mascouten in the same village, L. Hennepin 1903, 143. In 1715 a village of the Wea was expected to contribute at least 200 men, Ramezay,

in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 323. In 1718 the "Wea" consisted of five villages on the Wabash River, all built close together: one was called Wea, another Piankashaw, another Pepikokia, another Les Gros (the fifth village is not named), the men there were very numerous, fully 1,000—1,200 — evidently the name of Wea embraced not only this tribe, but also many others, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 891. According to Chauvignerie, 1057, the Wea, Piankashaw, Pepikokia were the same nation though in different villages, and they could in 1736 place 350 men under arms. Apparently A. Dobbs 1774, 28, referred to this aggregate of tribes, writing of the Oyachtownuk Roanu in four villages and with 1,000 warriors; the Wea, Kickapoo, Mascouten and Piankashaw numbered jointly 360 warriors in 1757, de Bougainville, 47; 150 men in 1758, de Kerlerac, 70; 200 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149, and in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583; 400 warriors in 1764, Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555, and H. Bouquet, 146 (also J. Buchanan, 138); 300 warriors in 1765, G. Croghan, 168, Th. Hutchins in 1768 (Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149) and Dalton, 123, in 1783; 260 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291; 175 warriors (500 souls) in 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 7, 12; 200 warriors in 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555; the Piankashaw, Kickapoo, Mascouten and Wea numbered jointly 1,000 warriors in 1812, H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554; the Miami, Wea and Eel River Indians were estimated at 1,400 souls about 1817, J. Morse, 363; 327 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 350 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 99. In 1834, when they were removed to a reservation, there were 500 souls, reduced to 99 by 1868, *Ind. Aff. 1868*, 727—728. The numbers of the Wea given by *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 402, and *ib. 1841*, 246, are more moderate: 222 and 225 souls. In 1854 the Wea, Peoria, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia were consolidated: this aggregate would have numbered 1,425 souls about 1834—'36, 259 souls in 1854, 179 souls in 1868, *Ind. Aff. 1868*, 727—728. The Wea disappeared in this aggregate: the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 76) returned only 4 persons, as the great majority was enumerated as Peoria. It is possible that the Wea did not attain 1,000 souls, and if they exceeded that number, it was only very slightly.

115. **Wecquaesgeek**, a tribe of the Wappinger confederacy. About 1643 they consisted of three "castles", *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, I. 186. In 1643 the Mahican attacked this tribe, slew 70 of them and led many women and children away into captivity; shortly after this, seized with panic, the Wecquaesgeek fled with the Hackensack, fully 1,000 strong, to the vicinity of the Dutch fort: the Dutch attacked the fugitives, slew 80 of them and took 30 prisoners, Rpt. of the Board of Accounts of New Netherland, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, I. 151. In the war which ensued two castles were destroyed, 500—700 men, women and children were massacred, including 25 Wappinger, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, I. 187. The third castle remained as late as 1663 and was then garrisoned by 80 warriors, E. M. Ruttenber, 78 (cf. J. Fr. Jameson, 282—283).



116. **Wenrohronon**, a tribe associated with the Neutral Nation. Becoming too weak to resist the Iroquois, part of they took refuge amongst the Hurons: more than 600 persons, mostly women and children, removed thus in 1639, many of them died on the way and nearly all the remainder arrived ill, H. Lalemant, in *Jes. Rel.*, XVII. 25—27. J. N. B. Hewitt, in F. W. Hodge, II. 934, supposes that before their wars with the Iroquois and before they were stricken with smallpox, the Wenrohronon must have been a tribe of considerable importance, numbering at least 1,200 to 1,500, and possibly 2,000 persons.

117. **Yakima**, a Shahaptian tribe, Wash. It had 1,200 souls in sixty houses in 1805, Lewis and Clark, VI. 119 (according to J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, II. 983, there is no certainty as to the bands included under that figure and under the designation of the Cutsahnim itself; for instance, I. I. Stevens, 460, and G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 417, have identified the Cutsahnim with Okinagan bands); the above designation and figure were repeated by J. Morse, 372. The Yakima were a numerous tribe, Cox Ross, II. 143; the Cutsahnim numbered 600 souls about 1830, Hall J. Kelley, 60; 700 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304. Jointly with the Klikitat, Paloos and Wallawalla they numbered 2,200 souls in 1841, H. Hale, 213, and 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7; about 1,500 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 163; 1,000 souls in 1851, Dart, 478; 600 souls in 1853, I. I. Stevens, 460 (also: G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418, and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490); 350 warriors and 1,500 souls in 1853, B. Alvord, 11; a large tribe, 1,200 warriors in 1857, A. N. Armstrong, 107. *Ind. Aff.* returned 667 (1859, 780; R. H. Landsdale), 4,500 (1861, 799; W. B. Gosnell). Already about 1850 the Pishquow, Chimnapum and other bands began to be included under the name of the Yakima (G. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 417, I. I. Stevens, 460). In 1870 the designation of the Yakima embraced as many as fourteen confederated tribes with 3,500 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1870, 481 (such large figures appear already in 1857 after the Treaty of 1855). Henceforth the Yakima appear in reports of Commissioners of Indian Affairs as a populous nation, numbering, for instance, 2,309 according to *Ind. Aff.* 1900. Perhaps the Pishquitpah described by Lewis and Clark, VI. 115, as numbering 2,600 souls (1,600 in the original draft) in seventy-one houses were a division of the Yakima proper, J. Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, 739. The above estimates of the Yakima population are not very reliable as the definition of the tribe itself is vague. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 95) returned 1,362 but stated that the Yakima were a complex of many small tribes, almost wholly of the same stock. J. Mooney 1928, 16, even puts their number at 3,000 in 1780.

118. **Yamasee**, a tribe of Muskhogean stock. Towards the close of the XVII century the Yamasee fled from the Spanish possessions in Florida to the English colony of South Carolina. Cl. Delisle's list (really Iberville's one), in *J. des Am.*, XIV (1922). 135, enumerates three or four nations of the Ayamalesse, who were friendly with the English, and mustered

1,400 men; like the Timucua, Monismas and Apelache they seem to have resided in the Spanish possessions and Marc de Villiers identifies them with the Yamasee. Besides, Delisle referred to six tribes, amongst whom there were the Yamassese (also identified with the Yamasee): they were living on English territories dependent on Ft. St. George (South Carolina). These Yamassese do not appear to have been very numerous since they with five other tribes mustered 1,200—1,500 warriors. The Yamasee were the tribe, which in 1715 projected a general massacre of White settlers. In 1708 an official document (MSS quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, 422) estimated the Yamasee in ten towns at 500 men able to bear arms (the population of these towns probably consisted not only of the Yamasee, but also probably of members of other tribes likewise, but the Yamasee undoubtedly prevailed). In 1715, just before the uprising, the Yamasee with their allies numbered 413 men (1,215 souls) in ten villages, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. The map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*, Plate III) shows two Yamasee settlements: one near the mouth of the Savannah River with 350 men and another at a considerable distance with 20 men; in addition, at the southern boundary of Carolina, the Yamasee had canoes used for slave hunting and probably there was also a settlement at that point. After their defeat, the main body of the Yamasee retired to Florida though a small part took refuge with the Catawba and probably with other tribes. Maps in J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*, Plates I and II, show the successive phases of that dispersion of the Yamasee after 1715. J. Mooney 1928, 8, supposes that the Yamasee numbered 2,000 souls in 1650.

119. **Yaquina**, a Yakonan tribe, Oreg. Lewis and Clark, VI. 117, in 1805 reported that the Youkone (Yorickcone) nation lived in very large houses and numbered 700 souls; besides, the Lickawis (i. e., a Yaquina sub-tribe, Yikquais according to E. Coues 1893, 758, or a Yaquina village of Yikkhaich according to J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890). 229) had numbered 800 souls; J. Morse, 371, repeats these names and figures; 600—700 about 1840, H. Hale, 218; 19 souls in 1910, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 108. J. Owen-Dorsey enumerates fifty-six Yaquina villages in the past. Lewis and Clark's figures are not taken from their personal observation, but from Indian relations and are therefore suspect. However, the Yaquina probably numbered about 1,000 souls and even more.

120. **Yuchi**, a tribe (or rather a loose aggregate of bands) of Uchean stock. "A warlike people who take pride in this fact", "a rebellious people", "a cruel generation", these are contemporary opinions which testify clearly as to the active character of Uchean bands. Their country to which the earliest references direct us were the territories in the neighbourhood of the southern Appalachian Mountains. From these regions, at various times of the XVII and in the first decades of the XVIII century, in parties independent of each other, they invaded the districts to the south of their abode and endeavoured to settle there. It is possible that these invading parties were not so much portions of the same tribe as bands of closely related Uchean tribes. In connection with the above, there was a great host of

names under which these groups were known. The Chisca mentioned in the XVI and XVII centuries seem to have been the Yuchi (cf. J. R. Swanton 1922, 292—293). One of the Uchean tribes and possibly partial ancestors of some Yuchi bands were the Westo (Stone?): as regards this tribe, J. Lederer (ed. W. Talbot, 161) reported in 1670 that the Oustack Indians were a “cruel generation” and H. Woodward (quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, 306—307) stated that they temporarily settled to the number of some hundreds on the Savannah River. The designation of the Westo ceased to appear during the XVIII century excluding a small fraction which bore that name until finally probably united with the Yuchi. As regards the Yuchi, one of their bands tried to settle in Virginia in 1656 to the number of 600 or 700, J. D. Burk, II. 104 (also cf. J. R. Swanton’s commentaries, *l. c.*, 294—295). However, it is difficult numerically to express the size of various parties of Yuchi settling in the South: only casually appearing figures are available. Thus the census of 1715 (W. J. Rivers 1874, 94) estimated the Yuchi at 130 men (400 souls) in two settlements, but according to J. R. Swanton 1922, 433, this does not include the Yuchi on Choctawhatchee, the Westo, or the band on the Tennessee River, — about 1730 the last-named was supposed to count about 150 men. The Euchee town (Mount Pleasant on the Savannah R.) had in 1740 about 100 Indians; there was still another settlement of Yuchi Indians, *Ga. Hist. Coll.*, II (1842). 71. The gradual concentration of Yuchi Indians took place on Choctawhatchee among the Lower Creeks. They were estimated at 50 hunters in 1761, *Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII. 522 (in addition there were Yuchi Indians among Upper Creeks at Tukabahchee). W. Bartram, 386, quoted by J. R. Swanton, 433, estimated the population of Uchee town in 1777 at 1,000—1,500 souls, or 500 warriors; Marbury, in 1792 reported 300 men, which, according to J. R. Swanton, 433, would mean a population of over 1,000 souls. B. Hawkins, 62, gave them as 250 warriors. There were 1,139 souls in two Yuchi settlements in 1832, *Sen. Dcts.*, quoted by J. R. Swanton, *ib.* In 1837 the Yuchi removed with the Creek nation beyond the Mississippi River where they are now located, but as no separate classification was made for them in the official returns, they were counted as Creeks; however, Fr. G. Speck: *Yuchi*, 9, assumed in 1909 that their number could hardly exceed 500. On the other hand, the Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 109) returned only 78 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 8, supposes that the Yuchi numbered 1,500 souls in 1650.

#### 4. Tribes numbering 2,500—5,000 souls

1. *Alchedoma*, a Yuman tribe. Juan de Oñate (in H. E. Bolton 1916, 276) referred to eight rancherias in 1604—1605, one of which was said to have contained 160 houses and 2,000 souls — a great exaggeration! There were 2,500 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, II. 443; 3,000 souls in 1799, J. Cortez, 18 (also J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228). They were at one time an important nation, but according to A. L. Kroeber, 799, at the



time of Fr. Garcès they could scarcely have still numbered 2,500 souls, as he reports. They finally completely lost their identity among the Maricopa. J. Mooney 1928, 22, supposes that the Alchedoma numbered 3,000 souls in 1680.

2. **Arapaho**, an Algonquian tribe. The Arapaho seem to have been originally an aggregate of many cognate tribes, or of the remains of many such tribes. But there are no references to the numbers of the Arapaho previous to the XIX century, and even estimates made at the beginning of that century, covered the Arapaho under designations which cannot be fully settled as identical with this tribe. Such is the designation of Castahana and even of Canenavich, both given at the same time by some writers as names of two different tribes. (The Atsina are often mentioned jointly with the Arapaho, but they are a distinct tribe.) Lewis and Clark, VI. 101, 102, 106 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 716), estimated the Castahana in 1804 at 500 lodges, 1,300 warriors and 5,000 souls, the Canenavich at 150 lodges, 400 warriors and 1,500 souls. H. M. Brackenridge, 85, 86, in 1811 placed the fighting strength of the Kannevish at 1,500 men, that of the Pastanowna (Castahana) at 400 men (these figures were also reported by J. F. Schermerhorn, 38). M. R. Stuart, XII (1821). 48, in 1812 distinguished the Arapaho with 2,700 warriors and the Arapahays with 350 warriors. The figures in J. Morse, 366, 367, bear evidence of great confusion: there are the Arrapahays (10,000 souls), there remained also the Kaninavish (7,000 souls), the Castahana (1,500 souls) are still again reported as the Pastanownas (1,500 souls). P. B. Porter, 104, in 1829 estimated the Arapaho at 4,000 souls, the Canenavich (Kaninahoick) at 2,000 souls. The Census of Texas in 1828, *Boll. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 265, returned 250 Arapaho families. *Ind. Aff.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 247, reported 3,000 souls; 2,500 souls and 650 warriors in 300 tents, *ib.* 1842, 425 (D. D. Mitchell); the figure of 2,500 souls is repeated in *Ind. Aff.* 1844, 316, and *ib.* 1845, 459. According to A. J. Allen, 381, in about 1850, the number of the Arapaho was not well ascertained: some estimated them at 3,000, others at a higher figure, and still others at a lower one. Ch. Bent 1847—'48, 11, reported 400 warriors (1,600 souls); H. Howe, 358, in 1850, gave 3,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1854, 388, estimated them at 2,000 souls; *ib.* 1855, 575 (Whitfield) at 3,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1862 found 1,800 souls in the Upper Plate Agency and 1,500 souls in the Arkansas Agency; *ib.* 1875 reported 1,565 and 1,644 souls. *Ind. Aff.* gave the Arapaho at 3,045 (1880), 2,298 (1885), 1,925 (1890), 1,869 (1895), 1,782 (1900), 1,768 (1905) and 1,753 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,419 souls (703 in Wyoming, 685 in Oklahoma), 92.4% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 72. J. Mooney 1928, 11, supposes that the Arapaho numbered about 3,000 souls in 1780.

3. **Arikara**, a tribe of Caddoan stock or really a remnant of eight (or ten) formerly powerful Pawnee tribes, being a loose confederacy at the beginning of the XIX century. These eight to ten tribes (thirty-two villages)

were depopulated by the ravages of smallpox and by the attacks of the Sioux, consolidating into a tribe probably towards the close of the XVIII century, Lewis and Clark, I. 188, VI. 89, Perrin du Lac, 257. Espinosa, 419, about 1717—'19 referred to forty-eight villages of the Arikara nation. Seven "glorious" Arikara villages are reckoned among forty-five Pawnee villages in 1719 by La Harpe (in P. Margry, VI. 239). Z. Trudeau, in L. Houck, II. 253, estimated the Arikara at 800 warriors in 1798. (Probably, in connection with this figure, F. V. Hayden, 352, related that the Arikara at the time trade commenced on the Upper Missouri, i. e., during the latter part of the XVIII century, numbered 180—200 cabins and 800 warriors.) At the beginning of the XIX century the Arikara numbered 700 warriors, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (also J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 100, foot-note); 1,000—1,200 warriors, Perrin du Lac, 257. Lewis and Clark, I. 188, VI. 89 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. (1832). 710), reported 500 (600 in the original draft) warriors, i. e., 2,000 souls in about 1804 in three villages, the various villages did not understand all the words used by each other. There were 800 warriors and 3,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (and D. B. Warden, III. 558). J. F. Schermerhorn, 34, in 1811 reported only 250 warriors and 800 souls; 3,500 souls in about 1817, J. Morse, 367; 450—600 warriors in 1824, J. Pilcher, 453; 500 warriors and 2,500 souls in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 607; 2,500 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 103, and in 1832, G. Catlin (in Th. Donaldson, 78); 3,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403; 2,750 souls, *ib. 1837*, 612, and *ib. 1841*, 247. (In 1837 smallpox had ravaged this tribe.) When the Arikara abandoned their villages on the Missouri River, they numbered about 500 warriors and 3,600—4,000 souls: at the time of Wied-Neuwied's visit their fighting strength consisted of 600 men, M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, II. 238. The Arikara numbered 150 tents, 450 warriors and 1,200 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1842*, 425 (D. D. Mitchell), *ib. 1844*, 326, and *ib. 1845*, 454; 200 tents and 1,500 souls in about 1850, Th. A. Culbertson, 143. Smallpox ravaged them in 1857 (Vaughan). There were 1,080 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1862*, and *ib. 1863*; 1,500 souls, *ib. 1866* and *ib. 1867*. *Ind. Aff.* reported 900 (1875), 724 (1880), 529 (1885), 435 (1890; the Federal Census returned 447), 420 (1895), 395 (1900), 379 (1905) and 411 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 444 souls (425 in N. Dakota), 83.8% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 80.

4. *Atsina*, a detached branch of the Arapaho, really a distinct tribe once associated with the Blackfeet. After the epidemic of 1781 there were 600 warriors in 1789—'93, A. Mackenzie, LXX. They were not very numerous in 1790, E. Umfreville, 197. A small but brave tribe in 1801, D. W. Harmon, 78. A little known tribe, numbering 260 tents and 660 warriors (2,500 souls) in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 106 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 719). The Atsina numbered 80 (100) tents and 240 men bearing arms in about 1808, but had suffered much from smallpox, Henry and Thompson, 531, 733. In 1811 there were



500 men and 2,000 souls among the Gros Ventres of the Prairies, H. M. Brackenridge, 86 (also J. F. Schermerhorn, 36). J. Morse, 365, 371, reported them twice: as Rapid Indians with 500 souls, and as Gros Ventres of the Prairies with 2,000 souls; 450—500 tents, J. Franklin 1824, 169; 2,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 103; 430 tents in 1832—'33, G. Catlin 1841, I. 52; not much over 200 tents and 400—500 warriors, Wied-Neuwied 1839, I. 531. There were 3,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 16,800 (?) souls, *ib.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 247. Smallpox in 1838 destroyed about a half of their number, F. V. Hayden, 341. There were 300 tents, 2,100 souls in 1841, G. Simpson, I. 102. Ch. Wilkes, IV. 500, about 1842 stated that the confederacy of the Blackfeet was supposed to have no less than 20,000 souls and that among its tribes the Atsina were the most numerous. There were 400 tents, 900 warriors (2,500 souls), *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425 (D. D. Mitchell); 3,300, souls *ib.* 1844, 316; 2,500, *ib.* 1845, 459. About 1847 the Atsina numbered 230 tents, P. J. de Smet 1863, 186; 420 lodges, averaging nine souls per lodge, *Ind. Aff.* 1853, 356 (A. D. Vaughan). J. Doty, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 443, had the opportunity of making an actual count of more than half of these Indians and estimated them at 900 warriors (2,520 souls) in 360 lodges. There were 750 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575; 350 lodges, *ib.* 1856, 625; 400 lodges, Rowand (in H. Y. Hind: *Rcd. R.*, II. 152); 400 men (2,100 souls) in 265 lodges, *Ind. Aff.* 1858, 432 (A. J. Vaughan); *ib.* 1860, 308 and *ib.* 1862, 499; 250 lodges and 1,500 souls, *ib.* 1866, 175; 3,000 souls, *ib.* 1868, 812; 2,000 souls in 1869, Wm. F. Cady, 2. Smallpox ravaged this tribe in 1870 (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 74). *Ind. Aff.* reported in Minnesota 950 (1875) and 1,141 (1880) souls; in Montana 852 (1885), 772 (1890; the Census, 356, returned 770), 624 (1895), 603 (1900), 551 (1905) and 501 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 510 souls, 76.5% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 74. The Atsina are supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 13, to have numbered about 3,000 souls in 1780.

5. **Cajuenche**, a Yuman tribe in the basin of the Rio Colorado. There were 3,000 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, I. 199, II. 443; in 1799, J. Cortez, 123 (A. W. Whipple, 18, quoted only 2,000 souls) and in 1834, J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228 (though their name was in the XIX century practically extinct). According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, they numbered 3,000 souls in 1680. All these estimates seem to be exaggerated, cf. Quiguma.

6. **Chauí**, a tribe of the Pawnee confederacy. In 1777 there were 500—600 warriors, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 144; 800 men in 1798, Z. Trudeau, in L. Houck, II. 253. They numbered 400 warriors and 1,600 souls in 1804, living together with the Republican-Pawnee in the same village, Lewis and Clark, VI. 86 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 708); 400 warriors and 2,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (400 warriors and 1,600 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 34); about 180 earthen lodges, 900 families and 3,500 souls



in 1819—'20, E. James (S. H. Long), II. 364; 6,000 souls at about the same time, J. Morse, 366; 1,100 warriors and 5,500 souls in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606; 1,683 souls in 1840, J. V. Hamilton, in *Ind. Aff.* 1840, 319.

7. **Cheyenne**, an Algonquian tribe. They are said to have formerly occupied fixed villages and cultivated corn; but in 1804, as a remnant of a nation once considerable in point of numbers, they were buffalo hunters and numbered 300 warriors and 1,200 souls in 110 lodges (exclusive of the Sutaio), Lewis and Clark, VI. 100 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 714). There were 500 warriors and 1,600 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (500 warriors and 2,000 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 37). The Bras Noirs numbered 3,000 souls in about 1820, M. R. Stuart, XII (1821). 48; 3,460 souls among the Cheyenne proper (and 500 souls among the Sutaio), J. Morse, 366; 550—600 warriors and 3,000 souls in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606; 2,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 104; 3,000 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 2. There were 2,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 3,200 souls, *ib.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 247; 250 lodges, 500 warriors and 2,000 souls, *ib.* 1842, 425 (D. D. Mitchell), *ib.* 1844, 31, and *ib.* 1845, 459; 300 lodges and 1,500 souls about 1847, Ch Bent, 11; 317 lodges and 2,536 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1848, 850 (G. C. Matlock). In 1849 they suffered severely from cholera, the inhabitants of about 200 lodges being carried off by that disease; in 1850, there remained 300 lodges and 3,000 souls, Th. A. Culbertson, 139, 143. There were somewhat less than 2,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1854, 388; 2,800 souls (not all), *ib.* 1855, 575 (Whitfield); 1,000 warriors in 1855, G. K. Warren, 19; 1,000 lodges, 2,000 warriors, 5,500 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1856, 687 (Th. S. Twiss); 3,000 souls about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 59. (In about 1835 the separation of the Cheyenne into two divisions occurred and since 1851 has become permanent.) Both divisions numbered 3,620 souls in 1862, 2,520 souls in 1865, 4,000 souls in 1867, 3,390 souls in 1869, Wm. F. Cady, 2. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 4,228 (1875), 3,767 (1880), 3,654 (1890) souls. The Census of 1890, 528, returned 1,382 Northern Cheyennes in S. Dakota and Montana, and 3,363 Southern Cheyennes jointly with the Arapaho in Oklahoma. At the Sun Dance of the Southern Cheyenne in 1893, J. Mooney: *Cheyenne*, 403, counted more than 400 tipis in the great circle; before the separation of the Northern Cheyenne that circle might easily have had 600 tipis. *Ind. Aff.* 1900, estimated the Northern Cheyenne at 1,409 souls in Montana and S. Dakota and the Southern Cheyenne at 2,037 souls in Oklahoma; *ib.* 1910 reported 1,401 and 1,854 souls. The Census of 1910 returned 3,055 souls (1,346 in Montana, 1,522 in Oklahoma), 87.1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 73. In 1921 the Cheyenne numbered 3,281 persons, G. B. Grinnell 1923, 1. The same writer, 21, states that although, as far as is known, the Cheyenne were never a large tribe, yet as long ago as in 1820 J. Morse gave their numbers as about 3,500 and this did not

include the Sutaio, then not identified with the Cheyenne: in none of the known settlements of the Cheyenne east of the Missouri River could such a number of people have been accommodated. J. Mooney 1928, 13, supposes that they numbered about 3,500 souls in 1780.

8. **Chitimacha**, a tribe of the Chitimachan linguistic family, La. It numbered 700—800 warriors jointly with the Yaguenéchitou in 1699, La Harpe 1831, 9; 100 warriors in 1715, Baudry de Lozières, 247. They seem to have been the Temasees who numbered 250 men and were in friendship with no nation, the Map of 1715, in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III. They had almost quite died out, La Harpe (in P. Margry, VI. 245) by 1719; Charlevoix 1766, II. 215, by about 1720; N. Bossu, I. 25, by about 1761. The nation was small in number, owing to the fact, that the larger portion dwelt with the Attakapa, an officer under de Nouailles in 1739 (quoted by J. R. Swanton 1911, 342—343); 80 warriors in 1758 (those near the Mississippi), de Kerlerac, 75. Th. Jefferys, 147, 163, stated, that from a numerous people they had dwindled to nothing, those who remained serving as slaves in the French colony. Th. Hutchins 1784, 39, reported three villages, one of them numbering about 27 warriors. There were 100 souls in two villages, *Acc. of La 1803*, 349 (also J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 97, foot-note). The Chiteyachas numbered 30 warriors and 100 souls in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 113. In about 1844 there were 55 Indians of a parentage strongly mixed with white blood, A. S. Gatschet: *Creek*, I. 44. J. R. Swanton, *l. c.*, 43, estimated them at the end of the XVII century at 300 cabins, 750 warriors, 2,625 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 9, places their population at 3,000 souls in 1650.

9. **Cocopa**, a Yuman tribe, above the mouth of the Rio Colorado. It had nine pueblos in 1604, J. Oñate in H. E. Bolton 1916, 276. There were about 3,000 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, I. 199, II. 443, and in 1799, J. Cortez, 123 (J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228, in 1834, and J. Ross Browne 1869, 291, evidently repeated the above figure). According to S. P. Heintzelman, 42, the Cocopa were formerly a most formidable tribe and they are said to have mustered 5,000 warriors, but about 1856 they did not number 300 warriors. Col. Jones, *Ind. Aff. 1869*, 533, reported 1,800 souls. The Census of 1910 returned 245 souls, 99.2% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 109.

10. **Crows**, a tribe of Siouan stock. Lewis and Clark, I. 220, VI. 103 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 716), estimated them in 1804 at 350 lodges, 900 warriors and 3,500 souls and even at 400 lodges and 1,200 warriors; besides they reported, *ib.*, VI. 103, the Paunch Indians numbering 300 lodges, 800 warriors and 2,300 souls, who, according to J. Mooney (in F. W. Hodge, I, 44—45), were probably one of the Crow divisions. There were 2,000 warriors and 7,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 86 (also the Paunch Indians were reported with 800 warriors and 2,500 souls, and the Long-haired Indians, in unknown numbers, supposed to reside somewhere at the heads of the Columbia); 960 warriors and



3,500 souls in 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 36 (and D. B. Warden, III. 560). The Long-haired Indians (Crows) jointly with the Blue Mud Indians numbered 3,000 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 367 (besides, he also, *ib.* 365, reported Paunch Indians to the number of 2,500 souls). In about 1824 the Crows, by their own account, had about 1,500 men, but after the information of persons who had spent several winters amongst them, J. Pilcher, 453, stated they fell short of that number; 4,500 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 103. They probably had not more than 7,000 souls and probably not more than 800 tents in about 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 43; 1,200 warriors in 400 lodges in 1832—'34, M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, I. 398, 399. There were 4,500 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 7,200 souls, *ib.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 247; 800 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 20; 500 lodges, 1,500 warriors and 4,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425. About 5,000 souls in 1843, Th. J. Farnham, 62, and A. J. Allen, 379. There were 4,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1844, 316, and *ib.* 1845, 459; 530 lodges and 5,300 souls, *ib.* 1848, 850. Th. A. Culbertson, 144, estimated them at 400 lodges and 4,800 souls in about 1850; H. Howe, 358, at 5,000 souls in about 1851. In 1851 when the Crows entered into a treaty, they numbered four hundred lodges, in 1853 the number of their lodges was reduced to thirty by smallpox which proved most disastrous, killing some 400 individuals in a short time, *Ind. Aff.* 1853, 355 (A. D. Vaughan); 3,360 souls, *ib.* 1855, 575 (A. J. Vaughan). E. Domenech, II. 26, about 1860 reported 8,000—9,000 souls! The Crows formerly numbered 800 lodges or families, but by about 1862 were reduced to 400 lodges, F. V. Hayden, 394. *Ind. Aff.* 1862 and *ib.* 1863 gave 3,900; *ib.* 1866, 175, estimated the Mountain Crows at 400 lodges and 2,800 souls, the River Crows at 250 lodges and 1,500 souls; in *ib.* 1871, 420 (Pease) the Mountain Crows were estimated at 2,700 and the River Crows at 1,400 souls; *ib.* 1875, the tribe had 4,200 souls; *ib.* 1880, 3,470 souls; *ib.* 1885, 3,870 souls. The Census of 1890, 355, found 2,287 in Montana (*Ind. Aff.* 1890 reported 2,450 souls). According to *Ind. Aff.* there were 1,941 (1900), 1,794 (1905) and 1,740 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,799 souls, 69.0% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 100. J. Mooney 1928, 13, supposes that they numbered 4,000 souls in 1780.

11. **Foxes**, an Algonquian tribe. In about 1665—'66 (?) the Foxes formed a village of more than 600 cabins, Bacqueville de la Potherie, II. 99. They were a populous tribe of about 1,000 men bearing arms in 1666—'67, Allouez, in *Jes. Rel.*, LI. 43; they were renowned for being populous, men bearing arms numbering over 400 in 1669—'70, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 219—221. Jointly with the Sauk and Potawatomi they mustered 1,000 warriors against the Sioux in about 1670—'72, N. Perrot, 102. The Foxes were haughty because of their numbers, their cabins being reckoned at more than two hundred (in their village where the mission of St. Mark had been established) in 1670—'71, there being in each five or six, and even as many as ten families, while several other



peoples had fled there for refuge, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 219. In 1679 the Outagami and Mascouten villages, including the refugees from other tribes, numbered at least 20,000 souls, Dablon, *ib.*, LXI. 155. If the Foxes, Mascouten and Kickapoo had formed a joint village, this village would have contained 1,400—1,500 men in about 1690—'91, de Frontenac, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 619; the Illinois and the three above tribes numbered 2,000 men in 1700, P. Margry, IV. 587; 800 men, women and children of the Foxes and Mascouten were killed, but there still remained a great number of Foxes near Green Bay — some say 200 warriors, besides those who had gone to the Iroquois, Marest's letter in 1712, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 289; 300 warriors in 1716, Proceedings in French Council of Marine, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, *ib.* 339; 500 warriors and 3,000 women in a defended settlement on the Fox River in 1716, de Beauharnais, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, V (1868). 82, and de Vaudreuil, *ib.*, XVI (1902). 343. The Foxes began to become a powerful nation in 1718, Lamothe Cadillac (P. Margry, V. 122); they numbered 500 warriors in 1718 and abounded in women and children, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 889; 200 warriors in 1728, Guignes, in F.W. Hodge, I. 474. During the French (and Indian) expedition of 1730 against the Foxes, 200 Fox warriors were killed and 600 women and children died off, M.H. Strong, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1879). 247; 100 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1055; 250 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 66, foot-note. The Musquakies numbered 200 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150; 350 warriors in 1761, J. Gorrel, 23; 320 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583. There were 250 warriors, H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139) in 1764, Th. Hutchins (in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*) in 1764, and J. Dodge, in 1779, in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.* Two towns in 1766, one consisted of about fifty houses, deserted on account of an epidemic that had lately carried off more than a half of the inhabitants, the other town numbered about 300 families, J. Carver, 48, 50; 300—350 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 146; 300 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War in 1783, Dalton, 123; 200 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292; 1,400 (!) men in 1786, Memorandum of the Committee of Merchants (Montreal), in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XII (1892). 80. Jointly with the Sauk the Foxes numbered 500 warriors, *Acc. of La 1803*, 351 (and J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 101, foot-note); 300 warriors, 1,200 souls in one village in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 92 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 711); 400 warriors, 1,750 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 9); 300 warriors and 2,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87. The Foxes (the Outagami and Musquiaki) jointly with the Kickapoo numbered 1,000 warriors in 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555; 400 warriors in 1818, E. Tanner, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1879). 289; 2,000 souls at about the same time, J. Morse, 363; the Sauk and Foxes numbered jointly 6,400 souls in 1825, McKenney, 544; 1,600 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 99;

the Foxes and Sauk had jointly 5,000—6,000 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 211, and 800—900 warriors also in 1832, H. Smith, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, V (1868). 291. Cutting Marsh, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XV (1900). 115, related various estimates of the population of the Foxes about 1835: they oscillated between 2,000—2,500 and 6,400 souls: the most probable estimate of 2,000—2,500 souls did not include the Missouri band consisting of about 20 lodges. There were 1,600 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403, *ib.* 1837, 612, *ib.* 1841, 246. Jointly with the Sauk, the Foxes numbered 6,600 souls in 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 28. Henceforth all the estimates returned both tribes jointly, but as these tribes were scattered, the figures were often incomplete. For these figures see: Sauk. The close relations of the Foxes with the Sauk in historical times render it difficult to make a closer estimate of their numbers in the past, but it is probable that when first known to history, the Foxes numbered 3,000 souls, J. N. B. Hewitt, in F. W. Hodge, II. 479. (The Foxes probably numbered 1,500 or 2,000 souls during the period when they produced wild rice, A. E. Jenks, 1051). J. Mooney 1928, 11, places their numbers at 3,000 in 1650. Cf. Tr. Michelson: *Some general Notes on the Fox Indians*, in *Hist. J. of Wa. Ac. of Science*, v. IX, No. 16, 483—494 (the most reliable estimates of the population of the Foxes are those of Lewis and Clark; allowing for the losses which this tribe suffered between 1650 and 1805, there would still seem to be a discrepancy of perhaps 1,000 between J. Mooney's figure and the figure indicated by Tr. Michelson's researches, J. R. Swanton, in J. Mooney 1928, 11, foot-note).

12. Hidatsa (Minetaree), a tribe of Siouan stock. They occupied two villages in 1804 and then numbered 500 warriors (2,500 souls), Lewis and Clark, VI. 91 (600 warriors or 2,500 souls according to *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 710). There were 800 warriors in 1805, Perrin du Lac, 263; 600 warriors and 2,500 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 35); 3,250 souls in about 1817, J. Morse, 367 (D. B. Warden, III. 360, reported 500 warriors and 2,000 souls). About 250 warriors in 1824, J. Pilcher, 453; jointly with the Mandan, the Hidatsa numbered 500 warriors and 3,000 souls in five villages in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 607; 1,200 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 102. A small tribe of about 2,000 souls in about 1832; according to tribal tradition, they came to the Mandan poor, without wigwams or horses, and were nearly all women as the warriors had been killed off during their flight, G. Catlin 1841, I. 185; at the same time M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, II. 213, estimated them at 350 warriors and about 2,100—2,200 souls. There were 15,000 souls (probably a misprint), *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 2,000 souls, *ib.* 1837, 612. When living with the Mandan at Ft. Clarke, the Hidatsa numbered about 120 lodges (five souls per lodge), but having suffered from smallpox in 1837 they were reduced to forty lodges in 1837, F. V. Hayden, 420. However, this decrease was not noted in official reports. Indeed, *Ind. Aff.* 1841, 247, and *ib.* 1844, 316, estimated the



Hidatsa at 2,000 souls, but *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425, reported 300 warriors and 800 souls in seventy-five lodges. In 1850, A. Th. Culbertson, 143, gave them as 750 souls in eighty-five lodges. The Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara jointly numbered 2,250 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1852, 356 (A. D. Vaughan). An epidemic of smallpox ravaged them again in 1857. E. Domenech 1860, II. 39, placed their number at 1,500 souls. F. V. Hayden, 420, wrote of eighty lodges tolerably well filled with occupants. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 400 (1867), 600 (1875), 450 (1880), 435 (1885), 504 (1890), 453 (1900), 471 (1905), 466 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 547 (520 in Dakota) souls, 76.4% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 100. J. Mooney 1928, 13, gives their number as 2,500 souls in 1780.

13. **Kainah** (Blood Blackfeet), a tribe of the Blackfoot confederacy. They were ravaged by smallpox in 1780—'81 and often later. There were 250 warriors in 1789—'93, A. Mackenzie, LXX — too low an estimate; 300 tents in 1818—'20, J. Franklin, I. 170; 450 lodges, averaging ten persons to the lodge, they amounted to about 4,500 in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 52, perhaps an exaggerated estimate, but more moderate than that of Ch. Wilkes, IV. 500, who in 1841 related that the Blood Indians were more numerous than the Siksika (the Siksika numbering nearly 650 lodges); 250 lodges and 1,750 souls about 1841, G. Simpson, I. 102; 400 lodges averaging ten persons per lodge in 1853, J. M. Stanley, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 449; 350 lodges, 875 warriors and 2,450 souls, J. Doty, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 443; 250 tents in 1857—'58, Rowand, in H. Y. Hind: *Red R.*, II. 152, and *Ind. Aff.* 1856, 626. There were 300 lodges, 500 men and 2,400 souls in 1858, *Ind. Aff.* 1858, 432, and *ib.* 1860, 308 (A. J. Vaughan); 2,150 souls, *ib.* 1864, *ib.* 1865 and *ib.* 1867; 2,380 souls, *ib.* 1868. In the seventies, according to the annual counts of the Hudson Bay Co.'s agents, the Blood Blackfeet numbered 2,000 souls, H. M. Robinson, 189. *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned: 1,427 (1895) and 1,247 (1900).

14. **Kansa**, a tribe of Siouan stock. It numbered 1,500 families in 1702, Iberville, 601. The Quans in 1723 had a large village which consisted of 150 cabins, Bourgmont, in P. Margry, VI. 393. In 1724 a chief boasted in his speech that the Canzès could muster at least 500 warriors, Bourgmont, *ib.*, VI. 407. Du Pratz, II. 251, III. 163, considered the Kansa as a tribe more numerous than the Osage and referred to Bourgmont's description of a hunting expedition of a part of the tribe in 1724: there were 300 warriors, the same number of women and 500 (older) children. They numbered 300 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 67; 1,600 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145 (and J. Buchanan, 139); 350 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 142; about 400 men in 1798, Z. Trudeau, in L. Houck, II. 252; 1,000 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 293; 250 warriors in 1803, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 99, footnote). In 1804 there were 300 warriors and 1,300 souls in one village,



Lewis and Clark, VI. 84 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 708); 465 warriors and 1,565 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 258; 300 warriors and 1,500 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 32); 400 warriors and 1,600 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; about 130 lodges and 1,500 souls in 1819—'20, S. H. Long, in E. James, II. 365; 1,850 souls in about 1817, O'Fallon, in J. Morse, 366; 1,200 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 101; 1,560 souls in 1831—'32, one-half died from smallpox a few years later, G. Catlin 1841, II. 23 (and Th. Donaldson, 39, 40); 400 warriors about 1835—'37, H. Atkinson, 20. There were 1,471 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403; 1,606 souls, *ib. 1837*, 612, and *ib. 1841*, 246; 1,700 souls in 1838, *ib. 1838*, 478 (R. W. Cummins); about 1,600 souls in 1842, J. D. Lang and S. Taylor, 28. Previous to 1843 the total population of the tribe was confined to two villages together numbering 1,900 inhabitants, P. J. de Smet 1843, 65; 1,588 souls in 1843, Wm. F. Cady, 3; 1,600—1,800 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1844*, 440 (R. W. Cummins); 1,607 souls, *ib. 1845*, 541; 1,375 souls, *ib. 1851*, 328, and *ib. 1855*, 575 (in 1852—'53 an epidemic of smallpox ravaged the Kansa). According to *Ind. Aff.* their numbers were: 741 (1863), 670 (1866), 658 (1867), 800 (1868), 574 (1870), 516 (1875), 397 (1880), 225 (1885), 198 (1890), 208 (1895), 217 (1900) and 209 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 238 souls, but only 29.8% as full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 100, 34. J. Mooney 1928, 13, places their number at 3,000 souls in 1780.

15. **Kawia** (Cahuilla), a Shoshonean division, Cal. According to H. S. Burton, in 76 *Ho. Doc. 1856—'57*, 116, the number of men alone amounted to 3,600 in 1851, of these at least 1,500 were fighting men. The Census of 1890, 201, placed their number in 1880 at 675 and in 1890 at 667. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 862 (1895), 897 (1901) souls. The Census of 1910 (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 97) returned 755 souls (93.0% were full-bloods). There is no evidence that the Kawia were ever a tribe in the sense of being a united political body, until under the Mexican regime certain groups were amalgamated by the Whites to serve as military units. Prior to this interference they appear to have been isolated in small, autonomous local groups; since they were the least affected of all the natives by the segregation into missions, they have survived in greater numbers, W. D. Strong, 36. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 692, 883, there were 2,500 souls in 1779 and 800 in 1910.

16. **Lillooet**, a Salish tribe in the interior of Brit. Col. *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, XII. 19 (MSS), returned 1,211 souls (including 165 followers), but it seems to have included only the Lower Lillooet, and probably even only a part of them. *Can. Ind. Aff.* reported the population of the Lillooet bands at the Williams Lake Agency as 1,067 (1885), 996 (1890), 959 (1895), 921 (1901) souls. The Lillooet have greatly decreased in numbers since the arrival of the Whites in 1858 and their former population might have been about 4,000, J. Teit: *Lillooet*, 199. J. Mooney 1928, 30, also assumes 4,000 as the population of this tribe in about 1780.

17. **Mandan**, a tribe of Siouan stock. In about 1738 the Mandan inhabited seven fortified villages, de la V  randerie, in de Bougainville, 54; they are said to have once even numbered thirteen to seventeen villages (possibly with the Hidatsa), H. B. Brackenridge, 77, but wars and smallpox reduced them, cf. Lewis and Clark, VI. 89—90. There were 700 warriors, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis in Berguin-Duvallon, 100, foot-note); 300 warriors in three villages, Perrin du Lac, 262; 350 warriors (1,250 souls) in two villages in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 89—90 (and in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.* (1832). I. 710); also J. Morse, 367, and J. F. Schermerhorn, 35. There were 350 warriors and 2,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (and D. B. Warden, III. 559); 250 warriors in 1824, J. Pilcher, 453; jointly with the Hidatsa, the Mandan numbered 500 warriors (and 3,000 souls) in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 607; 600 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 103; 2,000—3,000 in one village in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 80, and G. Catlin: *Okeepa*, 4; 15,000 souls (probably a misprint). *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403, and 3,200 souls, *ib. 1837*, 612. M. Wied-Neuwied, II. 105, estimated them at 233—240 warriors and 900—1,000 souls. The epidemic of smallpox in 1837—'38 was disastrous: of the 1,200 population only seven families escaped from contagion, about 80 warriors committed suicide in despair, there remained only thirty-two families, and those chiefly women and children, J. P. de Smet in Chittenden and Richardson, 189, A. Potts in G. Catlin: *Okeepa*, 48; various references differ much: the survivors numbered only 31 according to one account, 125 or 145 according to others, McGee, in *15 B. Am. E.*, 197. *Ind. Aff. 1841*, 246, stated that the Mandan were destroyed by smallpox in 1837, the few left no longer existed as a tribe, but had become members of other bands. There were thirty lodges, 120 men, 300 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1842*, 425 (D. D. Mitchell); *ib. 1844*, 316, and *ib. 1845*, 459. About 1850 the Mandan numbered thirty lodges and 150 souls, Th. A. Culbertson, 143. They were less than 400 souls, St. R. Riggs, 191. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 250 (1856), 120 (1862 and 1863), 400 (1866 and 1867), 420 (1875), 228 (1880), 340 (1885), 244 (1890), 265 (1895), 250 (1900), 249 (1905) and 255 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 209 souls of whom 78.9% were full-bloods (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 100). J. Mooney 1928, 13, supposes that the Mandan numbered 3,600 souls in 1780.

18. **Massachuset**, an Algonquian tribe, perhaps a confederacy, which consisted of three sagamorships and seven petty sagamorships. The pestilence of 1617 ravaged them and from 3,000 warriors, they are said to have been reduced to 300, J. Josselyn, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ser. III, v. III, p. 294. "In anno 1612 (?) and 1613 (?) these people were sorely smitten by the hand of God with disease", D. Gookin, 148, wrote in 1764. In 1631 they came to only 500 souls, and in 1632 were further reduced by an epidemic of smallpox, J. Mooney and C. Thomas (in F. W. Hodge, I. 816). J. A. Mauraault, 3, estimated the Massachuset at 3,000—6,000 warriors, but according to J. Mooney and C. Thomas, *l. c.*,



and J. Mooney 1928, 4, it is more likely that the total population of the tribe did not exceed 3,000 souls in 1600.

19. **Menominee**, an Algonquian tribe. In 1680 the Menominee (if the Melomelinoia are the same as the Menominee), or a part of them, together with four Illinois tribes were living in the same village of 200—300 fires, La Salle in P. Margry, II. 201. About the same time the Menominee (or rather a part of them) were no more than 40 in number, Bacqueville de la Potherie, II. 79. In 1718 they were not numerous, about 80—100 men, according to *N. Y. Coll. Doc.*, IX (1855). 889. In 1721 there is a reference to the only Menominee village as not being very populous, Charlevoix 1766, II. 46. The official Report on the State of British Plantations in America of 1721, in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, V. 622, estimated them at 200 warriors. There were 160 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1055; 150 warriors in two villages in 1761, J. Gorrel, 23; 210 (110 as the Menominee and 100 as Folsavoines) warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583; 350 warriors in about 1764, Th. Hutchins (H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556), and H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139, in 1824). Jointly with the Sauk they mustered 550 warriors in 1765, G. Croghan, 169, and Th. Hutchins 1778, 66; 200 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 145; 2,000 warriors (?) in 1778, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 560; 150 warriors in 1783, Dalton, 123, and in 1786, Memorandum of Committee of Merchants (Montreal), in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XII (1892). 79; 300 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292, and in 1805—'07 (1,350 souls), Z. M. Pike, 134 (also J. F. Schermerhorn, 10); 400 warriors (1,600 souls) in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 4,170 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 362—363 (3,900 souls, *ib.* 59); 3,900 souls in Michigan and 270 in Illinois in 1825, McKenney, 545; 4,200 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 97, and in 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 31. *Ind. Aff.* returned: 4,000 souls (1837, 640, and 1841, 247); 400 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 19. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at 2,464 (1843, 51), about 2,500 (1844, 427; D. Jones), over 2,500 (1849, 1035; A. Ramsay); 1,930 (1855), 1,724 (1863), 1,393 (1867), 1,522 (1875), 1,450 (1880), 1,308 (1885), 1,311 (1890, with about 400 living on the reserve in Wisconsin and others in different parts of Wisconsin and Michigan), 1,286 (1895), 1,396 (1900), 1,370 (1905) and 1,509 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910, returned 1,422 souls of whom 49.5% were full-bloods (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 74, 32). It is supposed by A. E. Jenks, 1050, that an average of 1,500 souls is a safe estimate for the number of the Menominee during the last 250 years. According to J. Mooney 1928, 11, they numbered 3,000 souls in about 1650. As regards the Menominee, the great disparity between the low estimates of their population in the XVIII century and the considerable figures of the XIX century must be emphasized. The difference cannot be ascribed to the natural increase of population. Probably the scattered nature and small sizes of their settlements coupled with the lack of exact information must have contributed to evoke this



disparity. It is also possible that the Menominee population increased partly owing to the influx of immigrants from broken-up tribes, e. g., from the Noquet.

20. **Miami**, an Algonquian tribe. No trustworthy estimates of the tribe are available in earlier documents: the Miami are always mentioned jointly with some other tribes (the Wea, Piankaskaw, Pepikokia, etc., sometimes with the Kickapoo and Mascouten). In addition, earlier figures are much exaggerated. The Oumamik are said to have numbered 8,000 warriors (or more than 24,000 souls) in 1657—'58, Dreuillette, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 246. The Miami chief was accompanied by over 3,000 warriors in about 1665—'66, Bacqueville de la Potherie, II. 106. N. Perrot, 127, in 1669 estimated them at 4,000—5,000 warriors. There were 1,200—1,500 warriors in 1680, La Salle, in P. Margry, I. 505; 1,500 warriors in 1689, Jean Cavalier, in P. Margry, III. 589. The above estimates decidedly covered not only the Miami proper but also some allied tribes. These partners are clearly referred to in some statements: the Miami, at least a part of them, were even living in the same village with other tribes. (The presence of the Whites and the activity of missionaries probably contributed much to such a situation.) Namely, in 1670—'71, the Miami were united within the same enclosure to the Maskouten, both tribes formed together more than 3,000 souls and could furnish each 400 warriors, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 198—200. In 1672 there were 193 large cabins of the Mascouten, Wea, Kickapoo and Miami in this settlement, the Miami numbering over 90 cabins, Allouez, in *Jes. Rel.*, LVIII. 22 (cf. Marquette, in B. F. French, II. 282 and IV. 13, also in Margry, II. 99, upon such coexistence of the Miami and other tribes in the same village). St. Cosme, 19 (and in J. G. Shea 1861, 53), referred in 1699 to two Miami villages, one of them with over 150 cabins and another almost as large. (Later writers often referred to the Miami being divided into separate villages, and Lamothe Cadillac, in P. Margry, V. 123, stated that the Miami were a numerous nation but, living in separate villages, they were predestined to decay; in 1720 they were divided into three villages, Charlevoix 1766, I. 155.) The Miami numbered 500 families in 1702, Iberville, 602; 400 warriors in 1718, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 891 (they were living together with the Mascouten and Wea, L. Hennepin 1903, 143); 2,000 in number in 1721 (really in 1718 or 1719), *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 622; 200 men in 1736, besides 10, who were living among the Potawatomi, Chauvignerie, 1056, 1057; at the time of the Treaty at Lancaster (1748), the Miami and allied tribes on the Wabash River were estimated in twenty towns at about 1,000 fighting men, *Olden Times*, I. 309. In about 1751 the Miami jointly with the Wea and Piankashaw were a very numerous people consisting of many different tribes — the most powerful people to the west of the English settlements, their town on Miami River numbering 400 families, Ch. Gist, 135, 141. There were 300 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149; 230 men in 1763, Wm. John-

son, 583; 350 warriors in 1764, Th. Hutchins, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555, and H. Bouquet, 145 (also J. Buchanan, 138, in 1824); 250 warriors in 1765, their village consisted of forty to fifty cabins, G. Croghan, 150, 168; 300 warriors in 1778, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, and Dodge in 1779, in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, 149; 200 warriors at the Indian battle at Miami in 1794, Lassell, 123; 100 warriors in 1794, *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 489; 200 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291; 300 warriors in 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555; 250 warriors and probably 1,000 souls, besides the Eel River Indians numbering 175 (?) warriors in 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 7, 12 (and D. B. Warden, III. 534). The Miami, Wea and Eel River Indians numbered jointly 1,400 souls in about 1817, J. Morse, 363. The collective body of the Miami and Eel River Indians was estimated at 1,073 in 1825, McKenney, 545; they did not exceed 500 souls in 1827, Forsyth, 202; 1,050 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 97. There were 1,100 souls in Indiana, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 402, *ib.* 1837, 640, and *ib.* 1841, 247; at the same time McKenney and Hall, I. 26, reported 1,000 souls. In 1834 a portion of the tribe was removed to Kansas; in 1846 a part of the remaining Miami of Indiana removed to Indian Territory to the number of 500 souls, by 1851 they were reduced to 275 and by 1854 to 193 souls (*Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575, reported 207 souls in Kansas and 353 souls in Indiana), in 1868 there were 92 Miami, most of mixed blood, *Ind. Aff.* 1868, 728. In the seventies the Miami were confederated with related tribes. *Ind. Aff.* estimated them at: 64 (1880), 57 (1885), 69 (1890), 86 (1895), 101 (1900), 124 (1905) and 127 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 226 souls: 123 in Oklahoma and 90 in Indiana, 26.1% were full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 74. In consequence of the impossibility of differentiating the Miami from related tribes there is great difficulty in estimating the former population of this tribe. J. Mooney 1928, 11, supposes that the Miami, including the Wea and Piankashaw, numbered about 4,500 souls in 1650.

21. **Micmac**, an Algonquian tribe. The Souriquoys would not amount to 2,000 souls in 1612—'14, Biard, in *Jes. Rel.*, II. 73; they were said to number 3,000—3,500 souls in 1616, Biard, in *Jes. Rel.*, III. 111. The Gaspesiens, a branch of the Micmac, numbered 400—500 souls in 1677, Morain, in *Jes. Rel.*, LX. 270; 535 (men?) in 1745, de Beauharnais and Hocquart, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, X. 15. There were 300 families in 1753, Gov. Hobson, in J. Hannay, 44. The Micmac did not exceed 350 warriors in Nova Scotia in about 1760, Wm. Douglas, I. 182; 3,000 souls in 1760, yet their number at that time was very much reduced, Fr. Maynard, quoted by E. Vetromile, 57, and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809). 115; 700 warriors in 1764, Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 553; 350 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144 (and J. Buchanan, 139); 500 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292. In 1866 there were 2,000 Micmacs, or somewhat more, who resided on Prince



Edward Id., E. Vetromile, 123. About 3,000 souls in 1871, J. Hannay, 43; 4,108 souls in 1891, N. E. Dionne, quoted by R. P. Pacifique, 319. *Can. Ind. Aff.* returned: 3,904 (1877), 3,892 (1880), 3,930 (1885), 4,047 (1890), 3,974 (1895) and 3,852 (1900) souls in Canada. The Census of 1910 found 45 Micmacs in the United States (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 74). J. Mooney 1928, 24, places their number at 3,500 in 1600. According to J. Hannay, 44, the whole force of the Micmacs and Malecites combined never exceeded 700—800 warriors, and no material decrease has taken place in their numbers since the first settlement of the country.

22. *Mishinimaki*, a Algonquian tribe, at Lake Michigan. They are said to have been exterminated by the Iroquois, probably in the first half of the XVII century. According to the narration of a few survivors of the tribe, the Mishinimaki once consisted of thirty villages, mustered 3,000 warriors and their fortified village had a league and a half in circumference, Dablon in 1671, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 158. There is no doubt that their numbers were greatly exaggerated as usual in Indian traditions. At best, the tribe numbered as many souls as the tradition says there were warriors.

23. *Mohave*, a Yuman tribe in the basin of the Rio Colorado. The Yamajab numbered 3,000 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, II. 443; in 1799, Cortez, 124, and in 1834, J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228. There were 600 warriors and 4,000 souls in about 1854, Leroux, 17 (the warriors numbered 381 in 1854, the total being somewhat greater, as many of the able-bodied young men chose to remain at home for the cultivation of their fields and were not included among the warriors, A. W. Whipple, 17); 3,000 souls in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 62; 5,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1863*, 508 (Ch. D. Poston); 4,000 souls, *ib. 1867*, 159 (J. Fehnde) and *ib. 1868*, 812. J. Ross Browne 1869, 290 and 291, gave two estimates: 4,000 souls (600 warriors) and 5,000 souls. A. W. Bell 1869, I. 189, related that the Mohave had once numbered 10,000 souls. *Ind. Aff. 1869*, 533 (Col. Jones) reported 2,500 souls. There were on reservations according to *Ind. Aff.*: 820 (1875), 838 (1880), 810 (1885) souls; 2,262 souls under the Colorado River Agency, and 479 souls under the San Carlos Agency, *Ind. Aff. 1900*; 1,219 souls under the San Carlos agency, *ib. 1910*. The Census of 1910 returned 1,058 souls of whom 98.1% were full-bloods (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 110). Most figures seem to be over-estimates. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 780, the Mohave seem to have been at least as numerous as the Yuma (2,500 or more) ever since they were known. J. Mooney 1928, 22, places their numbers at 3,000 souls in 1680.

24. *Nataotin* (Babines), a Takulli division (tribe), Brit. Col. Till 1812 the Nataotin never had any intercourse with the Whites; five villages which D. W. Harmon then visited, contained 2,000 inhabitants, he however had seen but a small part of the Nataotin who were said to be a numerous tribe, D. W. Harmon, 219 (the figure of 2,000 was repeated



by J. Morse, 371). A. C. Anderson, in 1839, reported only 181 souls at Post Babine, on the basis of the HBC Indian Census of 1839; but at the end of the list of the census of Indian population at the Babine Post there is a note in the MSS to the effect that the census was not correct and that there was twice the number of Indians (A. G. Morice 1906, 196, gave their number at the time of the above-mentioned census to be at least 600 souls); 1,190 souls in 1845, Nobili, quoted by P. J. de Smet 1863, 515; at the same time, H. Hale, 202 (and Duncan G. F. MacDonald, 127, in 1862), estimated the Takulli clans, including the Babine, at 50—300 souls each; 300 souls about 1879, G. M. Dawson 1879—'80, 30 B. A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 27, estimated the Babines at 610 souls (namely: the Nakotenne or Nataotin proper at some 310 souls in three villages, and the Hwotsotenne at about 300 souls in two villages); 530 souls at the beginning of the XX century, A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 274. *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1895 and 1900 reported for Babine groups: 618 and 596 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 27, referred to the Babine as an aggregate of tribes and estimated the Babine tribes at 3,200 souls in 1780.

25. **O m a h a**, a tribe of Siouan stock. The Omaha numbered 1,200 families in 1702, Iberville, 601; 800 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 68; 450—500 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report in L. Houck, I. 144. There were 700 warriors in 1794, but the epidemic of smallpox in 1802 reduced their numbers to somewhat under 300, Lewis and Clark, VI. 88. They had 500 warriors in 1799, but they are said to have been almost exterminated by smallpox, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis in Berquin-Duvallon, 100, foot-note). In 1804 there were eighty lodges, 150 warriors and 600 souls, Lewis and Clark, VI. 87—88 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 709); 250 warriors and 800 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85 (in his *Jour. of a Voyage up the River Missouri*, Baltimore 1816, 91, this explorer referred to the Omaha village as having 3,000 souls). The above figures for 1811 reappear in J. F. Schermerhorn, 33, and in D. B. Warden, III. 556; 400 warriors and 2,000 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 1,500 souls in 1819—'20, S. H. Long in E. James, II. 364; 3,000 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 366; 400—500 men in 1824, J. Pilcher, 453; 550 warriors and 2,750 souls in 1825 in a dirt village, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606; 1,900 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 101; 1,500 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 24 (an epidemic of smallpox ravaged them in 1823, Th. Donaldson, 72). There were 1,400 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 1,600 souls, *ib.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 246; 500 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 19; about 2,000 in 1838, J. P. de Smet (in Chittenden and Richardson, 165); 1,301 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1844, 437, and *ib.* 1848, 466; 1,400 souls about 1850, H. Howe, 356; 800 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 576 (and F. V. Hayden, 448) in 1862. Official estimates in 1861—'67 oscillated from 950 (1861) to 997 (1866) souls. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Omaha at 1,002 (1868), 981 (1870), 1,005 (1875), 1,188 (1885), 1,773 (1890; the Census of 1890 returned: 1,158), 1,182 (1895 and 1900),

1,221 (1905) and 1,276 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,105 souls, of which 80.1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> were full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 101. According to J. Mooney 1928, 13, the Omaha numbered about 2,800 souls in 1780.

26. **Ottawa**, an Algonquian tribe. The earliest estimates seem to have never referred to all divisions of the Ottawa: apparently the cohesion of the various bands was loose. In addition the Ottawa were often confused with other related tribes. In 1670 Father Dablon stated that the whole population of these regions was called the Ottawa since "of more than thirty different tribes which are found in these countries the first that descended to the French settlements were the Ottawa whose name remained afterward attached to all the others." How far this confusion went is indicated by the following passage (1681): "the Outawas Indians are divided into several tribes... They are: the Temistamens, Nepisseriens, Missisakis, Amicones, Sauteurs, Kiskagons", du Chesneau, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 160—161. In the foregoing list, Chippewa or Algonkin divisions or bands (and tribes) have been given as the Ottawa. In 1666—'71, according to *Jes. Rel.*, LI. 20, and *ib.* LIV. 167 (Dablon), three such "tribes" comprised under the name of the Ottawa: the Ottawa, Kishkagon and Sinago, formed a village and jointly with a Huron tribe numbered 1,500 souls — it is difficult to decide whether they were only Ottawa bands or three distinct tribes owing to the fusion of which the Ottawa became a populous ethnic unit. In this settlement the Kishkagon were the most numerous tribe in 1677—'80, *Jes. Rel.*, LXI. 102. These Kishkagon numbered 500 souls in 1677—'78, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXI. 69. At the same time, i. e. in 1670—'71, there were four Ottawa villages at the Bay of the Puans, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 159. (Earlier estimates than the above given ones, covered only a part of the tribe. For instance, S. Champlain, IV. 24, in 1615 met 300 men of the Cheveux relevés. In 1653 at Aotonetendia there were 200 Ottawa men, *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVIII, 180.) In 1693 the Wagenhanes (one of the Ottawa "nations") were reported as numbering 1,500 souls, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 61. Buisson de St. Cosme, 13, referred to the Outdais village with about 300 men; *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX, 888, reported in 1718 an Ottawa band with 100 men and another with 80 men. The Ottawa or Michilimakinak (again confusion) formerly numbered 3,000 souls, but in about 1721 scarcely 500, an official document in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 622. The Ottawa were formerly very numerous according to Charlevoix 1744, V. 275, but in 1721 he knew only three Ottawa villages and those but thinly peopled. Chauvigneriee, 1053, 1058, in 1736 describes the Ottawa as being at many places and as being very scattered. Chauvignerie gave the numbers for some bands: the village of Michilimakinak numbered 180 warriors; to the south of Lake Huron a village of 80 men; at Lake Erie, Detroit, two villages, one composed of the Sinago "tribe" and the other of the Kishkakon, jointly 200 warriors. Some other partial estimates: *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 888, in 1718 estimated the Ottawa of Detroit at 100 men, those of Michilimakinak at 60; J. Gorell, 23, placed the number



of the Detroit Ottawa at 100 warriors in 1761; 600 warriors (200 at Detroit, 250 at Michilimakinak, 150 at St. Joseph) in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583. G. Croghan, 163, 168, in about 1765 estimated the Ottawa near Ft. Detroit at 400 warriors; those near Michilimakinak at 260 and those near Ft. St. Joseph at 150, besides there were the Ottawa at Saginaw Creek numbering 200 warriors jointly with the Chippewa (G. Croghan, *ib.*, 76, reported several hundreds of the Ottawa gathering together in 1754 in order to cut off the Shawnee); 900 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144 (and J. Buchanan, 139); 3,000 warriors under Pontiac, the principal chief, in 1777, a Spanish Report in L. Houck, I. 147; 450 warriors in 1778, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 560; 300 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123; 900 warriors in 1785, Smith in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554; 250 warriors in 1794, Lassell, 123; 500 warriors, besides whom there were 150 warriors at Saginaw Bay, G. Imlay, 292; 300 warriors and 1,200 souls in 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 12; J. Morse, 362, reported 377 souls separately, in addition there were 2,873 Ottawas jointly with some Winnebago and Chippewa and 1,600 Ottawas jointly with the Chippewa. They numbered 377 souls in Ohio and 18,473 Chippewas and Ottawas in Michigan (the Chippewa were more numerous) in 1825, McKenney, 545; 13,150 souls in Ohio in 1825, J. C. Colhoun, in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, II (1834). 543; 5,500 souls in 1831, G. Catlin in Th. Donaldson, 126; about 4,000 souls in 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 21. In the above figures the Ottawa are often estimated jointly with other tribes, especially with the Chippewa, J. F. Schermerhorn even considered them as a division of that tribe. At later times they were almost invariably returned jointly with the Chippewa exclusive of some partial estimates (e. g., J. R. Chénault, in *Ind. Aff. 1851*, 328, reported 2,024 Ottawas). The largest body of the Ottawa, that on the shores of Lake Superior, was in about 1877 so intermarried and confederated with the Chippewa that no attempt was made at any distinction between them, W. H. Jackson, 15. On account of their past, Fr. Parkman, I. 148, is quite right in stating that the Ottawa and Chippewa defy all efforts at enumeration in the XVIII (and XVII) century. The Census of 1910 returned 2,717 Ottawas, of which 2,454 were in Michigan, the full-bloods being 63.3% of this population, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 75. *Can. Ind. Aff.* reported the Ottawa in Canada intermingled with the Chippewa. F. W. Hodge, II. 171, estimates them in Canada and in the United States at 4,700 souls in 1908. According to J. Mooney 1928, 24, the Algonkin and Ottawa bands jointly numbered 6,000 souls in 1600.

27. **Pequot**, an Algonquian tribe, Conn. The Pequot, as old Indians related, could once raise 4,000 men fit for war, D. Gookin, 147, — a great exaggeration, repeated later by J. A. Maurault, 3. An epidemic ravaged them in 1618, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, s. II, v. II, p. 66. In 1636 a body of Pequots attacked Ft. Saybrook; an English expedition was sent against them but retreated as 2,000 Indian warriors were gathered there (probably of allied tribes), J. A. Maurault, 45, 46. The Pequot, Mohegan and Niantic



could muster about 1,000 bowmen, the Pequot alone were estimated at 700 warriors, B. Trumbull, I. 42. J. Higginson (in *Winthrop Papers*, 395) estimated them at the beginning of 1637 at 1,000 armed men, if not more (probably with allied tribes). The War of 1637 was fatal to them: in their principal fort, 700 Pequots were killed by the force of English arms or perished in the flames of their houses, 300 died of their wounds afterwards (there was another fort with at least 300 warriors); 200 old men, women and children surrendered to the English, the rest joined other tribes; some fugitives were killed or captured by Indian tribes or by the English, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, s. II, v. VIII, p. 143; *ib.*, s. III, v. VI (1837), pp. 40, 165—166, 171, 182; *ib.*, s. IV, v. III, pp. 357—361; J. A. Maurault, 45—50. In 1638 the Pequot seem to have left nothing but their name. However, in spite of defeat the remaining Pequots were still numerous. About 40—50 remained on Long Island and 300 fit for fight at Quinnopiage, D. Patrick, in *Winthrop Papers*, 323; those portioned among friendly tribes in 1738 numbered 180—200 warriors (*viz.*, 80 went to the Mohegan, 80 to the Narraganset, 30 to the Niantic), S. Niles 173. In 1755 the Pequot who were handed over to the tribes allied with the English were gathered in their old country in two villages and numbered 300 warriors in 1774, D. Gookin, 147. The Groton Pequots numbered 164 persons in 1731 and 72 persons over 14 years of age in 1755; there were 176 persons in 1762, J. W. de Forest, 427. The Maushantuxet Pequot numbered 140 souls in 1762, E. Stiles, 101—103 *passim*. A census of Indians in 1774 returned 186 souls in Groton, *Mass. Coll.*, s. I, v. X, p. 116; there were 151 Pequots on the territory of Maushantuxet, J. W. de Forest, 438. In 1832 the Groton Pequot numbered 40 persons, they were greatly mixed with white and negro blood, J. W. de Forest, 443. The Stonington Pequot were at first a smaller band than those of Groton: they numbered 33 adult men (or 150 persons) in 1713; 38 persons in 1749, mostly females; 237 persons, a census of Indians in 1774; by 1848, none of the pure Pequot race were left, all having been mixed with Indians of other tribes or with Whites and Negroes, J. W. de Forest, 432, 439, 445. In about 1907, 25 Pequots were living on the Groton tract, J. Mooney, in F. W. Hodge, II. 230. The Census of 1910 returned 66 souls in Connecticut, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75. Cf. Fr. G. Speck's, 43 *B. Am. E.*, 213, estimates of the numbers of the Pequot in the years 1637—1910. J. Mooney, *l. c.*, supposes that at the period of their greatest strength the Pequot probably numbered at least 3,000 souls; J. Mooney 1928, 4, estimates them at only 2,200 souls in 1600.

28. **Piegan**, a populous tribe of the Blackfoot confederacy. They are said to have once numbered 8,000 lodges or 40,000 persons, G. B. Grinnell 1892, 177. After the epidemic of 1780—'81, A. Mackenzie, LXX, found 1,200—1,500 warriors in about 1789—'93; 700 warriors at the beginning of the XIX century, A. Henry and Thompson, 530; J. Franklin, I. 169, estimated them at 400 tents in 1819—'22. The Blue Mud Indians

numbered 3,000 souls jointly with the Long-haired Indians (Crow) in about 1817, J. Morse, 367. The Piegan numbered 500 lodges, and the Small Robes 250 lodges, averaging ten persons to a lodge, G. Catlin 1841, I. 52; 350 lodges (after the epidemic of 1838) and 2,450 souls in about 1840, G. Simpson, I. 102; 300 lodges about 1847, P. J. de Smet 1863, 256; 430 lodges about 1853, with an average of ten souls to a lodge, J. M. Stanley, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 449; 350 lodges, 2,450 souls (875 warriors) in 1853, J. Doty, *ib.*, 443 (and I. I. Stevens, 402); 350 lodges in 1856, E. A. C. Hatch, in *Ind. Aff. 1856*, 626; 400 tents in 1857—'58, Rowand, in H. Y. Hind: *Red. R.*, II. 152; 460 lodges, 3,700 souls (900 warriors), *Ind. Aff. 1858*, 432, and *ib. 1860*, 308 (A. J. Vaughan) (also F. V. Hayden, 249). *Ind. Aff. 1864—'67* estimated them at only 1,890 souls. In 1864 and 1865 the Piegan suffered from an epidemic of measles and smallpox; in 1883 nearly 600 died of hunger, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 75. There were 4,200 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1868*, 812. H. M. Robinson 1879, 189, put their number at 3,000, although smallpox in 1870 had carried off large numbers of them. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Piegan at 2,000 (1885), 2,173 (1890), 1,837 (1895), 2,085 (1900), 2,063 (1905) and 2,269 (1910). The Census of 1910 returned 2,268 souls (2,211 in Montana), of whom 53.5% were full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 75. *Can. Ind. Aff.* gave them in Canada as 781 (1895) and 519 (1900) souls.

29. **Pima** (Pima Gileños), a tribe of the Piman family, Ariz. The Pima numbered 4,195 (besides 561 intermingled with the Seri) in 1730, H. H. Bancroft, X (1883). 513—514; 6,000 souls jointly with the Maricopa in 1744, J. Sedelmayer quoted by M. Venegas, II. 182; 2,500 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, II. 443, and in 1799, J. Cortez, 123. The chief of the Pima gave the numbers of his tribe as 10,000 souls in 1850, S. Mowry, in *Ind. Aff. 1857*, 588; 1,152 warriors and 4,117 souls in nine pueblos, G. Bailey, in *Ind. Aff. 1859*, 560 (*ib.*, 728, only 3,770 souls were given; also *J. Ethn. Lond.*, I (1868—'69). 231); 2,500 souls in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 50; 3,300 souls jointly with the Maricopa, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 828; both tribes jointly numbered 3,000 souls in about 1863, Ch. D. Poston, 506; 3,067 souls (1,000 warriors) in about 1864, J. Ross Browne 1869, 290. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Pima (in Arizona) at 6,000 (1867), 4,000 (1869, 533; Col. Jones), 4,500 (1880 and 1885), 4,421 (1890), 4,266 (1895), 4,350 (1900), 3,900 (1905) and 4,305 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 4,236 (4,167 in Arizona) souls, 98.6% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 89. According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, the Pima would have numbered 4,000 souls in 1680.

30. **Potawatomi**, an Algonquian tribe. In 1653, 400 Potawatomi men at Aotonetendia were mentioned, *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVIII. 180; about 700 warriors (including 100 Tionontati) and 3,000 souls in 1658, Dreuillette, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 244; 300 warriors were reported in 1667, *Jes. Rel.*, XL. 26. In 1718 they were less numerous than many other tribes, Lamothe Cadillac, in P. Margry, V. 120; those of Detroit numbered 180 warriors

in 1718, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 888. In about 1721 the Potawatomi possessed one of the smallest islands on Lake Michigan and still had two villages elsewhere, Charlevoix 1766, I. 154. Chauvignerie, 1055, 1056, 1058, related in 1736 of them being at many places: 180 men in a village at Detroit (in the draft: only 100 men), in a small village on an island on Lake Michigan to the number of 20 men, and 100 warriors in the village at St. Joseph. In 1763 the Potawatomi in the neighbourhood of Detroit numbered 150 and those at St. Joseph 200 warriors, Wm. Johnson, 583; 350 warriors in 1764, Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556) and H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139); 150 warriors in the division at St. Joseph in 1765, G. Croghan, 169; 300 warriors in 1768, Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149; 150 warriors, probably in one of the divisions, in 1777, a Spanish Report in L. Houck, I. 147; 200 warriors, Th. Hutchins 1778, 66; 450 warriors in 1778, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 560, and in 1779, J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149; 400 warriors in 1783 in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123; 350 warriors (and probably 1,200 souls) at the Treaty of Granville (1795), J. F. Schermerhorn, 5; 270 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292; 500 warriors in 1812, an officer, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; 1,200 warriors and 4,000 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 77; 1,200 souls and 300 warriors about 1819, D. B. Warden, III. 532; 3,566 souls, J. Morse, 363; 6,500 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 96, and McKenney and Hall in 1837, I. 22; not more than 2,700 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 99; 1,500 souls among those of Missouri, H. Atkinson, 19, about 1837. In 1838 a reserve was allotted them on the Missouri, the whole tribe then numbering about 4,000 souls, W. H. Jackson, 16. P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 1087) reported that the Potawatomi were divided into those of the forests and those of the prairies, the latter forming a mixed nation composed of the Potawatomi, Winnebago, Chippewa, Sauk, Fox, etc., to the number of 3,000 souls. In 1855 the tribe could have amounted in all to over 4,000 souls (there were 3,400 at the Potawatomi Agency in Kansas, 281 in Michigan, 250 among the Kickapoo; besides there were the Potawatomi living in Illinois, Indiana and among the Sauk and Foxes), G. W. Clarke, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 354, 421. *Ind. Aff.* gave them as 2,877 (1868, in three separate bodies) and 1,330 (1880) souls. *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1881 found the Potawatomi intermingled with the Ottawa and Chippewa to the joint number of 1,448 souls (a part of the tribe living in Indiana escaped into Canada at the time of their removal beyond the Mississippi). The Census of 1890, 322, 331, returned 1,285 souls in four bodies (462 in Kansas, 480 in Oklahoma, 78 in Michigan, 265 in Wisconsin) besides those who were living in Michigan as citizen Potawatomi. *Ind. Aff.* 1900 and 1910 estimated the Prairie band in Kansas at 578 and 724 souls, those in Michigan at 77 and 78, those in Wisconsin at 280 and 440, and citizen Potawatomi in Oklahoma at 1,722 and 1,655, in addition there were Potawatomi scattered at various other points and



some hundreds were living in Canada. The Census of 1910 returned 2,440 souls (866 in Oklahoma, 819 in Kansas, 461 in Michigan, 245 in Wisconsin), 39.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 76. According to J. N. B. Hewitt and J. Mooney (in F. W. Hodge, II. 291), the tribe probably never greatly exceeded 3,000 souls. A. E. Jenks, 1053, supposes, that formerly doubtlessly 2,000—2,500 of these Indians consumed "wild rice." J. Mooney 1928, 11, places their number at 4,000 in 1650.

31. *Quapaw*, a tribe of Siouan stock. They are supposed to have been the *Paçaha* who were mentioned in 1541 in the relations of de Soto's expedition; in connection with the *Paçaha* and *Casqui*, there is reference to 5,000—6,000 Indians, *Elvas*, 210. In 1682 three (Tonti, in B. F. French, I. 60) or four Quapaw villages (referred to by Tonti, in P. Margry 1867, 18); four villages in 1687, several cabanes could hold 200 persons, Joutel, 306 (also in B. F. French, I. 176, and in P. Margry, III. 442) and G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 280. In 1698, or 1699 they suffered from smallpox which carried off the greater part of them: a hundred men remained whilst all the children and a great part of the women had died off, St. Cosme, 42 (also in Shea 1861, 72, and in A. Gosselin, 35); in addition, they dispersed for fear of the Chickasaw, de Montigny (in A. Gosselin, 35). Three villages in 1700: in the village of the Kappa and Akansa there were forty cabins, J. Gravier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXV. 118, 124; 300 families in 1702, Iberville, 601. Three villages contained 400 persons, the fourth consisted of forty cabins and 330 persons in 1721, de la Harpe (in P. Margry, VI. 365, 362, and in B. F. French, III. 106—107). They were again reduced by smallpox in 1720, S. G. Drake, X. Three villages which contained four "tribes" and numbered about 1,200 souls in 1727, P. du Poisson, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII. 318; 400 warriors in 1750, L. Vivier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXIX. 216; 160 men in 1758, de Kerlerac, 71, foot-note; 2,000 (warriors?) in 1766, H. Bouquet, 145 (also J. Buchanan, 138, and the probably more moderate figure of 1,000 warriors in G. Imlay, 294). In 1766 they consisted of about 250 gunmen, J. Stuart, in Cl. E. Carter, 827 (only 220, the same author in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1888). 282); Baudry de Lozières, 253, at the end of the XVIII century related that they when living on the Mississippi had mustered more than 500 warriors, but in his time they were already reduced to 200. In 1794 some 200 very valiant warriors brought help to the French, de Carondelet, in J. A. Robertson, I. 309. About 260 warriors in three villages, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 98, foot-note). Two villages, 260 warriors and 1,000 souls in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 112. In all, they did not exceed 100 men in three villages in 1805, J. Sibley, 725; 200 warriors in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 86 (also J. F. Schermerhorn, 28, in 1811 and Th. Nuttall, 81, about 1819); 200 warriors, 800 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76. There were 700 souls, J. Morse, 367, J. C. Colhoun, in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, II. 543 (in 1825), and McKenney, 545. The Quapaw numbered 500 souls in 1829,

P. B. Porter, 102; 150 families in Texas in 1828, *Boll. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 268. There were 450 (*Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403), 476 (*ib.* 1837, 641, and *ib.* 1841, 246), 400 (*ib.* 1844, 316), 247 (*ib.* 1845, 459), 221 (*ib.* 1848, 534) souls. H. Howe, 356, estimated them at 600 about 1850. *Ind. Aff.* gave them as: 314 (1855), 350 (1866 and 1868), 274 (1870), 235 (1875 and 1880), 224 (1890; the Census of 1890, 528, found 154 souls), 232 (1895), 251 (1900), 284 (1905) and 307 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 231 souls, 27.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 101. According to J. Mooney 1928, 9, there were 2,500 Quapaw in 1650.

32. **Sauk**, an Algonquian tribe. They were very numerous but wandering and scattered in the forests without any fixed abode, S. Cramoisy had seen nearly 200 in 1666—'67, *Jes. Rel.*, LI. 44—45. The Sauk jointly with the Foxes and Potawatomi mustered a party of 1,000 warriors in 1670—'72, N. Perrot, 102. A part of the Sauk who were living at Michigan numbered 80 boatmen in 1712, Marest, in *Wisc. Hist. Col.*, XVI (1902). 289. They were formerly numerous, but were destroyed by the Illinois, Lamothe Cadillac in 1718, in P. Margry, V. 121; 100—120 warriors in 1718, *Memoir of the Indians*, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 889; 200 warriors in 1721, *Y. N. Col. Dcts.*, V. 622; 150 warriors in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1055; 250 warriors in one village in 1758, de Kerlerac, 66, foot-note; 350 warriors in 1761, J. Gorell, 23; 300 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583; 400 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139), and Th. Hutchins, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 554. G. Croghan, 168, 169, in 1765 estimated the Sauk at 200 warriors; besides, he reported the Sauk living together with the Chippewa and Menominee on the shores of Lake Michigan to the joint number of 550 warriors. The great town of the Sauk was composed of about ninety houses, each large enough for several families; they could raise about 300 warriors in 1766, J. Carver, 47; 200 warriors in 1768, Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149; 400 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 146; 450 warriors in 1783, in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123; 1,300 men in 1786, Memorandum of the Committee of Merchants (Montreal), in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XII (1892). 80; 400 warriors at one place and 170 warriors at another, G. Imlay, 292, 290. The Sauk jointly with the Fox mustered 500 warriors in 1803, *Acc. of La 1803*, 351 (and J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 101, foot-note); 500 warriors and about 2,000 souls in two villages in 1804, Lewis and Clark. VI. 93 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 711); 700 warriors and 2,850 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 9); 500 warriors and 2,500 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 86; 800 warriors and 3,200 souls, Wm. Clark, 76, in 1815 and E. Tanner, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1879). 288, in 1818; 4,500 souls, J. Morse, 363; 4,800 souls in 1823, G. C. Beltrami, II. 139. The Sauk numbered 1,200 in 1827, Th. Forsyth; 5,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 99; 4,800 souls

and besides there were 500 in the Missouri band, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403, and *ib.* 1837, 612. Jointly, the Sauk and Fox numbered not more than 5,000—6,000 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 211. In the XIX century the Sauk were joined with the Foxes and were together returned as a collective body. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the joint bodies of both tribes: in the Mississippi band at 430 (1875), 421 (1880), 457 (1885), 515 (Census of 1890) and 467 (1900) souls in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and at 341 (1875), 355 (1880), 380 (1885), 397 (Census of 1890), 385 (1900) souls in Iowa; in the Mahokoho bands at 200 (1875), 90 (1880 and Census of 1890) souls; in the Missouri bands at 32 (1875) and 74 (1900) souls in Iowa, at 98 (1875) and 75 (1880) souls in Nebraska and 87 (1885) and 77 (1890) souls in Kansas. Even the Census of 1910 returned the Sauk and Fox jointly as one aggregate which numbered 724 souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 76. A. E. Jenks, 1051, supposes that the Sauk probably numbered 1,500—2,000 souls during the period when they used "wild rice". J. N. B. Hewitt and J. Mooney (in F. W. Hodge, II. 479) consider it probable that the population of the tribe never exceeded 3,500 souls. Tr. Michelson, quoted by J. R. Swanton (in J. Mooney 1928, 11), tells that the most reliable early estimate of the population of the Sauk is that of Lewis and Clark, which fixes the numbers of this tribe at 2,000 in 1806. Allowing for the losses which the tribe suffered between 1650 and 1806, there would still seem to be a discrepancy of perhaps a thousand between Mooney's figure and that given by Michelson's researches.

33. **Seneca**, the leading tribe of the Iroquoian confederacy. There were 1,000 warriors in 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 206; 1,600 warriors in 1663 marched to the Minquas, A. Hude, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, XII. 430 (only 800 men, *ib.* 431: according to Gen. J. S. Clark, in *Am. Antq.*, XIII (1891). 234, there were 800 warriors accompanied by their women and children, numbering 1,600 souls in all); 1,200 warriors in 1665, *Jes. Rel.*, XLIX. 258. Four settlements, about 360 cabins, 1,000—1,200 warriors in 1669—'70, Gallinée, in P. Margry, I. 128; 500 fighting men and 400—500 hunters in 1670, *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 117; 12,000—13,000 souls in 1672, *Jes. Rel.*, LVI. 26. Three villages (one consisted of Huron fugitives) and 800 warriors in 1773, Garnier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LVII. 26. Four towns, 324 houses and 1,000 warriors in 1677—'78, W. Greenhalgh, 251—252 (and Coursey, 80); 1,200 well-armed warriors in 1682, Chauchetière, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXII. 163; about 2,000 warriors in 1682, de la Barre, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 197; 1,200 warriors in 1685, de Denonville, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 282 (the four Seneca villages must have exceeded 14,000—15,000 souls in 1687, de Denonville, *ib.* 388); 1,200 warriors, an official document of 1685 in P. Margry, V. 9; 1,300 warriors, an official return of 1689, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 337, 440, there were in 1697 only 600 warriors. Not above 1,000 warriors in 1696, Brooke and Nicoll, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 181. More than 300 warriors in three villages about 1698 (?), L. Hennepin 1720, 320; over 1,000 men, an



official document of 1720, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 571; 700 men fit for war in 1721, P. Dudley, 244; 350 warriors in two villages in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1056; 700 warriors about 1760, Wm. Douglas, I. 186; 1,050 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 582; 1,000 warriors, G. Croghan, 167, in 1765, and Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148, in 1768; 354 men at the Treaty near German Flatts in 1770, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 229. About 1,000 warriors in 1774, Wm. Tryon, 452; 650 warriors, a trader in 1778 in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, and J. Dodge in 1779 in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148; 400 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War; before that War, there were 600 warriors, Dalton (and Kirkland), 123; (H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 603, estimated them in 1778 at 650 warriors); 1,760 souls in 1794 at the division of an annuity, de Witt Clinton, 82; 550 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291. In 1825, McKenney, in *27 Sen. Doc.*, *20th Congr.*, *2nd sess.*, 5, estimated the Seneca in the State of New York at 2,325 souls and those of Ohio at 551 souls (163 Seneca warriors in Ohio were reported in 1748 by Conrad Weiser, 31); 2,900 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 95; 2,403 souls in 1837, R. H. Gillet, in *Ind. Aff.* 1838, 442. There were 2,542 souls in 1845, 2,679 in 1851 (C. P. Washburne) and 2,580 in 1852 (W. Osborne), cf. H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 603. *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 576, reported 2,557 souls in the State of New York, 180 at Sandusky and 271 mixed with the Shawnee. *Ind. Aff.* 1875 gave them as 2,957 souls in the State of New York and 118 in Indian Territory (besides those who were intermingled and not known as Seneca). There were 3,120 (1880), 2,950 (1885), 2,972 (1890), 2,981 (1895), 3,153 (1900), 3,106 (1905) and 3,115 (1910) souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 84. The Census of 1910 returned 2,907 (2,485 in the State of New York) souls, among them 69.6% were full-bloods (*Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 84). According to L. H. Morgan 1851, 27, at the period of the greatest prosperity of the Iroquois (about 1650), the Seneca numbered 10,000 souls, but this is an over-estimate.

34. **Shawnee**, an Algonquian tribe. When first known to history, i. e. in the latter half of the XVII century, they were divided into two bodies at a considerable distance apart, one in South Carolina and the other in Tennessee. Their later history is much confused: they were for a time in Kentucky and Ohio, whilst some isolated bands were found in many parts of the Middle West. In the XVIII century the Shawnee moved west of the Mississippi and become largely scattered. "(Their) tortuous wanderings perplex the antiquary and defy research" (Fr. Parkman). Such a situation was very unfavourable for estimating their numbers: the figures of their former population are not available for the Shawnee as a whole. They are identical with the Chaouanons of 1673—'74, who were said to have been so numerous that they had twenty-three villages in one district and fifteen in another, Marquette (and Joliet), in B. F. French, II. 292 (also in *Jes. Rel.*, LIX. 144). In 1682 Lefebvre de la Barre reproached la Salle that he had in 1682 invited 600 Chaouanons to come, P. Margry,

II. 304. (The Chaouanon, Chaskpe and Ouabano inhabited nine or ten villages, *ib.* II. 314.) The entire (toute remassée) tribe of Chaouanons numbered at least 500 warriors in 1689, Jean Cavalier, in P. Margry, III. 589. Iberville, 600, estimated them in 1702 jointly with other "savages" at 2,000—3,000 men. To Iberville also seem to have been due the figures given by Cl. Delisle (in Marc de Villiers, 38): "from the Casquihampo (the Tennessee River?) to the small village of the Chaouanon there are seven leagues, 100 men; seven days from that village to the large one, 400 men." The Shawnee from Carolina first settled on the Susquehanna (Pennsylvania) in 1698, about 80 families in number; others followed; in about 1732 the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated at about 700, one-half of whom were Shawanese immigrants from Carolina, D. G. Brinton, in *Hist. Mag.*, X (1866), 1—4 passim; Fr. H. Severance, in *Buffalo Hist. Publ.*, IX (1906), 215—216; Day Sherman, in *Pa. Hist. Coll.* 1843, 389. The Chaouanons "towards Carolina" numbered 200 men in 1736, Chauvignerie, 1057. The vanguard of the Shawanese migrants appears to have reached the upper Ohio as early as 1724: at that date the Ohio Shawnee numbered over 700, Fr. H. Severance, *l. c.*; C. Weiser, 31, in 1748 estimated the Ohio Shawnee at 162 warriors. About 1750 the two divisions were united. In that year the Shawnee town was situated on both sides of the River Ohio and contained about 300 men in about 140 houses, Ch. Gist, 129. (Nevertheless, a body remained in the south. There were 233 souls in three villages in South Carolina in 1715, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94; 60 men on the Savannah River, the Map of 1715 in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III. Perhaps they were reported on by de Kerlerac, 86, foot-note, as the Chaouanons of the village of Chalakaque to the number of 80 warriors; 100 Shawnee men in the bands among the Creeks in 1760, *Miss. Prov. Arch.*, quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, 434; in 1761 the united Shawnee on the Tallapoosa River were estimated to number 30 hunters, *Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII. 523, but Marbury raised this estimate to 60, J. R. Swanton, 434.) The Shawnee mustered 500 warriors, G. Croghan, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149, in 1759 and H. Bouquet, 146, in 1764. (According to H. Bouquet, in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, there were 400 warriors and the figure of 500 warriors was repeated by J. Buchanan, 138.) There were 400 warriors in 1763, *N. C. Rec.*, VI. (1888). 617; 300 warriors, Wm. Johnson, 583, in 1763, G. Croghan, 168, in 1765, and Th. Hutchins (in Th. Jefferson, 149) in 1768. According to Henry's calculation the whole Shawnee nation did not exceed 600 souls in 1772—'73 (D. Jones, 76, considered this figure as large enough). There were 300 warriors in 1774, Guy Johnson, in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VIII. 517; 450 warriors in 1777, D. Book, in G. Imlay, 349. The Shawnee numbered 300 warriors, a trader quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561, in 1778; Dodge in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, in 1779; Dalton, 123, in 1738, and Lassell, 123, in 1794. There were 380 warriors in 1794, a captive Shawnee, in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. (1832). 489; 250

warriors at the close of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291. Perrin du Lac, 176, related in 1801—'03 that the "Chawanens" were living in two divisions, one at Lake Michigan and another in Louisiana; the latter consisted of two villages, the larger of which contained 450 souls. H. M. Brackenridge, 87, estimated those on the Missouri and St. Francis rivers at 300 warriors and 800 souls in 1811; perhaps 500 warriors and 1,600 souls in 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 5 (*ib.* 12, the Shawnee were estimated at 200 warriors and 600 souls); 300 warriors and 1,200 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 1,383 souls in about 1817, J. Morse, 366; in 1825 there were 800 souls in Ohio and 110 in Louisiana, McKenney, 545 (the same writer in *27 Sen. Doc., 20th Congr., 2nd sess., 6*, gave 1,383 souls in Arkansas and Missouri and 110 souls in Louisiana); 300 families in Texas in 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 268; 2,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 97; 1,200 souls in 1831, G. Catlin 1841, II. 116; about 2,000 souls in 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 23. The XIX century found the Shawnee very scattered. Those living together with the Seneca (Eastern Shawnee) were estimated at 211 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 402, *ib. 1837*, 640, *ib. 1841*, 246; at 461 souls about 1851, H. Howe, 355; at 200 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1866*; at 205 souls, *ib. 1868*. The Shawnee living among the Delaware, numbered together with them 600 souls in 1837, H. Atkinson, 20; 550 souls in 1849, *Ind. Aff. 1849*, 963; 851 souls, *ib. 1855*, 576. B. Möllhausen, 46, estimated the Shawnee about 1858 at 1,400; E. Domenech, II. 59, at the same time at 1,500 souls. *Ind. Aff. 1875, 1880, 1885*, placed the numbers of the Eastern Shawnees at: 97, 77 and 69 souls, that of Absentee Shawnees at 563, 660, and 710 souls (besides those incorporated with the Cherokee nation). The Census of 1890, 245, 528, found 79 Eastern Shawnees and 640 Absentee Shawnees. *Ind. Aff.* gave the Eastern Shawnees as: 93 (1900) and 113 (1910) souls, the Absentee Shawnees as: 509 (1900) and 445 (1910) souls. Approximately at the same time, J. Mooney, in F. W. Hodge, II. 536, estimated those incorporated with the Cherokee nation at about 800. The Census of 1910 returned 1,338 souls (1,300 in Oklahoma), among whom 40.0% were full-bloods, the larger portion being incorporated with the Cherokee, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 76. J. Mooney 1928, 11, supposes that the Shawnee numbered 3,000 souls in about 1650.

35. **Siksika**, a tribe of the Blackfoot confederacy. After the epidemic of 1780—'81 there were about 800 warriors in 1789—'93, A. Mackenzie, LXX. J. Franklin, I, 170, found 350 tents in about 1819—'22; 450 lodges, averaging ten persons to a lodge in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 52, Nearly 650 lodges in 1841, Ch. Wilkes, IV. 500; at the same time, G. Simpson, I. 102, estimated them at only 300 lodges and 2,100 souls; 250 lodges, 625 warriors and 1,750 souls in 1853, J. Doty, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 443; 500 lodges, averaging ten souls to a lodge in 1853, J. M. Stanley, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 449; 200 lodges, E. A. C. Hatch, in *Ind. Aff. 1856*, 627; 300 tents in 1857—'58, Rowand, in H. Y. Hind: *Red. R.*, II. 152; 150 lodges, 260



men and 1,200 souls, A. J. Vaughan, in *Ind. Aff.* 1858, 432, and *ib.* 1860, 308. *Ind. Aff.* gave them as 2,450 (1864) and 2,980 (1868) souls. H. M. Robinson 1879, 189, estimated the Siksika in about 1870—'80 at 4,000. *Can. Ind. Aff.* reported 1,267 (1895) and 1,038 (1900) souls. They are now living on a reservation in Canada. It is not excluded that previous to the advent of the Whites, the Siksika exceeded 5,000 souls.

36. *Skidi*, a tribe of the Pawnee confederacy. The Skidi numbered 600 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 68. They could muster 300 men against the Osage without leaving their villages defenceless, A. Mezières, II. 145; 280 warriors and 1,000 souls in one village in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 86; 300 warriors and 1,500 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85; about a hundred lodges, 500 families and 2,000 souls in 1819—'20, S. H. Long, in E. James, II. 365; 2,750 souls, J. Morse, 366; 700 warriors and 3,500 souls in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606; 1,906 souls in 1840, J. V. Hamilton, in *Ind. Aff.* 1840, 319. The Skidi are said to have formerly been very powerful: the tribe consisted of four bands or villages, each of which numbered 5,000 people, i. e., 20,000 for the whole tribe — this estimate, which is founded merely on the statements of old men living at the time of Grinnell's studies, is, according to this explorer, probably excessive, G. B. Grinnell 1893, 236. It is not probably, but decidedly erroneous! As exaggerated as the above estimate are those of Douay in 1687 (in B. F. French, IV. 222), repeated by L. Hennepin 1720, 262, and by D. Coxe (in B. F. French, II. 231), that the Skidi (Panimaha) had twenty-two towns, scarcely any of which counted less than 200 cabins. In this reference only the number of villages given has any value: this number is in accordance with the religious beliefs and ceremonies of the Skidi. It is possible that the Skidi slightly exceeded 5,000 souls.

37. *Skilloot*, a Chinook tribe, Oreg. and Wash. The Skilloot numbered 2,500 souls in fifty houses in 1805 (in the original draft only 1,500 souls), Lewis and Clark, VI. 117 (and J. Morse, 371). In about 1812 G. Franchère, 105, 106, referred to two large villages of the Kreluit. The epidemic of 1823 almost exterminated this tribe. In spite of this W. Robertson, 129 (also in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 9), and G. Wilkes, 44, reported 2,500 souls in about 1845 (Hall J. Kelley, 60, gave them as 2,000). All these figures were taken from Lewis and Clark. J. Lane, 161, in 1850 reported 200 souls. According to J. Mooney 1928, 16, the Skilloot numbered 3,000 souls in 1780.

38. *Susquehanna* (Conestoga), a tribe of Iroquoian stock on the Susquehanna and its tributaries. They were an important tribe and kept several Indian tribes in alliance or even in subjection, it is therefore difficult to decide whether and when the given figures cover the Susquehanna alone or the Susquehanna jointly with allied tribes. The Susquehanna were said to number about 600 "able and mighty" men and lived in palisaded towns, J. Smith 1608, 54. This figure of 600 warriors reappeared in 1612 in W. Strachey, 40, and in 1633 in De Vries (in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*,

ser. II, v. III (1857). 29, 32—33), namely, de Vries referred to a war expedition of 600 Minqua warriors. According to S. Champlain, IV. 135, the Andastes consisted in 1615 of many villages, the principal one, that of Carantouan, could muster over 500 warriors. *Jes. Rel.*, XXXIII. 128, stated in 1648 that the Andostoe in a single village counted 1,500 men capable of bearing arms, whilst R. Evelin, 23, in 1648 gave the Susquehanna as 110 warriors or jointly with their "forced auxiliaries", the Wicocomoco and Juniata, as 250 warriors. In 1661 smallpox broke out in the town of Susquehanna, enfeebling the nation terribly, G. Alsop (note of J. G. Shea), 119. The Iroquois dispatched an expedition of 800 warriors against the Susquehanna fortified settlement in 1663, H. Lalement, in *Jes. Rel.* (ed. 1858), 1663, 10; the chief of the Susquehanna stated that the Susquehanna were about 700 fighting men against 1,460 Iroquois, *Md. Arch.*, I (1883). 472; the Jesuits considered them in 1664 as more capable than any other nation to exterminate the Iroquois, *Jes. Rel.*, (ed. 1858), 1664, 33. In 1672 the Susquehanna came to 300 warriors, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LVI. 57. After 1675 they abandoned their country and rapidly decreased. By 1692 they were reduced to a small number of emigrants. A party of these survivors was allowed by the administration of Maryland to settle in their ancient country (another party had gone to join with the Seneca). They settled in Lancaster county, *Md. Arch.: Proc. of the Council 1687/8 to 1693*, 518. In 1763 to the number of 20 persons this peaceful Indian population was by surprise massacred by a party of Maryland settlers, R. Proud, II. 326—327. J. Mooney 1928, 4, suggests that the Susquehanna might have numbered about 5,000 souls in 1600, but he is so far doubtful as to this estimate that he places a query mark after that figure.

39. **Tionontati**, an Iroquoian tribe. The names of their nine villages are given in F. W. Hodge, II. 756. The Jesuits had among them two missions, the principal village within range of the mission of St. Jean contained 500—600 families in 1650, *Jes. Rel.*, XXXV. 107. The Tionontati, defeated by the Iroquois, abandoned their country in about 1650. A party of refugees (about 100 men) was living in 1658 at the Potawatomi mission, Dreuillette, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 244—246; 380 souls in 1672—'73 were living at the Jesuit mission, *Jes. Rel.*, LVII. 248; at about that time 100 Tionontati warriors attacked the Sioux, N. Perrot, 89. The Tionontati mission numbered 500 souls in 1677—'78, *Jes. Rel.*, LXI. 103. In the latter half of the XVII century they consolidated with the Hurons and the united tribes were henceforth known under the name of Wyandot.

40. **Tututni**, an Athapascan division. The Tututni were divided into twelve bands, each of these bands or villages acknowledged the authority of one or more chiefs, but their political distinctions appear to extend no farther than the division of a state into separate counties, — migrations, intermarriages, a common language and common interests uniting them as a whole, J. L. Parrish, 494. It is difficult to determine whether the

Tututni should be considered as a tribe or an equivalent of a confederacy. In general, there is much confusion in the use of the names of the Tututni (or Rogue River Indians). The Rogue River Indians were said to number about 500 souls in 1841, Ch. Wilkes 1844, V. 149 (also G. F. Emmonds in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 201, and Duflot de Mofras, II. 335). In 1854, i. e., at the time of their transportation as prisoners of war to the Siletz Reservation, J. L. Parrish, 495, estimated them at 1,311 souls. Dr. Hubbard, quoted by A. S. Gatschet, in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, I (1877). 166, reported thirteen bands with 1,205 souls in 1856. The total of souls in individual tribes amounted to 1,804 souls in 1861 in twelve bands, D. Newcomb, in *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 772, and to 1,765 in ten bands in 1867, J. W. P. Huntington, 62 (in both these cases, as also in Parrish's total, the Chetco and Chastacosta are counted as the Tututni). *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 79, give the Rogue River Indians as numbering over 1,300 in 1867, reduced to 700 by 1877 and to 500 by 1881. The Census of 1910 returned 383 souls, 58.2% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 79 (but the Checto with 9 souls and the Chastacosta with 7 souls were returned separately, *ib.* 77). J. Owen-Dorsey, in *Am. F.*, III (1890), enumerates the names of the former Tututni villages: for instance, he reports thirty-seven such villages among the Chastacosta, whilst J. L. Parrish referred to only one village in 1854. According to J. Mooney 1928, 17, eleven Tututni bands numbered 5,600 souls in 1880.

41. Ute, a Shoshonean tribe. (The Ute should perhaps be considered as the equivalent of a confederacy.) They were in the XIX and probably in the XVIII century divided into many bands and scattered over a vast area. The cohesion of the various bands was very loose, they were rather independent sub-tribes or even tribes — the seven Utah "tribes" were at one time organized into a confederacy, F. W. Hodge, II. 374. In consequence of that dispersion and the roving character of Ute bands, estimates of their numbers are vague and much exaggerated. The Ute were supposed to be 2,000 warriors strong in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 337 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 29). At least 10,000 souls in 1831—'39, J. Gregg, I. 300. *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403; *ib. 1837*, 612; *ib. 1841*, 247, *ib. 1844*, 316 (and H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 611) reported 19,200 souls, — just as many as among the Comanche. J. P. de Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson, 990, estimated the Ute at about 4,000 souls. Ch. Bent, 11, in 1846 reported 800 lodges and 4,400 souls. There were probably 2,000—3,000 lodges, *Ind. Aff. 1849*, 1003 (J. Wilson); 5,000—6,000 souls only in New Mexico, *ib. 1854*, 375 (S. H. Hill); in *ib. 1854*, 386 (E. A. G. Gaver) the Ute are said to have had upwards of 500 warriors, 6,000—7,000 souls, 800—1,000 lodges; 4,600 souls in four groups, *ib. 1859*, 733. E. Domenech, II. 8, in about 1860 estimated the Ute at about 5,000 souls. H. H. Davis, in *Ind. Aff. 1866*, 135, stated that in 1846 the Ute numbered 6,000 souls in New Mexico but he found there only 1,650 souls in 1866. There were 3,100 souls in New Mexico, 7,000 in Colorado, 9,300 in Utah, *Ind. Aff. 1866*



(tables); *ib.* 1867, estimated them in the same regions at 2,644, 5,000, 13,050; *ib.* 1868, 812, reported 5,000 on the Colorado reservation. However, all the above figures given by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs are rather uncertain; more dependable ones begin only with the year 1890. The Census of 1890, 595, 627, found 1,854 souls in Utah and 985 souls in Colorado. *Ind. Aff.* 1900 reported 995 souls in Colorado, 1,699 souls in Utah; *ib.* 1910 gave 815 souls in Colorado, 1,202 souls in Utah and 371 souls in S. Dakota. The Census of 1910 returned 2,244 souls (1,472 in Utah), 94.1% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 99. Contrary to these high estimates the Ute probably always numbered less than 5,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 20, supposes that the Ute (including the Gosiute and Pahvant) numbered about 4,500 in 1845. They probably did not exceed this number in the XVII and XVIII centuries and they seem rather to have increased in number since the advent of the Whites, as did also the Navaho and Apache.

42. **Wampanoag**, an Algonquian tribe, apparently one of the leading tribes of an aggregate of allied tribes. As old Indians affirmed, they had been a great people and could raise about 3,000 men; they were swept off by an epidemic about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in those parts to settle the colony of New Plymouth, D. Gookin, 148; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1802). 160 (cf. J. A. Maurault, 3, and H. E. Chase, 86). The Wampanoag had about thirty villages in about 1620, when the English arrived: the principal settlement of Pokanoket was said to number about 300 fighting men in 1637, the village of Pocasset then mustered the same number of fighting men, W. Douglas, I. 192. At the beginning of the war of 1675 the tribe could raise 500 warriors, J. Mooney, in F. W. Hodge, II. 903. The war was disastrous to the Wampanoag, and the few survivors fled to the interior tribes. The Census of 1910 returned 152 Wampanoags in Massachusetts and 10 in Pennsylvania, largely mixed with white and negro blood, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 76. J. Mooney 1928, 4, supposes, that the Wampanoag with their allies numbered 2,400 souls (and the Martha's Vineyard Indians 1,500 souls) in 1600.

43. **Winnebago**, a tribe of Siouan stock. According to P. de Jeune, in *Jes. Rel.*, XVIII. 231, the Winnebago were a sedentary, numerous people. There are semi-historical legends reported by Bacqueville de la Potherie and others. Namely, the Winnebago are said to have been so aggressive that they declared war on all the adjacent tribes, who formed an alliance against the common enemy. The Winnebago were finally forced to unite their forces in one village, where they numbered 4,000—5,000 men, but an epidemic reduced their number to 1,500. However, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox) who dwelt on the other shore of Lake Michigan, but all these men perished during their journey owing to a storm (Bacqueville de la Potherie, II. 72; P. V. Lawson quoted by P. Radin, 54). The figures are exaggerated; that the 4,000 odd

individuals composing the tribe at the time of the arrival of the Whites lived together, is extremely doubtful, P. Radin, 184. (De Montigny, in A. Gosselin, 33, related that the Winnebago were drowned, when they fled before the Iroquois; Charlevoix 1766, II. 47, estimated the number of drowned warriors at 600 and reported that they had endeavoured to revenge the defeat they had received from the Illinois.) More trustworthy is a reference of 1669—'70 (*Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 237) to the Winnebago that about thirty years before all the people of that nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinois, and although the captives were finally allowed to return, the tribe was reduced to insignificance from its very flourishing and populous state in the past, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 183. At the time of this reference the Winnebago were not numerous. Allouez found a village inhabited by four different nations (including the Winnebago) to the number of 600 souls; a league and half away was another of 150 souls, one of 100 souls was four leagues distant, and eight leagues from there, on the other side of Winnebago Bay, one of about 300 souls, but that was at a time, when the savages went into winter quarters, Allouez, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 205. They are said at that time to have numbered about 150 warriors, Bacqueville de la Potherie, II. 76. About 1694 the Winnebago jointly with the Mascouten and Kickapoo could muster 1,400—1,500 warriors, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 619. As against the numerical estimates of the XIX century, those of the XVIII century are moderate, perhaps they cover only a part of the tribe. In 1712, Marest, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 289, estimated the Winnebago at 60 "brave men, also boatmen." The Winnebago were not numerous, they might have mustered 80—100 warriors about 1718, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 889. They came to about 600 in 1721, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 622; 80 men retired about 1728 to the Sioux, and 150 men were living in 1736 to the south of Lake Winnebago, Chauvignerie, 1055; 100 warriors in one village, de Kerlerac, 66, foot-note; 150 warriors in 1761, J. Gorell, 23; 360 warriors in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 583; 700 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139) and Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; in 1766 they could raise about 200 warriors and inhabited a large town (fifty houses) and a smaller one, J. Carver, 36, 39; 150 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, in L. Houck, I. 146; 350 warriors in the American Revolutionary War in 1783, Dalton, 123; 600 men in 1786, Memorandum of the Committee of Merchants (Montreal), in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XII (1892). 80; 200 warriors at the close of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292; 450 warriors and 1,950 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 134 (and J. F. Schermerhorn, 10); 300 warriors in 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; 600 warriors and 2,400 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 700 warriors in 1818, E. Tanner, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, VIII (1879). 289; 4,000 souls in about 1818, O'Fallon, in J. Morse, 362. There were 5,800 souls, J. Morse, 362, in about 1818; McKenney, 545, in 1825; P. B. Porter, 100 in 1829 and McKenney

and Hall, I. 38, in 1837. The Winnebago numbered 2,000 souls in 1832, *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, V (1868). 307. G. Catlin, in Th. Donaldson, 127—130 passim, estimated them at 4,400 souls in 1831—'36: they were greatly reduced by repeated epidemics of smallpox. There were 600 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 19. *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 402, *ib.* 1837, 640 and *ib.* 1841, 246, reported 4,500 souls; 5,000 souls (1,800 warriors), Maj. Bond, quoted by D. Lowry, in *Ind. Aff.* 1839, 486; 2,000 souls in 1842, J. D. Lang and S. Taylor, 7; 2,500 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1849, 1025 (A. Ramsay); 2,546 souls in Minnesota, 208 souls in Kansas, *ib.* 1855, 576. E. Domenech, II. 65, about 1860, put their number at 4,000 souls. There were 2,256 souls besides those who were intermingled with the Chippewa Pillagers to the joint number of 1,985 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1862, 498, 499. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 1,750 (1865), 1,667 (1875), 1,214 (1885), 1,208 (1895), 1,074 (1905) and 1,063 (1910) souls in Nebraska and 700 (1865), 656 (1875), 930 (1885, 1895), 1,312 (1905) and 1,270 (1910) souls in Wisconsin. The Census of 1910 returned 1,820 souls (1,007 in Nebraska, 735 in Wisconsin), 84.8% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 103. A. E. Jenks, 1053, supposes, that probably 2,000 souls is a very conservative estimate of the number of Winnebago Indians who used "wild rice." J. Mooney 1928, 11, places their number at 3,800 in 1650.

44. **Yuma**, a tribe of the Yuman linguistic family. J. Oñate, in H. E. Bolton 1916, 276, related of nine pueblos of the Cochuana that a part of their inhabitants (600 men and women) accompanied the Spanish expedition; 3,000 souls, Fr. Garcès, II. 443, in 1775 (A. F. Bandelier, III. 112, quoting the same writer, reported 5,500 souls), J. Cortez, 123, in 1799 and J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228, in 1834; 500 warriors and 3,000 souls in about 1854, Leroux, 17. The Yuma took a census of themselves: they found 2,710 souls, but when they repeated the census they counted only 972 souls; according to S. P. Heintzelman, 36—37, who reported the above figures, they could not bring 400 warriors into the field in 1853. There were 5,000 souls in 1855, Ten Kate, 108; 450 warriors in 1856, *Ind. Aff.* 1857, 589 (S. Mowry); 3,500 souls, *ib.* 1863, 510 (Ch. D. Poston); 2,000 souls, *ib.* 1867, 159 (J. Fehnde) and *ib.* 1868, 812; 1,500 souls, *ib.* 1869, 533 (Col. Jones). J. Ross Browne 1869, 290, 291, gave two distinct estimates: 2,500 and 5,000 souls. The Census of 1890, 133, 199, found 240 souls in Arizona and 1,208 in California; that of 1910 returned 834 souls, 97.8% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 110. According to A. L. Kroeber 1925, 782, the Yuma may be estimated at 2,500 souls or more before their first contact with the Whites.

### 5. Tribes numbering 5,000—10,000 souls

1. **Apalachee**, an important tribe of the Muskogean family, Florida. There are many Spanish estimates from the XVII century, but much exaggerated. They were collected by J. R. Swanton 1922. According



to Fray Alonso de Moral the Apalachee had numbered 16,000 souls in 1638, but were by 1676 reduced to 5,000 souls J. R. Swanton, 120; the estimate for 1618 even came to 30,000 and that of 1635 to 34,000; in 1633 the country of the Apalachee was said to contain 15,000—16,000 souls, J. R. Swanton, 118. The Spanish missionaries established many missions whilst the Apalachee even prospered and probably did not decrease in number, Cl. Delisle (Iberville?) in about 1702 estimated the Apalachee at eleven villages with 200 men per village (he wrote also of 800 warriors whom the Apalachee could muster, and of nine Apalachicola villages with 3,000 men — there seems to be much confusion), Marc de Villiers, in *J. des Amer.*, XIV (1922). 135. But they, as allies of the Spanish, were regarded by the English as enemies. In 1702 the Spaniards planned to fall upon the English settlements at the head of 900 Apalachee, J. R. Swanton, 423. The English did not remain passive: the greatest blow was given in 1703—'04, by which the Apalachee were so reduced, that "in a few years only 400 could be found of a tribe that once had numbered 7,000," Charlevoix 1744, III. 473; J. G. Shea 1855, 74. Namely, in the winter of 1703—'04 the English and their Indian allies killed about 400 Apalachee and brought away 1,400, account of Col. Moore, in J. R. Swanton, 122, 423 (the Map of 1715, in J. R. Swanton, Plate III, gives 1,870 Apalachees killed or captured), but the population of two towns and part of another fled for the most part under the protection of the French (these fugitives, to the number of 500 men, had become reduced by 1725 or 1726 to 100, Bienville in J. R. Swanton, 423). A part of the Apalachee had been carried off by the English and settled on the Savannah River to the number of 250 men, J. R. Swanton, 423 (according to the census of 1715 there were 275 men and 638 souls in four villages, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94; the Map of 1715, in J. R. Swanton, Plate III, quotes 150 men). Those, who remained in their country or returned, inhabited in 1722 two villages, Charlevoix 1744, III. 474, and in 1728 they numbered 160 persons, de la Vega, quoted by J. R. Swanton, 423. In 1758, de Kerlerac, 85, foot-note, reported 30 men, including French and perhaps Spanish bands. In 1764 the Apalachee who fled to the French possessions moved over into Louisiana. They numbered 14 men in 1806, J. Sibley quoted by J. R. Swanton, 423; 15 men and 50 souls in 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 26; *Am. St. Pap.: Public Lands*, II (1834), 794, gave them as a small tribe (45 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 104); a band of fourteen or fifteen families about 1819, D. B. Warden, III. 551; only J. Morse, 373, estimated them at a larger number, i. e., 150 souls on the Red River. According to J. R. Swanton, 423, the Apalachee were a large tribe at the very earliest period, but they certainly did not number 15,000, 30,000 or 34,000, as estimated by various Spanish missionaries; much more probable is the statement given in a memorial, dated 1676, to the effect that there were then 5,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 8, puts their number jointly with other related Indians at 7,000 in 1650.

2. **Assiniboin**, a tribe of Siouan stock. They were so divided and sub-divided into different bands as to make it a difficult task to ascertain the exact population, and therefore estimates are very divergent the more so as the bands were independent (at the beginning of the XIX century) although they claimed a national affinity and never made war on each other, Lewis and Clark, VI. 105. In 1710 the Assiniboin were numerous, A. Raudot, in P. Margry, VI. 14. Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 99, reported in 1670—'72 that they lived in one large village, or, as others said, in thirty small villages grouped together. Chauvignerie, 1055, in 1736 fixed the population, evidently of one of the bands, at 150 warriors. De Bougainville, 54, in 1757, reported twelve villages each of 250 men. J. Carver, 80, estimated the fighting strength of, probably a part of, the Assiniboin at 300 warriors. They mustered 1,500 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145 (also J. Buchanan, 139), and Th. Hutchins (H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556). In 1760—'76, one of the Assiniboin villages consisted of about 200 tents, each tent containing two to four families; there were many other villages, composed of 100—200 tents each, but few exceeded the latter number, A. Henry, 289, 298. In spite of a disastrous epidemic of smallpox in 1776—'77 which had greatly thinned the population, at least in some bands, the Assiniboin were at the end of the XVIII century a numerous tribe. A. Mackenzie, LXIV, LXX, in 1789—'93, covering them jointly with some of the Fall Indians (Atsina) reported them as not numbering over 500 families; besides he mentioned them as the Stone Indians (sixty tents or 200 warriors at Nepawi and with 140 tents trading at Ft. George and Ft. Augustus), not quite half of them inhabited the western wooded country, others never left the Plains, but their numbers could not be under 450 men. According to E. Umfreville, 196, the Assiniboin were in 1790 fairly numerous, scattered over a great extent of country. At the same time G. Imlay, 293, estimated them at 1,200 warriors. In 1804 there were 400 tents, 900 warriors and 3,200 souls in three Assiniboin "tribes", Lewis and Clark, VI. 105 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 717). Henry and Thompson, 522—523, estimated them at 880 tents, in which might be housed about 2,000 men capable of bearing arms; in 1809 at a meeting, there were 1,100 gunmen. In 1811 they mustered 900 warriors and 3,500 souls, H. M. Brackenridge, 86 (*ib.*, 91, he wrote of the Assiniboin nation approaching in a body of 4,000—5,000 souls); 1,500 warriors at the same time, Z. M. Pike, 133; 3,000 lodges with 7,000 warriors and 28,000 souls in 1823, W. H. Keating, I. 380: this figure, quoted by R. H. Lowie, in *Anthr. Pap.*, IV. 8, was also given in 1823 by G. C. Beltrami, II. 210, and in the thirties by M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, I. 440. According to J. Pilcher, 453, they were numerous in 1824. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 607, in 1825 put their fighting strength at 2,000 warriors. P. B. Porter, 102, in 1829 placed their number at 8,000 souls. G. Catlin 1841, I. 53, gave them as 7,000 souls (8,000 as quoted by Th. Donald-



son, 118), but smallpox in 1837 reduced them from 1,000—1,200 lodges to less than 400, about 7,000 persons having fallen victim to this epidemic among the Assiniboin and Cree, G. Catlin: *Okepa*, 50 (J. A. Vaughan, in *Ind. Aff.* 1856, 635; E. T. Denig, 396). *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403, estimated them at 8,000 souls; *ib.* 1837, 612, and *ib.* 1841, 247, at 15,000 souls; H. Atkinson, 20, in 1837 at 3,500 souls; *Ind. Aff.* 1839, 498 (L. Taliaferro) at over 3,000 souls; D. D. Mitchell, in *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425, reported 800 lodges, 2,500 men and 7,000 souls. About 1842 there were 80 lodges of Strongwood Assiniboins (Harriet) and 300 lodges of Plain Assiniboins (Rowand), Shaw estimated both branches together at 4,000 souls, H. Y. Hind: *Red. R.*, II. 152, and J. McLean 1896, 23. G. Simpson, I. 102, placed their population at 580 lodges and 4,060 souls. P. J. de Smet 1847, 156, about 1844, estimated the Assiniboin of the Plains at about 600 tents; they were more numerous than their mountain brethren. *Ind. Aff.* 1844, 316; *ib.* 1845, 459; *ib.* 1849, 1035 (A. Ramsay), placed their numbers at 7,000 souls. In all there were 1,500 lodges in 1850, of which 600 lodges and probably 4,800 souls traded on the Missouri River, Th. A. Culbertson, 143, 145. According to the artist Kurtz (quoted by D. J. Bushnell in 77 *Bull. of B. Am. E.*, 76), in 1851 the Assiniboin, living in the vicinity of Ft. Union, numbered 420 lodges with 1,050 men, but another 2,000—3,000 were living far above, near Lake Winnipeg. There were 1,000 lodges each with eight persons, *Ind. Aff.* 1853 (A. D. Vaughan); 1,500 in 1854, P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 933); 3,360 souls in 1855, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575 (Vaughan). There were 14,000 souls according to E. Domenech 1860, II. 8. At the same time, F. V. Hayden, 387, estimated them at 520—540 lodges with four persons to a lodge. *Ind. Aff.* 1862 and *ib.* 1863 gave 3,280 souls at the Upper Missouri Agency; *ib.* 1866, reported 440 lodges and 2,640 souls. *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1871 gave them as 725 souls in Canada. According to *Ind. Aff.* there were 2,365 (1880), 1,772 (1885), 1,675 (1890), 1,479 (1895), 1,313 (1900), 1,257 (1905), 1,350 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,253 souls, 63.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 99. According to E. T. Denig, 396, the number of Assiniboin when they separated from the Sioux must have been at least 1,500 lodges, averaging six souls to a lodge. According to J. Mooney 1928, 13, the Assiniboin numbered about 10,000 souls in 1780.

3. **Attignawantan**, one of the most populous tribes of the Huron confederacy. In 1636—'38 they comprised fourteen villages, large and small, and constituted a half of the Huron population, P. de Jeune, in *Jes. Rel.*, X. 77 and XV. 39. It is possible that they were a little short of 5,000 souls.

4. **Catawba**, the most important of the tribes in Carolina, excepting the Cherokee. They were of the eastern Siouan branch. According to a tribal tradition, in a battle between the Cherokee and Catawba in 1660, 1,000 of the bravest warriors were lost on each side, greatly reducing the force of the



Catawba, W. H. Thomas in A. Gregg, 4, — an absurdity, cf. J. Mooney: *Siouan Tribes*, 69. In 1669 the Catawba town was more populous than any J. Lederer (ed. 1903, p. 161) had seen before in his march. When South Carolina was in its early state of development, the Catawba mustered 1,500 fighting men (about 5,000—6,000 souls), J. Adair, 224 (J. Mooney, *l. c.*, 73, connects this figure with the year 1682; R. Mills, 114, with the year 1700 and with 8,000—10,000 souls). J. Lawson 1714, 40, 43, in 1701 reported the Catawba as a very large nation, containing many thousand people. On the Map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III) the Cattanbas with 120 men and the Esaw with 150 men are shown; the census of 1715 returned 570 men, 1,470 souls, in seven villages, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. In about 1729, they had six settlements, W. Byrd, I. 181. The smallpox ravaged them in 1738. At that time the Catawba were already an aggregate of various broken-up or small tribes; they consisted in about 1743 of the remnants of more than twenty different tribes, every one still retaining its own dialect, A. Gregg, 5; J. Mooney, *l. c.*, 73. In spite of these incorporations, about 1743 they mustered only less than 400 warriors, J. Adair, 224; in 1754 they numbered 300 warriors, *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 124 (this figure was also reported at that time by Wm. Douglas, I. 186). In 1755 Gen. A. Dobbs, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 320, estimated them at 240 warriors, and *ib.* 742, in 1757 at 300 and at about 700 souls in all (there were 124 Catawba in 1757 with the British Army, R. Dinwiddie, II. 633). Probably an estimate of 300 warriors in *A description of S. Ca.* (in B. R. Carroll, II. 243) dates from that time. In 1759 the smallpox reduced them from 300 to 60 fighting men, about as many old men and boys, and a corresponding number of women, *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 616, A. Gregg, 16. In 1762 they mustered 50 warriors and all their males did not exceed 100, old and young included, A. Dobbs, *l. c.*, VI (1888). 787, 987. By 1764 the Catawba were reduced to 70 men, J. Stuart (in Cl. E. Carter, 825) and by 1766 to a handful not exceeding 60 gunmen, J. Stuart, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII. 280. (There were some exaggerated estimates: S. Niles, 549, estimated them at 8,000 fit for war in 1760; according to W. B. Ardrey, in *Am. Atq.*, XVI (1894). 266, as late as the year 1760 they numbered about 3,000 souls.) H. Bouquet, 146 (also J. Buchanan, 138), and Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556), related in 1764 that they numbered 150 warriors. Twenty to thirty families and 100 souls in 1768, E. Potter, 120; 100 warriors in 1775 as J. Mooney (in *Am. A.* (1899). 520) estimates Adair's data. There were 490 souls and 150 warriors in 1780, Purcell, 100. In 1787 their town, Catawba, contained about 450 inhabitants, of whom not more than 150 were fighting-men, A. Gregg, 18. D. B. Warden, III. 549, in 1819 reported 60 warriors and 200 souls; J. Morse, 364, in about 1818 and McKenney, 545, in 1825 estimated them at 450 souls; 30 families and 110 souls in about 1826, R. Mills, 773. *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575, reported 200 souls.

The name of the Catawba still appears in *Ind. Aff. 1900* with 60 persons in N. Carolina, intermarried with the Cherokee. The Census of 1910 returned 124 souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 99. J. Mooney 1928, 6, puts the number of the Catawba in 1600 at 5,000 souls.

5. **Chickasaw**, a Muskhogean tribe. It numbered 2,000 warriors in 1681—'83, H. Tonti 1720, 113 (also in B. F. French, I. 60; in P. Margry 1867, 15, and in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, II (1814). 265, 321). At least 4,000 warriors in about 1686—'87, L. Hennepin 1903, 442, and Douay (in B. F. French, IV. 221); 2,000 warriors in 1689, Jean Cavalier, in P. Margry, III. 589; 350 cabins in nine villages in 1699, de Montigny in A. Gosselin, 35. There were 2,000 families in 1702, Iberville, 602; in the same year, Iberville, 519, collected statistics upon men fit to bear arms, by families: there were 580 cabins, three or four men per cabin, in all about 2,000 men over eighteen years of age; besides, there were two villages on the Wabash River with 120 men. (C. Delisle, in *J. des Amer.*, XIV (1922). 140, reported 588 cabins.) They were as numerous as the Choctaw who numbered 700—800 warriors and 7,000—8,000 souls, de la Vente, in A. Gosselin, 35. Official documents of S. Carolina, quoted by J. R. Swanton 1922, 449, relate that in 1708 they numbered at least 600 warriors. In 1715 the Chickasaw consisted of six villages, 700 men and 1,900 souls, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94 (600 men on the Map of 1715, in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III). Charlevoix 1744, II. 499, reported in 1721 (?) 1,000 warriors; Bienville, in J. R. Swanton, 449, found 800 men in six or seven villages in 1722—'23; Chauvignerie, 1057, in 1736 stated that the Iroquois estimated the Flatheads, i. e., the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Catawba jointly, at over 6,000 men in more than fifty villages. In the battle with d'Artaguet in 1736, the French estimated the Chickasaw warriors in that conflict at 500, and six days thereafter, in another battle, at 450 warriors, J. H. Malone, 242. They mustered 450 warriors in 1735, 300 warriors in 1740, Ch. Gayerre, I. 465, 511 (Bienville). Col. Oglethorpe in 1739 estimated the Chickasaw at 500 warriors, *Ga. Rec.*, V (1908). 191; in 1747 they were reduced to 200—300 warriors, public documents of S. Ca., quoted by J. R. Swanton, 449. An anonymous French memoir (MSS), quoted by J. R. Swanton, 450, reported 560 warriors in ten towns in 1747. S. Niles, 549, estimated them at 400 men in 1760. In 1760 they were few in numbers, Gov. Bull, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 260; about 400 fighting men in 1761, *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 617. There were 750 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 146 (also J. Buchanan, 138), and Th. Hutchins (in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556). J. Stuart, in Cl. E. Carter, 825, estimated them in 1764 at 500 gunmen; 500 warriors in 1768, Galphin, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150; 300—400 warriors in 1768, E. Potter, 121. About that time there were scarcely 450 warriors in one of the two Chickasaw divisions, J. Adair, 353 (Adair assumed the other division to be about the same size; of course, according to J. H. Malone, 242, the population of the entire nation was



3,000—4,000). The greatest number that their gunmen could (in about 1770) be reckoned at did not exceed 250, B. Romans, 69; 575 warriors, 2,290 souls in 1780, Purcell, 100; 400 warriors in the American Revolutionary War in 1783, Dalton, 123; more than 500 warriors in 1784, Th. Hutchins 1784, 63. There were 800 gunmen in 1785, B. Hawkins and others, in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 39, but other opinions make them amount to 1,200, H. Knox, *ib.*, 49; 700 warriors in 1789, B. Lincoln and others, *ib.*, I. 79. The Chickasaw numbered 500 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 290; at the beginning of the XIX century they could scarcely muster 600 fighting men, Milfort, 286; 500 warriors and 3,000 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87 (1,000 warriors and 3,500 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 16, and D. B. Warden, III. 546); 3,625 souls, J. Morse, 354, in about 1817, and McKenney, 545, in 1825, but in 1827 McKenney, in *Ind. Aff. (Sen. Doc., 20th Congr., 1st sess.)*, 183, related they had increased by about 400 within the five or six years prior and might be estimated at 4,000; 3,600 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 106; 5,400 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 402. H. Howe, 355, about 1851, estimated the Chickasaw at 5,500, including slaves. *Ind. Aff. 1855*, 575, stated, that according to the annuity pay-roll there were 4,787 persons in 1854. J. R. Swanton 1922, 449—450, collected all figures about the Chickasaw population since 1836 from reports of the Office of Indian Affairs. We quote only some figures from his list: 4,211 souls in 1845, 4,787 in 1855, 4,500 in 1865—'70, 6,000 in 1875, 6,000 in 1880—'89, and 6,000 in 1893—'97. Comparison with years after 1897 is made difficult by the fact that until 1898 the Chickasaw were not returned in *Ind. Aff.* separate from freedmen (Negroes) and intermarried Whites. According to *Ind. Aff.* the figures for the Chickasaw in Oklahoma have been since 1898 as follows: 4,230 (1898), 5,474 (1905), 5,688 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 4,204 souls, 26.8% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 88. (*Ind. Aff. 1910* reported 10,984 Chickasaw, namely, 5,688 by blood, 645 by intermarriage and 4,651 freedmen.) The tribal traditions say, that the Chickasaw had 10,000 men fit for war, when they first came from the west, J. Adair, 352, and J. H. Malone, 242 — an exaggerated and absurd figure (this figure still appeared about 1775 in an unreliable author. R. Rogers, 201, but it seems to be a misprint as in the index the Choctaw are given instead of the Chickasaw). According to J. R. Swanton 1922, 448, 456, the earlier figures of the Chickasaw are "so discordant, that not much satisfaction can be obtained from them." Either we must suppose that the earlier figures are too low or that there was a considerable increase in population during the latter part of the XVIII and the first part of the XIX century. J. R. Swanton ventures to place the population of this tribe at from 3,000 to 3,500 souls in 1700, 2,000 in 1715, 1,500 in 1750—'70, 3,600 in 1821, 5,000 in 1836, 4,000 souls in 1910. J. Mooney 1928, 8, puts the Chickasaw population at 8,000 in 1650. The figures of Iberville permit to suppose that the Chickasaw



had greatly diminished after they first came into contact with Whites and it seems to be possible that they once numbered even somewhat over 5,000 souls.

6. **Comanche**, a Shoshonean tribe. They were divided into many bands and roamed over a vast area. On account of this they were supposed to be more populous than they really were. These conditions were favourable to creating most divergent opinions as to their numbers and situation. In 1717, the Spanish disguised as Indians attacked the Comanche camp; hundreds of tents were in sight; the slaughter was terrible: hundreds perished, 700 Indians were taken prisoners, R. E. Twitchell, I. 431, foot-note. Figures in such narratives are very questionable: e. g., in 1758, some Indians, the majority being Comanches, attacked the mission of San Saba: Bonilla gives the number of the invaders as 2,000, Cabello says they numbered 700, but Indians later declared that there had been only about 400, W. E. Dunn, in *S. W. Hist. Qu.*, XVII (1913—'14). 406, foot-note. La Harpe (in P. Margry, VI. 293) in 1719 stated that the Comanche were a numerous people whose villages extended very far. More precise information is left by Bourgmont in 1724 (in P. Margry, VI. 440, 446, and in du Pratz, III. 175, 212); the chief of the "Padoucas" arrived with 600 warriors, saying that he had taken with himself only one-fourth of the fighting strength of the tribe and that in case of need he could furnish Bourgmont with 2,000 warriors and that the tribe consisted of twelve villages; Bourgmont had visited one of these villages to make peace: the village contained 140 (150 according to another source) cabins, 800 warriors and about 1,500 women and children. Du Pratz, II. 251, regarded the Comanche as the most powerful tribe of that region. H. Bouquet, 145, in 1764 estimated the Comanche at 500 warriors (this figure was repeated by G. Imlay, 293, and J. Buchanan, 138). According to A. Mezières, I. 218 (in 1770), the Comanche were a people so numerous and so haughty that when asked their number, they made no difficulty in comparing it to that of the stars. De Ripperda (in A. Mezières, I. 270—271) in 1772 related that the Comanche exceeded the Tawehash (probably the Wichita confederacy) who could muster 2,000—3,000 fighting men. When more than 500 Comanches visited A. Mezières in 1772 (A. Mezières, I. 297), the chiefs apologised for not having come in greater number, saying they had feared that they would be in the way. J. Gaignard, in A. Mezières, II. 95, in 1773 referred to the Naytane, apparently a division of the Comanche (or perhaps of the Apache), as comprising 4,000 warriors divided into four bands which were never together. According to A. Mezières, II. 145, 181, the Comanche could muster 400 (in 1777) or 300 (in 1778) men against the Osage, not leaving the villages defenceless. J. Sibley, 723, in 1806 reported that no estimate of their number could well be made as they never remained in the same place more than a few days. In general, the estimates of the Comanche in the first decades of the XIX century were more vague and exaggerated than those of the XVIII century.

In 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 108 (and in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 721), even stated that this once powerful nation of the "Paducas" had entirely disappeared. "Every inquiry I have made after them has proved ineffectual." These explorers supposed, as a most probable conjecture that being reduced, the "Paducas" had divided into small wandering bands. Of these bands, Lewis and Clark estimated the Nemousin at 50 warriors and 200 souls, the Dotame at 30 warriors and 120 souls, *ib.* VI. 102. (The names of other bands were also given, but these were erroneously imputed to the Comanche.) The Ietans numbered 2,700 warriors and 8,200 souls in 1805-'07, Z. M. Pike, 258. H. M. Brackenridge, 85-86, in 1811 gave the Padoucas as 300 warriors (1,000 souls) and the Comanche as 2,000 warriors (8,000 souls). J. F. Schermerhorn, 29, estimated the Tetaus (or Padoucas or Cumeche), at 2,700 warriors or 8,000 souls. In J. Morse, 367, 374, the confusion is still greater: there are the Padouca (1,000 souls), the Comauch (30,000 souls), the Ayutan or Camarshe (8,000 souls), and besides the Castahana, the Cataka, and the Dotami with 2,075 souls, all supposed to be remnants of the great Padouca nation! (The figure of 30,000 souls still reappears in 1885 in Ten Kate, in *Ausland* 1885, 846.) In 1819 three bands of the Comanche numbered 10,000-12,000 souls and could muster 2,000-2,500 warriors, D. G. Burnet, in H. R. Schoolcraft, I. 238. Later writers were less liberal, although some of them, too, exaggerated the numbers of the Comanche. P. B. Porter, 104, in 1829 reported 2,000 souls under the name of the Padouca proper, but perhaps he included other parts of that people under the collective item of the Jetam and others. The Texas Census of 1828 reported 1,000-1,500 families in Texas, *Boll. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 264. According to G. Catlin 1841, II. 64, 68, 69, in 1832 the great Comanche village consisted of 600-800 lodges, but the chiefs said they numbered some 30,000-40,000 souls, being able to muster some 7,000-8,000 warriors; G. Catlin did not consider that estimate as conclusive, for "so little is as yet known of those people that no estimate can be implicitly relied upon other than that they are a very numerous tribe." There were 8,000 souls (2,000 warriors) in 1836, H. M. Morfit, 13; 7,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403; 19,200 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1837, 612, *ib.* 1841, 246, *ib.* 1844, 316 (as many as among the Ute); 2,500 lodges and 12,000 souls, Ch. Bent 1847-'48, 11; 2,050 lodges and 14,350 souls in 1846, P. M. Butter and M. G. Lewis, 6; 4,000 warriors and 20,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1849, 963 (R. S. Neighbors, but H. G. Catlett, *ib.* 967, reported only 12,000, though generally they had been estimated at some 2,000-3,000 more), also H. Howe, 257, and A. W. Whipple, 9. E. Domenech, II. 24, placed their number at 20,000-30,000 "with a risk of exaggeration." The above exaggerations are contradicted by later figures. *Ind. Aff.* 1862 put the number of the Comanche at the Arkansas Agency at 1,800 souls; *ib.* 1866 and *ib.* 1867 in the Central Superintendency (jointly with the Kiowa) at 2,800 and 4,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 1,722 (1875), 1,568 (1880), 1,544 (1885)



souls. The Census of 1890, 528, found 1,598 souls in Oklahoma. According to *Ind. Aff.* there were 1,507 (1895), 1,499 (1900), 1,401 (1905) and 1,476 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,171 souls, 62.9% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 97. The Comanche were a relatively large tribe although far from the exaggerated estimates which were given by most sources. According to J. Mooney 1928, 13, they numbered 7,000 in about 1690.

7. **Erie**, an Iroquoian tribe, destroyed by the Iroquois about 1656. The Cat nation (Erie) was very numerous in 1653, 2,000 men being reckoned, Le Mercier, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLI. 83; the Onondaga (Iroquois) prevailed in 1654 over the Cat nation, being 1,200 against 2,000—3,000; when finally the Erie resolved to flee, such carnage was wrought among their women and children that blood was knee-deep in some places, *Jes. Rel.*, LXII. 179, 181; in 1656 the Erie power was broken, they were dispersed or led into captivity. According to J. N. B. Hewitt (in F. W. Hodge, I. 431), 14,500 would be a conservative estimate of the population of the Erie. J. Mooney 1928, 11, supposes there were only 4,000 souls in 1650.

8. **Haida**, a tribe of the Skittagetan family, Queen Charlotte Is., Brit. Col. Perhaps it is inexact to consider the Haida as a tribe. They were an aggregate of many small groups; each group consisted of two or three villages and was to some extent an independent political unit. The Haida considered as a body were rather equivalent to a very loose confederacy. During the most flourishing period of the fur trade (1787—1807), there must have been at least seventeen such groups of villages: eight of these groups would average three villages each, the nine smaller ones two villages apiece. With an estimate of 200 men, women and children for each village, the total number would be, for the end of the XVIII century, about 8,400 souls, C. F. Newcombe, in *XV CR des Amer.*, I. 146. A hundred years later, by about 1880, the smaller settlements were abandoned, and not one of the inhabited villages contained a tithe of the people for whom houses were still standing, G. M. Dawson 1878—'79, 171 B. G. Dixon, 225, in 1787 saw 850 natives who had reached his ship by swimming, and estimated that the total population of the Queen Charlotte Is. would amount to 1,700 inhabitants, but G. M. Dawson supposes that only a small proportion of the able-bodied men of each tribe would have visited Dixon's ship, G. M. Dawson, *l. c.*, 171 B—172 B. J. Work (in P. Kane, app., and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 489) about 1836—'41 gave the population of Haida septs to be in all 6,693 souls. According to the estimates of agents of the Hudson Bay Co. quoted by Sam. Parker, 259, the population of eleven Haida "tribes" amounted in 1835—'37 to 8,600 souls. In about 1840 the Queen Charlotte Is. numbered 8,000 souls, Veniaminoff, 576 (this figure is repeated by A. Krause, 303). Warre and Vavasour, 9 (and R. M. Martin, 80), in 1845 estimated the Masset and thirteen other Haida "tribes" at 6,613 souls; 200 warriors in 1859, Dodd, 115 (apparently not all); 600 souls along the shore from Virago Sound to Cape



Knox and at Masset's Harbour in 1867, R. N. Scott 1868, 772; the same figure for the Haida on the northern part of Queen Charlotte Is. is given by Maj.-Gen. Halleck, 43, in 1868. Fr. Poole, 309, in about 1872 referring to eleven tribes on the archipelago, says that they all together amounted to 5,000 souls, if anything rather less. About 1,700—2,000 souls in 1878—'79, G. M. Dawson, *l. c.*, 174 B. *Can. Ind. Aff.* in the period of 1872—'80 estimated them at 2,500 souls — a schematic and of course erroneous figure; 593 souls, *ib.* 1895; 630 souls, *ib.* 1900. There were 900 largely mixed-blood Haida in 1905—'09, J. R. Swanton: *Haida*, 106; 600 souls in about 1907, C. F. Newcombe, *l. c.*, 147. The Kaigani, a division of the Haida, living in Alaska are here not taken into account. J. Mooney 1928, 27, supposes that the Haida "tribes" of Queen Charlotte Is. numbered 8,000 souls in 1780.

9. **Narraganset**, an Algonquian tribe in New England. They escaped the great pestilence of 1617. At the time when the English settled Plymouth, they were the most populous tribe of that region and their fighting men were reckoned at 3,000—4,000, W. R. Staples, in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, V (1843). 17, and B. Trumbull, I. 43. Some writers have exaggerated the numbers of the Narraganset: about 1660, H. Lalement, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLVI. 66, reported six towns, of 3,000—6,000 inhabitants each; R. Smith junior (quoted by S. G. Drake 1844, 53), estimated them in 1642 at 30,000 souls or, as old Indians said, they had formerly been able to arm for war more than 5,000 men, D. Gookin, 148. In 1633 smallpox swept off 700. In 1636 the English secured the assistance of the Narraganset against the Pequot: the Narraganset furnished 200, and later 1,500 warriors against the Pequot, J. A. Mauraull, 48 (probably jointly with their allies, as the Niantic). In 1638, their chief, Miantonomo, mustered 900—1,000 warriors against Uncas (*Coll. of original Papers relative to the Hist. of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston 1769, 141; cf. W. Hubbard 1815, 457). Before they were destroyed by their conflicts with the English in 1675, it was generally agreed that they had 2,000 fighting men, *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, III (1835). 7—8; W. Hubbard, *l. c.*, 33. It was even said that their strength amounted to 4,000 warriors, E. R. Potter, in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, III (1835). 39. The war of 1675 destroyed them. Their village where there were 500—600 wigwams, probably with a number of women and children, was surprised and set on fire. They then lost 1,000 warriors besides those who died from wounds or perished in the flames, E. R. Potter, *l. c.*, 86. The survivors took refuge in small parties among other tribes. The band near Albany numbered in 1682 about 100 souls (60 men were armed), P. Sanford, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ser. IV, vol. V. 70; they surrendered and were settled among the Niantic, the consolidated body of these two tribes took on the name of Narraganset. In 1730 there were in the colony of Rhode Id. no more than 985 Indians, at most the remnants of the Narraganset and Niantic; forty-four years after, their number was 1,482, but this increase is fictitious: some districts of Massachusetts were included

with Rhode Id. together with some Indians, D. G o o k i n, 211—212 (note). J. M o r s e, 361, and M c K e n n e y, in 27 *Sen. Doc.* 1828—'29, 5, estimated these Narraganset at 420 souls (including 22 Negroes); at the same time D. B. W a r d e n, III. 529, placed their number near Charlestown at 150 souls. The Census of 1890, 572, found 180 Narragansets in the State of Rhode Island, intermarried with Whites and Negroes. The Census of 1910 returned 16 Narragansets but it is probable that there were others enumerated among the general population, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 73. It is possible that the Narraganset did not even reach 5,000 souls. J. Mooney (in F.W. Hodge, II. 29) estimates the Narraganset at 5,000 in 1674, but later (J. Mooney 1928, 4) gives them at only 4,000 (jointly with the Eastern Niantic) in 1600.

10. N a t c h e z, a powerful tribe, of the Muskogean family, Miss. They numbered over 3,000 warriors in 1683, H. T o n t i, in P. M a r g r y 1867, 18 (Tonti in B. F. F r e n c h, I. 63, gave them as more than 300 warriors, but this is a misprint; *ib.*, I. 65, Tonti writes that when the Whites arrived at the Natchez village, they were in a moment surrounded by 1,500 warriors); 1,500 in 1686, H. T o n t i in P. M a r g r y, III. 556. Eight or nine villages which made one town and formed a complex of adjoining villages called Theloel with 300—400 cabins in 1699, I b e r v i l l e, 179; Margry, V. 445 (J. Mooney, in *Am. A.* 1899, 510, estimated its population at 2,500 souls); 300 cabins in 1699, two or three families to a cabin, d e M o n t i g n y, in *XV CR. des Amer.*, I. 36; 400 cabins in 1699, d e M o n t i g n y in P. M a r g r y, IV. 411 (he had visited the great majority of the cabins); 1,200 men in 1699, L a H a r p e 1831, 28; 1,500 families in 1702, I b e r v i l l e, 602. De la Vente, in A. G o s s e l i n, 37, stated in 1704 that in the six years previous their number had diminished by one-third. The Knatches numbered 700 men in 1715, according to the Map of 1715 (in J. R. S w a n t o n 1922, plate III). At least 800 warriors in 1716, R i c h e b o u r g (in B. F. F r e n c h, III. 242) and the anonymous *Relation de Louisiane*, 21. In 1721 they could not raise 2,000 fighting men, although in about 1715 they had had 4,000 (?) warriors, C h a r l e v o i x (in B. F. F r e n c h, III. 162); 1,200 warriors in 1718—'31 jointly with the petty tribes of the Grigra and Tiou, which had taken refuge among the Natchez, d u P r a t z, II. 223 (also Th. J e f f e r y s, 163, in 1760); 600 warriors in 1722, though the time was not far distant when they had had 4,000 able-bodied men, C h. G a y a r r e, I. 286—287; 500 warriors in 1729, and they were scarcely more than 700 before the war, l e P e t i t, in *Rel. Jes.*, LXVIII. 221. The war of 1729—'30 led to their decay. The statements of L e S u e u r (in C h a r l e v o i x 1744, II. 496), according to J. M o o n e y (in *Am. A.* 1899, 514), would seem to give the Natchez as still having 240 warriors in 1731, or perhaps a total of 1,200 persons still remaining after the war. D i r o n d' A r t a g u e t t e (in C h. G a y a r r e), I. 449, in one of his dispatches said, that in 1731 the Natchez numbered 300 warriors, who escaped from the French. According to P e r r i e r (in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVII (1906). 157), the Natchez had not been so radically destroyed as was believed and there



still remained 200—300 warriors in 1732 (*ib.*, 162, Perrier wrote only of 100 warriors). Bienville in 1734 or 1735 (Ch. G a y a r r e, I. 465) related that amongst the Chickasaw there were 180 Natchez warriors. The Nochees are shown on a map of S. Carolina and Georgia for 1738 (J. Winsor, V. 365) as numbering 800 (!) men; 150 warriors in 1764 among the Creek, H. B o u q u e t, 146 (and J. B u c h a n a n, 138); 150—200 warriors in 1766 among the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee, J. S t u a r t, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1888). 281. Taitt, in 1772, estimated the Natchez among the Upper Creek at 30, and Marbury in 1792 estimated them at 110 men, J. R. S w a n t o n 1922, 434 foot-note, 436. B. H a w k i n s, 42, stated that the Natchez among the Creek in 1798 were given as 100 gunmen, but they were probably not more than 50. G. I m l a y, 290, estimated the Natchez at the end of the XVIII century at 100 warriors; 300 souls in 1836, Gallatin 1836, 114. They were considered as an extinct tribe at the end of the XVIII century; at least Baudry de Lozières, 251, related that they could have mustered 1,200 warriors in 1699, later they came to 600 and finally they dwindled away completely in the latter half of the XVIII century. A few survivors existed in 1907, J. R. Swanton 1911, 256. Natchez traditions greatly exaggerate their legendary power: they consisted once of many (800—900) suns and sixty villages, La Harpe in B. F. French, III. 18; le Petit, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVIII. 135. According to J. R. Swanton 1911, 43—44, the Natchez in 1698 inhabited 400 cabins with 1,000 warriors and 3,500 souls; 600 warriors and 2,100 souls in 1730; 250 warriors and 825 souls in 1734; 135 warriors and 470 souls in 1800, but there is no doubt that the Natchez had formerly been a larger tribe than when the French first met them, and it is not at all improbable that Tonti's figure of 1,500 warriors in 1686 is correct; de la Vente's estimate of 5,000 when they arrived in the country they occupied in historic times would appear to be rather under than over-estimated. J. Mooney 1928, 8, supposes, that the Natchez numbered about 4,500 souls in 1650. J. W. H o d g e, II. 35, places their number in 1682 at 1,000—2,000 warriors and 6,000 souls.

11. **Navaho**, an Athapascan tribe, Ariz., N. Mexico, Utah. Known once, in the XVII century, as the Apaches de Navajo. According to A. B e n e v i d e s, 44, in 1626 they were so numerous that in two days over 30,000 Indians assembled — to F. W. H o d g e and Ch. L. L u m m i s, *ib.* 44 (foot-note), this estimate seems grossly exaggerated: it is doubtful if the Navaho numbered as many as 4,000 in the first half of the XVII century; 4,000 Navajos were said to have been "interviewed" by Padres Delgado and Irigoyen, H. H. B a n c r o f t, XII (1888). 247. Perhaps it is they who appear under the name of the Nebajos in the report of the Council of Mondova in 1777: at a conservative estimate the whole body of the Apaches would number as many as 5,000 warriors; the groups of Lipanes, Gileños and Nebajos were among them the most numerous, A. M e z i è r e s, II. 153. In 1805 there were 2,000 warriors, Z. M. P i k e, 337 (and J. F. S c h e r m e r h o r n, 29); 10,000 souls in 1831—'38, J. G r e g g,



I. 285 (also A. W. Whipple, 13); 1,000 families and 7,000 souls in N. Mexico about 1846, Ch. Bent 1847—'48, 11; 13,500 souls, H. H. Davis, in *Ind. Aff.* 1866, 135; 8,000—10,000 souls in about 1849, J. H. Simpson, 79; not more than 5,000 souls in 1849, J. S. Calhoun in J. Lane (*Ind. Aff.* 1849); (W. A. Bell, I. 179, in about 1869 stated that the Navajo in 1849 numbered 12,000); probably about 8,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1854, 380; 7,500 in 1855, report of the governor of N. Mexico, in *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 576. According to J. L. Collins (*Ind. Aff.* 1857, 563), the Navaho were variously estimated from 9,000 to 12,000 souls and could muster 2,000—3,000 warriors. Approximately 15,000 souls in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 7; 9,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1861. Ch. D. Poston (in *Ind. Aff.* 1863, 509) has put their number at 15,000 souls but "competent authorities" have stated that they could raise and equip 25,000—30,000 warriors! There were 15,000 souls in 1869, J. Ross Browne 1869, 291. The captivity of the whole tribe in the sixties rendered possible a more exact register of the Navaho: in 1866, 6,447 souls were found at Bosque Rodonde and about 1,200 still at large and hostile, H. H. Davis, in *Ind. Aff.* 1866, 135. Washington Matthews 1897, 8, on the basis of the register of the Navaho when summoned to receive sheep and goats from the Government, estimated them in 1869 at 9,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* have 11,768 (1875), 12,000 (1879), 21,003 (1885) souls. The Census of 1890, 135, returned 17,204 souls — an exaggerated estimate according to Washington Matthews, *l. c.* *Ind. Aff.* 1900 gives about 22,000 souls in Arizona; *ib.* 1910 reported 29,624 souls in Arizona and New Mexico. The Census of 1910 returned 22,455 souls (11,001 in Arizona, 10,354 in New Mexico, 1,039 in Utah), 99.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 78. The tribe was a nomadic one, roaming over a very large area, so that an absolutely accurate enumeration even in 1910 would have been an extremely difficult if not impossible task; the numbers given are evidently based upon partial counts of at least a large proportion of the tribe: beginning in 1894, a sudden rise is noticeable up to 20,000, and in 1905 a still greater rise — in one year from 21,379 to 28,544, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 78. The above figures demonstrate that the Navaho steadily increased and are increasing in numbers. H. Hale and A. G. Morice suggest that the Navaho were about 12,000 souls when the United States took possession of N. Mexico (1849). According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, there were about 8,000 Navahoes in 1680.

12. **Nevome** (or Lower Pima), Sonora. In the first part of the XVII century, A. P. Ribas, 361, 397, placed their number at 6,000—7,000 souls; H. H. Bancroft, X (1883). 226, even quotes 9,000 on the ground of Ribas' statements. According to A. F. Bandelier, III. 55, if the Nevome counted all told 8,000 souls, it is as much as may be safely attributed to them.

13. **Nez-Percés**, a Shahaptian tribe. They roamed over a large area in neighbouring districts of Wash. and Oreg. They were little known

at the beginning of the XIX century: the numbers of the Mud Indians were unknown, they are supposed to have resided somewhere at the heads of the Columbia River, H. M. Brackenridge, 86. (Even 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 7, estimated the "Nez Percés or Shahaptin" at 2,200, but these Nez-Percés were exclusively the Walla-walla, Yakima, Paloos and Klikitat.) The first estimate of their number was given by Lewis and Clark, VI. 114, 115. Namely, the Chopunnish on the Lewis River numbered 2,300 souls and those on the Kooskooshe River 2,000; in addition, these explorers enumerated many supposed Chopunnish bands, but only the Kimooenin (Kamiah) with 800 souls in thirty-three lodges and the Willawah (the later Joseph's band) with 500 souls in thirty lodges were the Chopunnish. In all, the Nez-Percés then numbered about 5,600 souls. J. Morse, 369, repeated all the above figures. The Walla-walla, the Sahaptin (i. e. Nez-Percés) and the Cayuse numbered altogether about 1,500 souls, Al. Ross 1849, 127; 5,000 souls in about 1830, Hall J. Kelley, 60. The Nez-Percés were a numerous and powerful tribe, Cox Ross 1831, II. 143. About 2,500 souls, Sam. Parker, 301, in 1835—'37 and P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 991) in 1840. There were 2,000 souls, H. Hale, 212 (also A. Gallatin 1848, 14) and Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. Somewhat less than 3,000 souls in 1843, A. J. Allen, 174; 4,000 souls (including the Willewah band) in 1845, G. Wilkes, 44; 3,000 in 1846, Crawford quoted by W. Robertson, 129 (and 30 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 9); 5,000 souls in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10; 400 warriors, 1,500 souls in 1850, J. Lane, 159; I. I. Stevens 426, 460, estimated them at 1,880 souls in 1851, at 1,700 souls in 1853, apparently in Oregon; 1,700 souls in 1853, G. Gibbs, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 418 (and H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 490); 500 warriors in 1853, B. Alvord, 10; 1,800 souls in 1854 east of the Cascades, A. Dart, 478; 2,000 souls in 1854, Joel Palmer 493; 6,000 souls, A. N. Armstrong, 111, in 1857; 3,300 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1858, 617 (A. P. Denison); 800 men, 3,700 souls, *ib.* 1859, 785 (A. J. Cain); 4,000 souls, *ib.* 1860, 435 (A. J. Cain); 4,200 souls, *ib.* 1861, 830; 3,200 souls in 1869, Wm. F. Cady, 3. In about 1875, O. O. Howard, 19, 20, estimated the Nez-Percés, considering the treaty of 1855 as ground for the existence, at 2,000—3,000; "non-treaties" after they finally separated, were about 700 souls, perhaps more. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Nez-Percés in Idaho at: 2,800 (1875), 1,208 (1880; and 344 in Indian Territory), 1,437 (1885), 1,715 (1890, and Joseph's band with 148 souls), 1,634 (1900, and 127 souls in Joseph's band), 1,651 (1905) and 1,433 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,259 souls (1,035 in Idaho), 77.0% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 95. According to H. J. Spinden, 175, Lewis and Clark's estimate that the Nez-Percés numbered more than 6,000 souls could not have been far wrong. However, J. Mooney 1928, 16, estimates them to have been 4,000 in about 1780.

14. Ntlakyapamuk (Thompson River Indians), a Salish tribe, Brit. Col. According to J. Teit 1900, 175, about 1858, when white

miners first arrived in the country, the population of the entire tribe probably numbered at least 5,000 souls. P. J. de Smet 1847, 227, estimated the Knife Indians at 1,530 souls. A. C. Anderson, in R. Mayne, 297, placed the number of the Ntlakyapamuk and Shuswap Indians mustering annually on the Fraser River at 6,000—8,000. The Thompson Indians numbered 2,050, *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1871. The subsequent official estimates reported only the population of individual villages one by one, making the total of the tribe uncertain: in the Fraser River Superintendency there were 2,519 souls in villages assumed to be of this tribe, *Can. Ind. Aff.* 1879; 1,625 souls in the Kamloops Agency, *ib.* 1895; 1,431 souls in the Kamloops Agency and 353 souls in the Okanagan Agency. *ib.* 1900. J. Mooney 1928, 29, places their number at 5,000 in 1780.

15. **Opata**, a Piman tribe, Sonora. There were 7,043 souls jointly with the Jova (439 souls) and Eudeve (1,265 souls), and 5,349 excluding them, the Jesuit census of 1730, in H. H. Bancroft: *North Mex. States*, I (1883). 513—514; 10,000 souls, probably together with the Jova and Eudeve, in 1829, R. W. H. Hardy, 437; 20,000 in 1842, Duflot de Mofras, I. 213. C. A. Pajeken, 93, in 1852 gives them as 300 warriors: he probably referred only to those who were then still not Mexicanised. According to A. Hrdlička, in *Am. A.* 1904, 56, at the beginning of the XX century, of the Opata the full-bloods could barely number 500—600, and in settlements where only a century ago the Indians of this tribe numbered hundreds, it has become difficult to find a dozen pure-blood individuals.

16. **Osage**, a Siouan tribe of the Dhegiha division. There were seventeen villages in about 1686, Hennepin 1720, 263, and Douay, in B. F. French, IV. 222 (J. R. Swanton in F. W. Hodge, II. 157, suggests that these villages must have been nothing more than hunting-camps). The Crevas numbered 1,200—1,500 families in 1702, Iberville, 599. The Wesawkes numbered 700 men in 1715 (evidently not all), the Map of 1715, in J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III. Three villages, one of them consisted of a hundred cabins and 200 warriors in 1719, La Harpe (du Tisné), in P. Margry, VI. 311. A numerous enough nation in 1721, Charlevoix, VI. 142. The Great Osage numbered 700 warriors and the Little Osage 250 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 67. The Osage mustered 600 warriors, the Grands Eaux (the Great Osage) — 1,000 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145, and in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 147 (also J. Buchanan, 139). Two villages (the Great Osage) of 1,000 men in 1772, A. Mezières, I. 304; in the expedition against the Osage, the Spaniards intended in 1777 to call 1,270 Indian warriors for assistance, A. Mezières, II. 145; one of the Osage villages contained 800 men in 1777, A. Mezières, II. 144. The Little Osage mustered 350—400 warriors, the Great (Big) Osage had 800 warriors in 1777, L. Houck, I. 142, 144. The tribe of the Little Osage numbered 400 warriors and that of the Grands Eaux 800 warriors, G. Imlay, 293. Not less than 1,200 warriors in both divisions in 1795, de Carondelet, in L. Houck, II. 100. The Osage were



a belligerent tribe who had more than 1,500 warriors in 1801, Case Calvo in L. Houck, II. 302. There were 1,000 warriors in 1803, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and J. Davis, in Berquin-Duvallon, 99, foot-note); in 1804 the Great Osage consisted of two villages and 1,200 warriors (5,000 souls), the Little Osage numbered 300 warriors (1,300 souls) in one village, in all 6,300 souls, Lewis and Clark, VI. 83—84 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 707—708); 1,252 warriors and 4,019 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 258; 1,500 warriors (with some Kansas) and 5,500 souls in 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 85; 1,500 warriors, 6,000 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 8,000 souls in 1819, Th. Nuttall, 199. The Great Osage numbered 2,000 souls in about 1820, the Little Osage 1,600—1,700 souls and the Osage of Arkansas were about as numerous as the Little Osage, in all about 1,300 warriors, J. D. Hunter, 220; 4,000 souls in 1819—'20, S. H. Long, in E. James, II. 366; 5,200 souls, J. Morse, 366, in about 1818 and McKenney, 545, in 1825; 5,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 102; 5,200 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 40; 5,120 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403, *ib. 1837*, 613, and *ib. 1841*, 246; 1,100 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 20; about 5,000 souls in 1842, J. D. Long and S. Taylor, 33; 4,102 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1844*, 316, and *ib. 1845*, 459. Nearly 5,000 souls in about 1850, Bax in P. J. de Smet 1863, 355; 5,500 at about the same time, H. Howe, 356; 4,098 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1855*, 576; they barely exceeded 3,500 in 1856, but ten years before they had numbered 5,000 souls, J. Schoenmakers, *ib. 1856*, 687; 6,000 souls about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 49. *Ind. Aff.* estimated the Osage at: 3,449 (1868), 4,481 (1870), 3,001 (1875), 2,008 (1880), 1,552 (1885), 1,509 (1890), 1,657 (1895), 1,782 (1900), 1,937 (1905) and 2,100 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,373 souls, 43.0% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 101. According to J. Mooney 1928, 13, the Osage numbered 6,200 souls in 1780.

17. **Papago**, a Piman tribe, Ariz. They numbered 6,000 souls in 1744, J. Sedelmayer, in M. Venegas, II. 182; 3,000 souls in 1775, Fr. Garcès, II. 443; 4,000 souls in 1799, J. Cortez, 125, and in 1834, J. Escudero: *Chihuahua*, 228. *Ind. Aff. 1859*, 590 (P. Bailey), estimated them at 1,890 souls in nineteen pueblos in the United States; 4,000 in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 51; 3,300 in 1861, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 828. There were 6,800 souls in eighteen villages in Arizona in 1863, *Ind. Aff. 1863*, 505 (Ch. D. Poston) and 5,000 in 1864, *ib. 1864*, 298; 6,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1867*; 4,000 souls in about 1858, of which 3,000 lived north of the Mexican frontier, A. W. Bell, in *J. Ethn. Lond.*, I (1868—'69). 236. J. Ross Browne 1869, 277, estimated the Papago at 6,800, and *ib.* 291, at 7,050 souls; 6,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1875*, and *ib. 1880*; 7,000 souls, *ib. 1885*. The Census of 1890, 133, found 5,163 Papago in Arizona; 3,889 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1900*; 5,224 souls, *ib. 1910*. The Census of 1910 returned 3,798 souls, 97.5% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 89. There were also some Papagos in Mexico to the number of about 1,000 or more. According to J. Mooney 1928, 22, there were 6,000 souls about 1680.

18. **Shoshoni**, a tribe of the Shoshonean family. They were scattered over a vast area and divided into many bands; estimates of their population were therefore very vague and divergent. Sometimes the name of the Shoshoni was even used as a collective designation: for instance, according to A. Ross 1855, I. 249, 251, the Shoshoni nation were on the west side of the Rocky Mountains what the Sioux were on the east side — the most powerful people with 30,000 souls, but Ross included also the Arapaho (Shirrydikas) and Bannock among his Shoshoni. Lewis and Clark, VI. 114, 118, 119, in 1805 wrote of five divisions numbering 14,400 souls (13,800 in the original draft). In 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87, referred to the Snakes (the Shoshoni, Comanche) with 900 warriors and 5,500 souls near the heads of the Arkansas River; 1,000 warriors and 5,000 souls in 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 38; 20,000 and 60,000 souls, J. Morse, 368, 369. Ietam, Shoshoni and other tribes of the Rocky Mountains numbered in all 20,000 souls, P. B. Porter, 106; 10,000 souls about 1830, Hall J. Kelley, 60. The Snake tribe who came to the Grande Ronde for trade, mustered 1,000—1,200 strong about 1835, Gairdner, in *R. G. S.*, XI (1841). 257. Nearly 4,000 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 301. The Shoshoni or Root Diggers numbered 10,000 souls in 1840, P. J. de Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson, 217. The Snakes were estimated at 3,000 in 1848, J. L. Meek, 10. According to J. Lane, 158, the Shoshoni were divided into small bands and it was almost impossible to ascertain their exact numbers, but the main band numbered about 700 souls; the total number of the tribe was about 2,000 souls. Both these estimates refer only to some bands of the tribe, as does also Crawford's estimate in 1844 in G. Wilkes, 44, and in W. Robertson, 129 (also in 76 *Ho. Doc.* 1847—'48, 9), namely, the Pohas (Washakies' band?) numbered 1,000 souls. Both bands of the Shoshoni, i. e. Snakes and Walkers, probably numbered over 1,000 lodges housing four persons each, J. Wilson, in *Ind. Aff.* 1849, 1002. In 1859 there were 4,500 souls in Utah, *Ind. Aff.* 1859, 733 (J. Forney; A. P. Denison, *ib.* 803, reported 1,200 Mountain Snakes); according to *Ind. Aff.* 1866 there were in Utah 4,500 eastern Bannock and Shoshoni intermingled and 3,800 western and north-western Shoshoni; 2,000 Shoshoni in Nevada, 2,500 Shoshoni in Idaho, besides those in Oregon. *Ind. Aff.* 1868 estimated them at 5,800 souls besides 1,800 mixed with the Bannock; *ib.* 1875 gave them as 1,740 souls in Idaho and Montana, 1,945 souls in Nevada, 700 souls in Wyoming and 244 souls (besides those intermixed with the Bannock) in Oregon. The Census of 1890 found 916 in Wyoming, 383 in Nevada, 1,336 (intermarried with Bannock) in Idaho. *Ind. Aff.* 1910 reported 2,301 in Wyoming, 1,273 intermixed with Bannocks, 252 in Nevada besides those who were not under an agent. The Census of 1910 returned 3,840 souls, 86.7% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 98 (no satisfactory comparison could be made with previous years, as various portions of the tribe had nearly



all been reported in the past separately). According to J. Mooney 1928, 20, the Shoshoni (and Sheep-eaters) numbered 4,500 in 1845.

19. **Shuswap**, an important Salish tribe, Brit. Col. They were said to number 510 souls in 1812—'18, Ross Cox, 331; 575 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304; 400 souls about 1838, Capt. Wilson, 292. The Shuswap numbered 127 hunters and 419 souls in 1838 in the district of the post of Alexandria, A. Fisher, in *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, No. VIII (MSS); 600 souls in 1840, P. J. de Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson, 1005. About 1844—'46 there were 583 Shuswaps on the Thompson River (and probably about 700 among 1,255 Indians in the district of the post of Alexandria), J. Nobili in P. J. de Smet 1847, 227; 1,200 in Oregon in 1841, 76 *Ho. Doc. 1847—'48*, 7; 400 men and probably 1,200 souls in 1841, H. Hale, 205; 3,000 souls in 1842, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. The Shuswap and Ntlakyapamuk mustered annually on the Fraser River to the number of 6,000—8,000, A. C. Anderson, quoted by R. Mayne, 297. *Can. Ind. Aff. 1871* estimated the Shuswap at 1,250 souls, but *ib. 1875* at 2,500 and *ib. 1876* at 4,000. Almost all the above estimates were below the actual figure of the Shuswap. The first official figures returned were also vague. When these figures became more exact, a new difficulty cropped up: the figures were given by settlements and bands without quoting descent. Only a local explorer could compute exact figures from such materials. Giving the aggregate figures, we do not vouch that they cover all the settlements. According to the figures for the village populations for 1884 in *Can. Ind. Aff.* we have found 1,841 Shuswaps in the Kamloops and Williams Lake Agencies (besides 70 souls in the band of Chief Kinbasket in the Kutenai Agency), 1,805 souls in 1890, 2,107 souls in 1900. J. Mooney, in F. W. Hodge, II. 561, supposes that the Shuswap had probably dwindled by at least one-half since the coming of the miners in about 1860; their population in 1780 was 5,300 souls, J. Mooney 1928, 29. According to J. Teit: *Shuswap*, 466, there were 7,200 souls in 1850, 2,185 souls in 1903 and 2,236 souls in 1906.

20. **Takulli** (Carriers), an Athapascan tribe. A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 24—28, among the Carrier enumerates the Lower Carrier (five clans), the Upper Carrier (two clans) and the Babine (two clans): the language of these branches whilst remaining essentially the same undergoes, however, marked variations and upon that ground Morice has even asked himself whether distinct individuality as a tribe should not be granted to the Babine; irrespective of these divisions based on language and habitat, the Carrier are divided into several gentes the members of which (scattered among all clans) believe themselves bound by ties of the strictest relationship and formerly were exogamous. The Nataotin (Babine) had no intercourse with the Whites till 1812, and D. W. Harmon, 218, estimated them at least at 2,000 souls in five villages in that year; the first post among other Carrier was established in 1805. Ross Cox, 331, in 1812—'18, referred to some of these clans in the district of the post of Alexandria: the Tautin



numbered 116, the Naskotin 260 souls; the Ntshaautin village of Tluskez consisted of 76 inhabitants. J. Morse, 371, in about 1818 mentioned the Carriers, he gave no estimate of their population, but he reported the Nataotin with 2,000 souls and the Facullies (sic) and Atenas (Shuswap) jointly with 100 souls. In 1835, according to A. C. Anderson, 76, there were about 5,000 souls; about 4,000 souls in 1835—'37, Sam. Parker, 304. The Census of Indian population in 1839 returned 240 Tautin and 86 Naskotin at the post of Alexandria and 962 souls at or belonging to the posts of Fraser's Lake, Stuart's Lake, McLeod's Lake and Ft. George, *HBC Ind. Census 1839*, Nos. II, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII (MSS) — of course, a population of 1,288 souls; besides there were 182 souls at the Babine Post. J. Nobili in P. J. de Smet 1847, 227, estimated the above Indian population at 2,147, but he included in his estimate some hundreds of Atnahs (Shuswap) at the post of Alexandria. The Takulli were a "great nation of the north", Ch. Wilkes, IV. 479, 480, about 1841 (the Naskotin numbered 20 families, *ib.* 479). H. Hale, 202 (and A. Gallatin 1848, 9) reported eleven clans or "minor tribes" of the Takulli, the number of persons in the clans varying from 50 to 300: in this list were included the non-Takulli tribe of the Tsilkotin (G. F. Duncan Macdonald, 126, 127, quoted Hale's statement in about 1862, but instead of 50—300 persons in a clan gave 50—350). They numbered 4,000 souls about 1840, P. J. de Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 1005), and about 1842, Duflot de Mofras, II. 335. There were 300 Nataotin, 200 Hwotsetenne (Babine), 147 Nikozliantin, 22 Kezche, 80 Tatshiautin and Nulaautin in the seventies, G. M. Dawson 1879—'80, 20 B, 30 B. Apparently at the same time A. G. Morice 1888—'89, 113, estimated them at 1,600 souls: "the Carriers were originally quite numerous; if we are to credit the old men among them and even the Hudson's Bay Co.'s employees, it would be necessary to decuple the population in 1793." A. G. Morice 1892—'93, 24—27 *passim*, estimated the Lower Carrier at about 505 souls, the Upper Carrier at about 270 souls, the Babine clans (Nataotin and Hwotsotenne) at 610. About 1906 A. G. Morice, in *Anthropos*, I (1906). 274—275, placed the number of the Lower and Upper Carrier at 970 and that of the Babine at 530; thanks to the influence of the missionaries the tribe was during the years 1870—1900 continually on the increase, but more than half of the southern Carriers had been swept away by disease before the action of the missionaries began. *Can. Ind. Aff. 1895* and *ib. 1900* reported 635 and 687 souls among the Carrier, and 618 and 596 souls among the Babine. According to J. Mooney 1928, 27, the Carrier tribes numbered about 5,000 and the Babine tribes about 3,200 souls in 1780.

21. **Teton**, the principal Dakota tribe (fire). Lewis and Clark, VI. 97 (and *Am. State Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 712), in 1804 placed the population of four Teton bands at 390 lodges, 970 warriors, 2,910 souls. According to Z. M. Pike, 136, in 1805—'07 there were 2,000 men and 11,600 souls; 5,250 souls in about 1818, J. Morse, 365; 900 lodges,

3,600 warriors and 14,400 souls in about 1823, W. H. Keating, I. 380; 28,000 souls, G. C. Beltrami, II. 208. H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606, 607, reported of the Teton, Oglala, Siounes and Hunkpapa — all these names are those of various Teton divisions — that their strength was 2,000 warriors and 10,000 souls in about 1825. In 1833 there were 1,630 lodges; averaging five souls per lodge, they would have totalled 8,150 souls, F. V. Hayden, 371; 16,500 souls (Tetons, Oglala, Saone), *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425 (D. D. Mitchell); over 6,000 souls, *ib.* 1849, 1022 (A. Ramsay). In about 1850 they numbered 2,280 lodges and the average number per lodge was put at 8–10 souls, Th. A. Culbertson, 141–142. There were 1,250 lodges and 12,500 souls, St. R. Riggs, XVI. In about 1855, the Teton numbered 1,840 lodges, 2,988 warriors and 14,720 inhabitants, G. K. Warren, 16. There were 21,215 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1866 and *ib.* 1867; about 16,000, besides those who had taken refuge in Canada, *ib.* 1890. The Census of 1910 returned 14,284 Tetons (74.2% full-bloods), there were 6,045 Oglalas (68.9% being full-bloods), 1,072 Hunkpapas (89.0% full-bloods), 806 Brulés (73.6% full-bloods) and 1,397 souls in smaller Teton bands (Miniconjou, Sans Arc Sioux, Blackfoot Sioux, Two Kettle, 88.9%, 28.8%, 68.7% and 48.8% full-bloods), *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 102–114 passim. It is difficult to determine the number of the Teton in the past. They were reported in 1680 by L. Hennepin (ed. Thwaites), 225, and in B. F. French, IV. 113, as Tinthonha, i. e., the “prairie men” or the “inhabitants of the meadows”. Le Sueur, 87, seems to not have included the Teton in his list of seventeen Sioux nations (villages) in 1700 since it seems to be doubtful whether the Tintangoughiatons, i. e. the “village of the great cabin”, were the Teton; if so, they did not number then more than a few hundred warriors. A. Raudot, in P. Margry, VI. 15, in 1710, stating that the “savage Sioux” were numerous and roving, referred to the Teton, Sisseton and Wahpeton. In about 1719 the Sioux consisted of twenty to twenty-six villages; the five villages, among them the Titoha (i. e. the Prairie Sioux), contained altogether 1,200 men, E. D. Neill, 235, the Titoha, i. e. the Teton, had on an average about 240 men. Probably these Titoha were only one of the chief bands of the Teton fire. The Teton as a fire were undoubtedly more numerous and certainly prevailed among the Western Sioux. These Sioux in 1700 numbered a thousand cabins more than the Eastern Sioux, Beaurain in P. Margry, VI. 79. The Sioux of the Prairies (the Teton, Yankton, Yanktonai) mustered 2,500 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145. In any case, the Teton fire, as an aggregate of many bands, came to about 5,000 souls or even exceeded that number in the XVII century.

### 6. Tribes numbering 10,000 souls and over

1. **Cherokee**, a powerful tribe of the Iroquoian family using three principal dialects. There were sixty villages and at least 500 warriors in 1708, Gov. Johnson, in W. J. Rivers 1856, 238; 2,370 warriors



in 1715—'16, but the Lower Cherokee do not seem to have been included in this estimate, G. Chicken quoted by J. Mooney, in *19 B. Am. E.* (1897—'98), 34; 4,000 warriors and 11,210 souls in sixty villages, a census in 1715, W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. On the Map of 1715 (J. R. Swanton 1922, Plate III) the Cherokee were given in two places: 1,700 men in thirty villages and 300 men in ten villages, besides there was the Cherokee settlement of Oconerys with 70 men. The Cherokee numbered 3,510 warriors and 10,379 souls in 1721, a census in 1721, B. Fernow, 273—275; 3,800 warriors in 1721, Representation of the Board of Trade in *N. Ca. Rec.*, II (1886). 422. Sixty-four towns and villages and upwards of 6,000 fighting men in about 1730—'35, J. Adair, 227 (Wm. B. Stevens, I. 48—49, estimated the Cherokee population at 20,000 souls). Sixty-two villages and over 4,000 warriors in 1729, B. Byrd, I. 141. They mustered 5,000 warriors in 1740, an official document in *Ga. Hist. Coll.*, II (1842). 72 (but one year earlier they had lost 1,000 men), and in P. Force, I. 7. In about 1738 an epidemic reduced the Cherokee by almost one-half, Moore, in *Ga. Coll. Rec.*, V (1908). 229, J. Adair, 232, P. Force, I. 7, W. J. Rivers 1856, 36. The Cherokee mustered 5,000 warriors in 1739, Col. Oglethorpe, *Ga. Col. Rec.*, V (1908). 191; 2,590 warriors in 1755, Gen. Dobbs, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 320—321 (W. Douglas, I. 186, at about the same time reported 6,000 men!); 1,990 warriors in thirty-two villages in 1757, an official document quoted by W. J. Rivers 1856, 40, foot-note; 1,500 fighting men, G. Croghan in 1759 in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150; 2,500 men fit for war in 1760, S. Niles, 549; 2,000 souls in the same year, Gov. Bull., in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 260. At the conclusion of the war with the English the number of warriors was calculated to be about 2,300, J. Adair, 227. They consisted of over 3,000 fighting men but by 1761 they were supposed to have been reduced to about 2,000, *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 617; 3,000 gunmen were also reported for about the same time in *A descr. of S. Ca.*, in B. R. Carroll, II. 243; 2,500 warriors in 1864, H. Bouquet, 146 (also J. Buchanan, 138) and Th. Hutchins, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; 2,800 gunmen in 1764, J. Stuart, in Cl. E. Carter, 825. The Creek and Cherokee consisted of no less than 6,000—7,000 fighting men, Stewart, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1890). 214; 3,000 warriors in 1768, Galphin in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, 150, and Rev. Richardson quoted by E. Potter, 120. About 2,000 fighting men in 1775, R. Rogers, 202. Their number of gunmen was computed at 2,000 or 2,500 in 1776, W. Jones, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, XXII (1907). 744; 2,800 warriors (8,550 souls) in 1780, Purcell, 100; 500 warriors in 1783, Dalton, 123. There were 2,000 gunmen in 1785, B. Hawkins and others, in *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 39; about 600 gunmen in 1789, B. Lincoln and others, *ib.* I. 79. At the end of the XVIII century there were 2,500 warriors, G. Imlay, 290. The Cherokee numbered 12,359 souls in 1809, Meigs, in D. B. Warden, III. 14. On the White River the Cherokee and Chickasaw could muster 500 warriors



and numbered 3,000 souls in about 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 87; 3,000 warriors and 12,395 souls in 1811, J. F. Schermerhorn, 13 (according to G. Blackburn); 1,000 warriors and 5,000 souls in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76; 4,000 warriors and 14,500 souls, D. B. Warden, III. 14, about 1819. There were 17,000 souls (and 120 souls on the Red River), J. Morse, 364, 367, 373. At that time the Cherokee population was rapidly increasing: in 1819 that to the west of the Mississippi was estimated at 5,000 souls and that to the east at 10,000 souls; a census of the western division was taken in 1825: it returned 13,563 native citizens (220 Whites married into the nation and 1,277 African slaves), McKenney, 651. (There were eighty families in 1828 in Texas, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 267). There were 12,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 105; 22,000 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, II. 120; 16,000 souls east of the Mississippi and 6,072 souls west of that river in 1835, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 402; *ib.* 1837, 640, 641, reported 14,000 and 7,911 souls for these two divisions. In 1835, before their forced removal to the west, there were 16,542 Cherokees east of the Mississippi, but nearly one-fourth was lost on the journey, Cl. C. Royce, 377, J. Mooney in F. W. Hodge, I. 247. H. Atkinson, 20, in 1837 estimated those Cherokee who had emigrated at 1,500 warriors; 25,911 and 10,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1841, 247; 18,000 souls, *ib.* 1842, 446 (D. D. Mitchell); 22,000 souls (including 900 slaves) in about 1851, H. Howe, 355; 17,367 in 1845, Ch. E. Mix in H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 582; 17,530 souls in Arkansas, 2,200 souls in North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575; 21,707 souls in 1857, H. R. Schoolcraft, VI. 690; 15,000 souls at about the same time, E. Domenech, II. 14; 22,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1861. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 17,217 (1875), 19,720 (1880), 23,000 (1884), 25,000 (1890) among the Western Cherokee and 2,500 (1875), 2,200 (1880), 3,000 (1884 and 1889) among the Eastern Cherokee. The Census of 1890, 255, returned 22,015 in Indian Territory, but the Cherokee national census of the same year gave the total number of the nation under Cherokee law to be 25,978 souls. In 1900 there were 35,000 souls in Indian Territory and 1,375 in North Carolina, *Ind. Aff.* 1900. The Census of 1910 returned 31,489 souls, 21.9% being full-bloods (*Ind. Pop.* 1910, 33, 83). *Ind. Aff.* 1910 reported that the Cherokee nation in Indian Territory contained 41,701 souls, namely 36,301 by blood, 286 by intermarriage, 4,917 freedmen; besides, there were 1,999 souls of the Eastern Cherokee in N. Ca. According to Th. Nuttall, 176, the Cherokee numbered 12,000—13,000 souls in the XVI century; J. Mooney, in *19 B. Am. E.* (1897—'98). 36, 81, supposes that Adair's, 217, estimate (6,000 fighting men in 1735, equivalent to 16,000—17,000 souls) is probably very near the truth and that the close of the XVIII century found the Cherokee still a compact people numbering probably about 21,000 souls. According to the same writer, in F. W. Hodge, I. 247, the majority of the earlier estimates are probably too low as the Cherokee occupied so extensive a territory that only a part of them came into contact with the Whites,

J. Mooney 1928, 8, places the Cherokee population at 22,000 souls in 1650.

2. Chippewa (Ojibwa), an Algonquian tribe in the region of L. Huron and L. Superior. The Chippewa in the XIX century, divided into many divisions and located in different districts, "ceased to be a social body: collecting the Chippewa upon thirteen reservations, scattered over Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota under five different agencies, has so modified the *esprit du corps* of the tribe that the agency has taken the place of the nation" (W. H. Jackson, 8). They seem to have always been a populous tribe but scattered over a vast area and divided into many loosely connected bands (or sub-tribes); in addition, they probably increased by assimilation and adsorption of related broken-up tribes and bands. Earlier estimates usually refer only to a part of the tribe: the Chippewa, according to Fr. Parkman, I. 148, defy all efforts at enumeration in the XVIII century. *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 132, in 1669—'71 enumerate some Chippewa bands: there were the Pawating who with two other, probably Chippewa, "nations," numbered more than 550 souls, as also the Amikwa and Achiligouan who jointly with the Missisauga numbered over 400 souls; there were also mentioned, but not named, two other "nations" of 500 souls on the shores of L. Superior, who were probably bands of the Chippewa. It is doubtful whether the Dowaganhas, numbering 3,000—4,000 souls in about 1700 (*N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 714), can be identified with the Chippewa. In Chauvignerie, 1053, 1054, there were some Chippewa bands named as independent bodies: the Oukiskimanitouk with 40 men bearing arms, the Nameuilini with 150 men, the Ouasouarini with 60 men, the Tecamamiouen with 100 men, various Sauteurs with 220 men (on the basis of these figures H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 609, estimates the Chippewa and Saginaw at 5,420 souls in 1736). Wm. Johnson, 583, in 1763 estimated the Chippewa or the Missisagua at 720 men. G. Croghan, 168—169, at about the same time gave estimates of some Chippewa bands (near Michilimakinac with 400 men; near the entrance of L. Superior with 400 men; the Chippewa and Ottawa on Saginaw Creek with 200 men, the Chippewa and Menominee jointly at L. Michigan with 550 men; in addition, Chippewa villages existed on the shores of L. Superior, but Croghan was not informed of their fighting strength). Later estimates are more liberal, although most of them seem to have taken no account of more remote bands. There were 5,000 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 144 (also J. Buchanan, 139), Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556, and a trader in 1778, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 560. The Sauteurs had 3,000 warriors in 1777, a Spanish Report, L. Houck, I. 147. The Chippewa and Ottawa could jointly muster 5,450 warriors in 1779, Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149; 3,000 warriors (besides those who, as the Sothuse, were reported jointly with the Sioux) in 1783, Dalton, 123; in 1786 the Chippewa population from St. Mary's Falls to the sources of the Mississippi, i. e., a part of the tribe, mustered 800 men, Memorandum of the Committee of Merchants



(Montreal), in *Wisc. Hist. Col.*, XII (1892). 79; 5,700 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 292; 1,000 warriors (evidently only a part of the Chippewa) in 1804, Lewis and Clark, VI. 108—116 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.* I (1832). 718—719); 2,049 warriors and 11,177 souls in 1805—'07, Z. M. Pike, 136; only 900 warriors and 4,000 souls in three local groups, H. M. Brackenridge, 86, 77. The Ottawa, Cree, Menominee, etc. were named as various divisions of the Chippewa, and confused with them by J. F. Schermerhorn in 1811, 11—12; 1,500 warriors in 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; the Chippewa high up on the Mississippi were numerous, but their number was not given, only those between Milwaukee and Greenbay were estimated at 200 warriors in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76—77. In the XIX century the Chippewa were so mixed with other tribes in many districts that no separate returns for them were given. J. Morse, 362, estimated them at 8,335 souls, besides those who were intermingled with the Ottawa to the joint number of 16,000, but Col. Dickson gave their numbers residing about the Great Lake at 10,000; still others gave the whole population of the tribe at 30,000. McKenney, 545, in 1825 put the number of the Chippewa and Ottawa in Michigan at 18,473 souls (the Chippewa prevailed there) and the number of the Chippewa and Potawatomi in Illinois and Indiana at 3,900 souls (18,173 souls was quoted by H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 609, as the number included in the government plan for the removal of the Chippewa); 15,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 96; 9,420 souls in 1832, H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 609; 15,000 souls in 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 22; 2,000 warriors in 1837, H. Atkinson, 19. *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 402, reported 17,064 souls mixed with the Ottawa and Potawatomi; 12,755 souls, *ib.* 1837, 640 and 15,118 souls, *ib.* 1841, 247; 8,657 Chippewas and 5,152 Chippewas and Ottawa jointly, *ib.* 1855, 575. According to E. Domenech, II. 16, 47, 48, in about 1860 there were about 30,000 souls among the Chippewas; in addition, he reported the Ojibways (6,000 souls) who "are sometimes mistaken for the Chippewas, with whom they are connected by origin". W. F. Cady, 2, 3, gave 11,763 Chippewas separately returned and 8,000 together with the Ottawa in 1868—'69. The above estimates in the XIX century usually refer only to those Chippewa who were living within the United States. But there were the Chippewa in Canada. E. D. Neill 1885, 508—510, in 1883 placed the number of the Chippewa in the United States at 11,614 souls and in Ontario at 11,216 souls, but he did not take into account those of Manitoba, and probably those of the United States, who were returned jointly with the Ottawa, Potawatomi, etc. *Ind. Aff.* 1880 estimated the Chippewa at 3,341 in Michigan, at 6,198 in Minnesota, 4,569 in Wisconsin, besides whom there were 6,200 mixed Ottawa and Chippewa. At the same time, *Can. Sess. Pap.* 1880—'81, reported 8,480 souls in Canada, besides those who were counted with the Cree, Ottawa, etc. to the joint number of 17,370 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1885, found 3,500 souls in Michigan, 5,885 in Minnesota,



3,656 in Wisconsin, some hundreds in Dakota; the Census of 1890, 338, returned 14,389 Chippewa; besides, in 1885 and 1890 there were 6,000 mixed Chippewa and Ottawa in Michigan (the Ottawa prevailed). *Can. Ind. Aff. 1885* found 8,930 souls; 11,090 souls, *ib. 1890*; 10,864 souls, *ib. 1900*, but there were many living together with the Ottawa, Cree, etc. The Census of 1910 returned 20,214 souls (8,234 in Minnesota, 4,299 in Wisconsin, 3,725 in Michigan, 2,966 in N. Dakota), 34.5% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 73. J. Mooney and C. Thomas, in F. W. Hodge, I. 280, supposed that in 1905 the Chippewa probably numbered 30,000—32,000 souls, namely 15,000 in Canada and 14,000 in the United States (exclusive of about 3,000 in Michigan). According to A. E. Jenks, 1042, about 10,000 Chippewa used "wild rice" for about 200 years until the year 1825. However, the Chippewa still used it in about 1900. J. Mooney 1928, 11, places the number of the Chippewa in 1650 at 35,000.

3. **Choctaw**, a Muskogean tribe. There were 5,000 warriors in forty villages in about 1699, La Harpe, in B. F. French, III. 20; over 6,000 warriors in more than fifty villages in 1700, Iberville, 427; 1,090 cabins, three or four men per cabin, in all about 3,800—4,000 men in 1702, Iberville, 519; 4,000 families in 1702, Iberville, 602. Cl. Delisle (probably on the basis of Iberville's papers) reported 1,146 cabins in twenty-nine villages, Marc de Villiers, in *J. des Am.*, XIV (1922). 138; 7,000—8,000 souls in more than 700 or 800 cabins in 1704, de la Vente in A. Gosselin, 35. Thirty-two villages and 48,000 (? souls) in 1714—'16, Saint-Denis in P. Margry, VI. 220; 25,000 warriors in 1718—'30, du Pratz, II. 216; 8,000 warriors in 1725—'26, Bienville, in J. R. Swanton 1922, 452; 1,610 warriors in 1729, Regis de Roulet, in *J. des Am.*, XV (1923). 248; 3,000 warriors in 1730, Regis de Roulet, in J. R. Swanton, 452; 3,000—4,000 warriors in 1730, le Petit, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVIII. 194; 1,466 warriors in 1732, Father Baudoin, in J. R. Swanton, 452; 2,628 warriors in 1733, Regis de Roulet, in *J. des Am.*, XV (1923). 248; 5,000 warriors in 1734, *Ga. Hist. Coll.*, II (1842). 318; the Choctaw had forty-six towns and 16,000 men in 1738, W. Bull, in *Ga. Rec.*, V (1908). 56; 5,000 warriors in 1739, Oglethorpe, in *Ga. Rec.*, V (1908). 191; 4,000 warriors in 1739 (?), Vaudreuille, in B. F. French, II. 63; 3,000 warriors in 1741, D. Coxe, in B. F. French, II. 235; 5,000 warriors in about 1741, P. Force, I. 45; 3,610 warriors and 12,635 souls about 1750 (?), an anonymous French MSS, in J. R. Swanton, 452; the French stated that the Choctaw consisted of 9,000 men fit to bear arms, but their true number was not above half that given by the French report, J. Adair, 282, about 1750. Fifty-two villages, 3,500—4,000 warriors in 1758, de Kerlerac, 76; 2,000 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150; at least 5,000 warriors in 1760, Bull, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 260, and S. Niles, 549; they were said by the French to consist of many thousand men, *A descr. of S. Ca.* in B. R. Car-

roll, II. 244; 21,500 (souls) in 1764, Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556; 4,500 warriors in 1764, H. Bouquet, 146 (and J. Buchanan, 138); 5,000 gunmen in 1765, J. Stuart, in Cl. E. Carter, 825; 6,000 in 1768, Galphin in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, 150; 800—900 warriors in 1768, E. Potter, 121; 10,000 warriors about 1775, R. Rogers, 20. Over seventy villages and about 2,600 men in 1771, B. Romans, 74; 600 warriors served in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123. The Choctaw numbered 4,141 gunmen and 13,423 souls in about 1780, Purcell, 99 (these figures, a little changed, 4,041 and 12,123, were given by Meigs in 1809, in D. B. Warden, III. 545); 4,500 warriors in 1785, Smith in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555. There were 6,000 warriors in 1785, B. Hawkins and others, *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 39; H. Knox, *ib.*, 49, supposes 6,000 men in 1789 stating that other opinions gave them as 4,500—5,000 warriors; 3,000 warriors in 1789, B. Lincoln and others, *ib.*, 79. The Choctaw mustered 6,000 warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 290, and at the beginning of the XIX century, Milfort, 285; 2,000 warriors and 5,500 souls about 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 88; 4,000 warriors and 15,000 souls in 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 17; 25,000 in about 1818, J. Morse, 364 (Ad. Hodgson, I. 232, estimates them at the same time at 15,000—20,000 souls); 21,000 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545, 651; 20,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 106; 19,554 in 1831, Armstrong in J. R. Swanton, 452; 15,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 402, and *ib. 1837*, 641; 3,500 warriors about 1837, H. Atkinson, 20; *Ind. Aff. 1841*, 247, reported 18,500 souls (D. D. Mitchell). About 20,000 (including 600 Negro slaves and 200 Whites married to Choctaw women) in about 1850, H. Howe, 355; 15,767 souls in 1853, Ch. E. Mix, in H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 582; 19,707 souls in 1857, H. R. Schoolcraft, VI. 690; 20,000—25,000 souls in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 11. J. R. Swanton 1922, 453—454, compared all the official estimates of the Choctaw: for the years 1835—1910, their numbers oscillate from 12,500 (1865—'70) to 22,707 (1856). The Census of 1890, 255, found 11,057 souls in Indian Territory. The Census of 1910 returned 15,917 souls (14,551 in Oklahoma), 44.6% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 88; comparison with previous years is not possible for this tribe as a whole as the figures in *Ind. Aff.* cover only the Oklahoma Choctaw, and even these figures for Oklahoma are questionable. In 1916—'19 there were 17,488 persons by blood, 1,651 by intermarriage, 1,660 "Mississippi Choctaw", 1,253 in the State of Mississippi, and 6,029 freedmen, J. R. Swanton, 454. (In about 1763 the Choctaw began to move across the Mississippi: *Acc. of La 1803*, 350, reported a Choctaw village of 100 souls at the Rapide, at least 400—500 families dispersed to the west of the Mississippi, on the Ouachita and Red Rivers, and 50 wanderers of the Biloxi and Choctaw (?) tribes on Bayou Crocodile; J. F. Schermerhorn, 27, in 1811 estimated that division of the Choctaw at 500 warriors and 2,500 souls, J. Morse, 373, placed the numbers of the Choctaw on



the Sabine and Natchez Rivers at 1,200 souls and on Red River at about 140.) According to J. R. Swanton, 456, the Choctaw numbered 15,000 in 1700, 21,000 in 1831 and 16,000 in 1910, the quantity of white and negro blood, however, having been continually on the increase. J. Mooney 1928, 8, places the number of the Choctaw in 1650 at 15,000.

4. **Cree**, a numerous Algonquian tribe. The Cree were scattered over a vast region and divided into a large number of independent bands, or "tribes," as some writers say. J. McLean 1896, 69, is even inclined to consider the Cree not as a tribe, but rather as a confederacy. It was difficult to ascertain their exact numbers, as only a part of this loose body of bands usually came into contact with traders or explorers, and most of the estimates took no account of more remote divisions. According to G. Dreuillette, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLIV. 248, in 1658, the Kilistinons (i. e. the Cree) comprised four "nations" or "peoples," and one of these tribes, that of the Nipissiriens, could muster about 600 men or 2,500 souls. The Cree were divided among nine different residences, some of 1,000, other of 1,500 men, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 226, in 1659—'60. The Cree surpassed the Sioux and Illinois in extent reaching as far as the North (Arctic) Sea, J. de Quen, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXII. 221. The Cristinos and the nation of Grand Rat (not all) numbered over 2,000 warriors in 1697, Aubert de Chesnaye, in P. Margry, VI. 7; they were not so numerous as the Assiniboin, Aulneau, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVIII. 299, in 1736. Chauvignerie, 1054, in 1736 had taken into account only those on the Lake of the Woods to the number of 200 warriors, and on Lake Ounepigon with 60 men. They had twelve villages, with about 250 men per village in 1757, de Bougainville, 54; 3,000 warriors in 1764, Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556, and H. Bouquet, 145 (also J. Buchanan, 139). (The Cree numbered about 800 lodges in 1776—'77, but an epidemic of smallpox reduced them to less than half their former numbers, F. V. Hayden, 236.) G. Imlay, 293, at the close of the XVIII century placed their fighting strength at 1,200 men. E. Umfreville, 179, wrote in about 1790 that the Nehethawa were scattered over a very extensive country, for which reason they did not appear to be numerous, but if the different "tribes" had been collected, this nation would have had much greater influence than it did. A. Mackenzie, LXX, LXXXVII, stated that an epidemic of smallpox reduced the Knisteneaux, and in 1789—'93 there did not exist more than forty resident families; in addition, 80 tents or upwards in the districts of Ft. George and Ft. Augustus. Lewis and Clark, VI. 105, 106 (and *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 719), reported 150 lodges, 300 warriors and 1,000 souls, i. e. they referred only to some bands stating that the Cree population had been reduced by smallpox since they were first known to the Canadians. Henry and Thomson, 516, in 1808, related that the Cree were increasing fast after an epidemic of smallpox which destroyed entire camps, but to find the exact number of the men was difficult: they seemed to have had about 300 tents and about 900 men capable of bearing



arms; in that calculation those Crees who lived north of Beaver River were not included. There were 300 warriors and 1,000 souls in 1811 on the Assiniboin River and along the Lakes, H. M. Brackenridge, 86. The Cree who lived at the heads of the Mississippi around Red Lake mustered 200 warriors and numbered 800 souls whilst the Knisteneaux on the Assiniboin River had 500 warriors and 2,500 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 12; 500 warriors in about 1812, an officer in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 556. The Cree who inhabited the plains, and were better known, consisted of seventy-five tents, which averaged about ten inmates each, J. Richardson in J. Franklin, I. 169, in 1819—'21. Gen. Darling stated that the Cree dwindled to a few families, being reduced by 1828 (?) from 8,000—10,000 souls to 200 or at the most to 300 families, *Rpt. of Parliament: Selected Comm. on Aboriginal tribes* (reprinted by the Abor. Prot. Society, London 1837). There were 3,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 100. About 1833 (?) the Plain Cree numbered 4,000 souls in 500 tents: the entire tribe of these Cree would approach to receive their supplies preceded by 800 mounted warriors, singing their war songs; they were reduced to 120 tents and 900—1,000 souls by 1858, an officer in H. Y. Hind: *Red. R.*, II. 162. There were 3,000 souls in 1832, G. Catlin 1841, I. 53 (and in Th. Donaldson, 117, 118), half of them died of smallpox in 1838. According to G. Catlin: *O-kee-pa*, 50, amongst the Assiniboin and Cree 7,000 had fallen victims to the disease. The Cree numbered 600—800 tents and 1,800—2,100 men in the thirties, M. Wied-Neuwied, I. 454—455; 3,000 souls in 1836—'41, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403, *ib. 1841*, 247; 100 tents, 300 men, 800 souls according to *Ind. Aff. 1842*, 425 (D. D. Mitchell). The Strongwood Cree numbered 400 tents and 4,000 souls, the Plain Cree 200 tents and 2,000 souls in 1842 (?), Rowand, in H. Y. Hind: *Red. R.*, II. 152. In 1844—'45 the Cree nation was considered very powerful and numbered over 600 wigwams, P. J. de Smet 1847, 169. The Cree numbered 500 tents and 3,500 souls in 1847, G. Simpson, I. 102. The Plain Cree came to about 3,000, the Wood Cree to 9,350 souls in 1852, Lefroy in J. McLean 1896, 69; 1,000—1,100 tents in 1856, four souls per lodge, F. V. Hayden, 237. The Plain Cree did not exceed 120 huts and 960—1,000 souls in about 1858, H. Y. Hind, *l. c.*, I. 150. With about 12,500 souls, the Cree were the most numerous tribe of the Saskatchewan country, Hector and Vaux, in *Tr. Ethn. Lond.*, I (1861), 251. *Can. Sess. Pap. 1871* estimated the Cree at 7,000 souls, the Wood Cree at 425 souls. The famine of 1879 reduced the numbers of the Cree (e. g., at Fort Chipewyan from 300 to 86 souls, E. Petitot, in *R. G. S.*, V (1883). 652). *Can. Ind. Aff.* reported: 7,217 (1877), 9,335 (1880), 8,126 (1885), 5,312 (1890), 5,406 (1895), 6,054 (1900) Crees separately and 13,422 (1877), 13,837 (1880), 13,083 (1885), 10,818 (1890) Cree and Chippewa jointly. About 1906 there were 15,000 souls in all, F. W. Hodge, I. 361. The Census of 1910 returned 459 Crees in the United States, of whom 309 were in Montana as trappers of the Hudson's Bay Co., *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 73. According to

J. Mooney 1928, 25, 26, the Cree seem to have made up their losses and are now probably as numerous as ever before in their history: the Cree and Maskegon (i. e., the Kilistenaux) numbered 15,000 souls about 1670.

5. **Mayo**, a Piman tribe, Mexico. It numbered 8,000—10,000 warriors and 30,000 souls about 1613, A. P. Ribas, 237; 21,000 souls in 1621, a Spanish document quoted by H. H. Bancroft, X (1883). 226, and by A. Hrdlička, in *Am. A.*, VI (1904). 54. There were 40,000—60,000 souls in 1825—'28 among the Mayo jointly with the Yaqui, R. W. H. Hardy, 438. The Mayo and Yaqui numbered about 40,000 souls in 1842, Duflot de Mofras, I. 212; 8,000 souls in 1852, C. A. Pajeken, 91; 10,000—20,000 in 1860, Ch. P. Stone, 165; 20,000 in 1903, A. Hrdlička, *l. c.*, 59. The Census of 1910 returned 40 souls in the United States, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 49.

6. **Tarahumare**, a Piman tribe, Mexico. There were about 8,300 Christians, almost exclusively Tarahumare, administrated by the Jesuits (besides a number of heathens in the mountains) in 1678, J. O. Zapata in A. F. Bandelier, III. 99, foot-note; 4,000—5,000 (probably un-Mexicanised Tarahumare) in 1825—'28, R. W. H. Hardy, 438. K. Lumholtz: *Mexico*, I. 119, estimated the Tarahumare at 25,000, but the greater part of them was Mexicanised (about 1893, K. Lumholtz, in *Anthropologie*, VI (1895). 87, put their number at 35,000 including 3,500—4,000 unbaptised persons).

7. **Yaqui**, a Piman tribe, Sonora. This is the tribe that, surrounded by Whites from the beginning of its history, has never been quite subdued, A. Hrdlička, in *Am. A.*, VI (1904). 61. There were 30,000 souls in 1613, A. P. Ribas, 284. J. O. Zapata in 1678, reported the population of the seven main Yaqui pueblos at 8,116, A. Hrdlička, *l. c.*, 54. When an insurrection occurred among them (1740), there were 10,000 fighting men, Ch. P. Stone, 165. The Yaqui numbered 19,325 souls in 1760 in eight principal settlements, a Jesuit account, in A. Hrdlička, *l. c.*, 54. The population of the Yaqui and Mayo was in 1825—'28 variously estimated at 40,000 to 60,000 souls, R. W. H. Hardy, 438. Both the above tribes jointly numbered about 40,000 in 1842, Duflot de Mofras, I. 212. There were 54,000—57,000 in eight pueblos, including some 200 Whites, in 1849, Escudero: *Sonora*, 100; 10,000 souls in 1852, C. A. Pajeken, 91. About 20,000 souls in 1860, Ch. P. Stone, *l. c.*, 165; probably about 20,000 about 1893, A. Hrdlička, *l. c.*, 56 and in 1902, A. Hrdlička 1908, 6. The Census of 1910 returned 528 Yaquis in the United States, 80.7% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 89.

### APPENDIX III.

## NORTH AMERICAN CONFEDERACIES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS

In North America there existed more or less permanent alliances or confederacies of neighbouring tribes: they constituted a great step forward in the evolutionary development of the social bond. The data possessed by us as regards the various confederacies are not in every case so full and complete as to obviate all uncertainty if a given group has been placed within the proper category in our table and list. We have extended the scope of our list to embrace not only the true confederacies but also such ethnic units, the component parts of which, although independent of each other politically, yet remain strongly bound together by the sentiment that actually they are but autonomous fractions of one and the same tribal entity.

Such bodies can be termed as equivalents of confederacies.

We have included amongst this group of equivalent-confederacies what the Spaniards called the "provinces" of the Pueblo Indians. It is possible that the pueblos of a given province were not always tied up by a distinct bond of a political nature, but they undoubtedly formed a more or less compact group maintaining its solidarity by means of common customs, tongue and rituals as also in many cases by the existence of a common enemy. The expression of this bond was the common (tribal) name embracing all the pueblos within the province. We have, however, gone still farther. We have also included herein the Apache, who were really only a loose aggregate of a number of bands, but which nevertheless always admitted the ethnic bond connecting them, often much strengthened by the necessity for a common stand against enemies. This solidarity was probably a survival of the former actual and more tangible bonds. We have even included here that group of tribes in the south-western part of Vancouver Id. connected with the name of Chief Wickanninish, although that aggregate bore a very vague character. Perhaps we should have included here not only the Apache but also the Ute; it might have been well, too, to include the Arikara amongst the confederacies, even such ethnic units as the Haida and even the Okanagan could have been included as equivalents and this could apply to many other ethnic groups (which have been treated as tribes) in view of their present-day division into smaller aggregates. We are only restrained by the fact that we know nothing of their past at the time of the coming of the Whites when, perhaps, the separated portions of one and the same ethnic aggregate were more strongly bound together.



### 1. *Confederacies (and their equivalents) numbering under 5,000 souls*

1. **Abnaki**, a confederacy of several Algonquian tribes, Me. The Whites very early came into contact with the Abnaki (in the XVI century), but the estimates of their population date from the end of the XVII century. In 1678 the Abnaki and Sokoki (a tribe of the confederacy), to the number of 700—800 men attacked an English settlement; in that war they are said to have lost about 1,000 warriors and a part of the Abnaki then removed to Canada, J. A. Maurault, 172—173. According to tradition, 1,500 Abnaki warriors with P. Bigot started in 1700 for Quebec: 500 of them remained at Bécancour, and 1,000 arrived at St. Francis, J. A. Maurault, 283 (Maurault supposes there were probably as many persons as are said to have been warriors). In 1722 the Abnaki inhabited five villages: there were two villages in the French possessions (Bécancour and St. Francis) and three others (Norridgewock, Penobscot and Medoctec) elsewhere: these five villages in all had 500 men under arms, S. Rasles, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII. 85, 121. The same figure of 500 warriors was quoted in 1724, Vaudreuil, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 939, as the fighting strength of all five settlements (Bécancour and St. Francis were then estimated at 180 warriors, *ib.*, 947). The English destroyed the village of the Norridgewock and dispersed the inhabitants, a party of whom fled for refuge to Canada (St. Francis). The tribes of the confederacy separated: the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy remained at their ancient homes whilst others lived in Canada. J. Gyles, 359, reported 389 men over sixteen years of age among the Abnaki tribes in Maine in 1726. Chauvignerie, 1052, in 1736, estimated the Abnaki in four of the above-quoted villages (i. e., exclusive of the Medoctec) at 590 warriors. In 1745 there were 90 warriors at St. Francis and 50 warriors at Bécancour, G. Clinton, in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, VI. 281, 276. In 1757 there were 500—600 men (?) among the Abnaki of Bécancour and 100—150 among those of the Missississik, de Bougainville, 57. About 1760, W. Douglas, I. 185, stated that some Abnaki tribes were extinct, other much reduced and that the once large nation did not then exceed 640 fighting men fit to march. Wm. Johnson, 582, estimated the Abnaki at 100 warriors scattered (probably in British colonies). According to H. Bouquet, 144 (and, of course, to J. Buchanan, 139) there were 350 warriors in 1764; 150 warriors in 1765, G. Croghan, 165; 100 warriors in 1768, Th. Hutchins (in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 147); 150 warriors, G. Imlay, 242. The British employed 200 Abnaki warriors in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123. Some tribes of the confederacy, those of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, are now living in the State of Maine whilst the name of the Abnaki was applied in the XIX century only to those who were in Canada (Bécancour and St. Francis, but the Malecite and Missississik were returned separately under their own name). About 1860 there were 539 souls among these Abnaki, H. Y. Hind: *Labrador*, I. 5. In 1877—1900, according to *Can. Ind. Aff.*, the Abnaki population in Bécancour and

St. Francis oscillated between 335 souls (1877) and 432 (1880). The Abnaki are supposed by J. A. Maurault, 229, never to have exceeded 3,000 warriors, but this is an exaggeration. Wm. D. Williamson, in J. Morse, 67, estimates the number of Indians in 1616 in the State of Maine at 5,000 souls: the Abnaki amongst them probably numbered about 4,000 souls. Wendell, 9, gave the figures of the population of the Abnaki tribes in 1690: the Pequawket numbered 100 men, the Sokoki 50, the Arosaguntacook 160, the Norridgewock 250, the Wewenoc (Sheepscut) 150, the Penobscot 350, the Passamaquoddy and the Machias 320, the village of Pemaquid 100, — a total of 1,480 men, i. e., the Abnaki population would have been about 5,000 souls, or even a little more; their number was reduced to 309 men by 1726—'27. J. Mooney 1928, 4, is still less liberal, stating there were in 1600 about 3,000 souls in the Abnaki tribes (including the Passamaquoddy); in addition, the Malecite, *ib.*, 24, numbered about 800 souls.

2—3. Hasinai and Kadohadacho, two confederacies of Caddoan tribes. Leon, quoted by H. E. Bolton, in *Texas Qu.*, XI. 253, in 1689 gave the names of nine Hasinai villages: every village was the residence of one of the consolidated tribes. In 1716, St. Denis, in P. Margry, VI. 217, reported the names of eleven villages of the Assinai (or Tejas, each of these names was also that of the corresponding confederated tribe). There are differences between these two lists. Namely, Leon's list covers the Hasinai confederacy on the Angelina and upper Neches Rivers; the Hainai (Hasinai) were there a leading tribe; the confederacy consisted of some ten or more tribes, of which the best known were the Hainai, Nacogdoche, Nabadache, Nasoni and Nadaco (Anadarko) (cf. H. E. Bolton: *Mezières*, 20—21, foot-note). However, in St. Denis' list, besides the Hasinai tribes, are also mentioned the Kadohadacho and Natchitoch, which tribes were connected with another confederacy of Caddoan tribes, situated in the basin of the Red River. The best known members of this aggregate were the Kadohadacho or Caddo proper, Petit Caddo, Upper and Lower Natchitoches, Adai, Yatasi, Nassonite and Natsoo or Nanatsoho, cf. H. E. Bolton: *Mezières*, 21—22, foot-note. Owing to confusion in the early accounts, it is difficult to differentiate the Hasinai confederacy from that of the Kadohadacho, the more so as they were on friendly terms: this differentiation is a consequence of only very recent studies. The multitude of tribes in each of these confederacies implies that the tribes were not populous. Even at the first contact with the French and Spanish these confederacies seem to have been aggregates of broken-up tribes and fragments of still older confederacies who had sought safety and assistance in alliances. (H. Yoakum: *Hist. of Texas*, I. 36, wrote of a Caddo tradition that, threatened by a formidable host of new-comers (Alibamu, Choctaw), the peaceful Ceniz retired to the banks of the Trinity River, where they met and on the left bank of that stream a great battle was fought in which the nation of the Ceniz was destroyed.) According to H. E. Bolton, in *Tex. Qu.*, XI. 275, the



confederated Hasinai tribes could not have averaged in 1716 more than 300—400 persons each and the estimates of Ramon (and Espinosa) which put the total number in the ten or more tribes at about 4,000—5,000 souls are sufficiently liberal. (Ramon visited four missions in 1716 which were within easy reach of all the tribes described; these missions would comprise 4,000—5,000 persons of all ages and both sexes, MSS quoted by H. E. Bolton, in *Tex. Qu.*, XI. 274; at the same time I. F. Espinosa, 439, stated that the Indians around the three Queretaran missions, not including the mission among the Nacogdoche and the Nacao, would number 3,000 souls; after a residence there of some years he estimated the number of persons within range of each mission at about 1,000.) About 1685—'87 there was a reference to "great" villages of the Ceniz and Assenys which formed but one village and one nation: "the village of Ceniz is one of the largest and most populous that I have seen in America. It is at least twenty leagues long, not that it is constantly inhabited, but in hamlets of ten to twelve cabins, forming cantons each with a different name," A. Douay, in J. G. Shea 1852, 204 (cf. de Tonti, 166, in 1685; Hennepin (ed. Thwaites), 412—413, in 1685; Joutel in 1687, in P. Margry, III. 341, 344—345, 386; G. Cardenas Z. Cano, 264). There were eight to ten families in a cabin, Joutel, *l. c.* (Hennepin reported twenty families, but de Tonti only two families). According to H. E. Bolton, *Tex. Qu.*, XI. 274, the Ceniz and Assenys contained the whole Hasinai confederacy, but perhaps exclusive of the Nasoni. In 1690—'91 some tribes of this confederacy, especially the Nabadache, suffered from an epidemic. Quoting the relations of the Canadians, Iberville, 316, placed the fighting strength of the Ceniz and Assenys in 1699 at 600—700 warriors. With regard to the Kadohadacho confederacy, there are also but few references. La Harpe, in P. Margry, VI. 263—264, in 1719 stated that the Kadohadacho, Nasonite, Natsoo (Nanatsoho) and (Upper) Natchitoch who ten years before had numbered more than 2,500 souls were by 1719 reduced to 200 warriors and 400 souls. (This passage is garbled in B. F. French, III. 69.) Baudry de Lozières, 250, referring to the above tribes (he identified the Nanatsoho with the Natchitoch and besides them he named also the Quitchiaiche) stated that they had once numbered 500—600 (warriors). Later estimates refer either to remnants or to some separate tribes (the name of the Caddo usually embraces the remains of the Kadohadacho confederacy and that of the Hainai corresponds to the Hasinai confederacy). The Cadoquies could raise 300—400 warriors, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350. Lewis and Clark, VI. 113, in 1804 put the Cadoquies at 400 warriors and 1,600 souls in one village. J. Sibley, 721—722, 724, in 1805, reported estimates of some Hainai and Kadohadacho tribes: the Caddo were much depleted by an epidemic of smallpox in about 1800, and only about 100 warriors remained; the Anadarko had 40 men, the Adai 20 men, the Hainai 80, the Nabadache 80 men, the Eyeish 25 souls and the Yatasi 8 men. H. M. Brackenridge, 87, 88,



estimated the Caddo at 110 warriors, the Anadarko, Adai and Hainai (Tachees) at 140 warriors, Nabadache at 80 warriors in 1811. J. Morse, 373, gave the Caddo and Kadohadacho of various tribes as 1,730 souls. J. A. Padilla's figures, 49, 52, are less liberal: the Nacogdoche numbered about 200, the Eyeish 300, the Texas 400 and the Anadarko 200 souls. The Texas Census of 1828 reported 300 families and 400 men among the Caddo, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 269; besides, *ib.*, 267, 268, the Nabadache were returned with 15 families, the Hainai and Texas with 23 families, the Anadarko with 29 families, the Eyeish with 160 families. McKenney, 27 *Sen. Doc.* (20th Congr., 2nd sess.), 6, in 1825 and P. B. Porter, 104, in 1829 gave the Caddo as 450 warriors. H. M. Morfit, 13, in 1836 found 500 souls (120 warriors) among the Caddo in Texas. The Caddo numbered 2,000 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403, *ib.* 1837, 612, *ib.* 1841, 247, and *ib.* 1844, 316. H. Atkinson, 20, estimated the Caddo at 300 warriors in about 1837—'38. In 1846 there were 1,500 Hainai, Caddo and Anadarko, P. M. Butler and M. G. Lewis, 7. R. S. Neighbors, 963, related in 1849 that these three tribes associated, having jointly 280 warriors and 1,400 souls; this consolidated body numbered 161 warriors and 476 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1851 (Jesse Stem); 500 souls, *ib.* 1854 (Hill). The Hainai and Caddo were estimated at 362 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1866. Only the Caddo were returned by later reports of the Office for Ind. Aff.: 570 (1870), 552 (1875), 538 (1880), 570 (1885), 538 (1890), 498 (1895) and 497 (1900). The Census of 1910 returned 452 souls, 74.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 33, 80. According to J. Mooney 1928, 13, the Caddo (inclusive of the Hasinai, etc., i. e., both confederacies) numbered about 8,500 souls in 1690.

4. **Hopi** (Moqui), a pueblo tribe of Shoshonean stock. At the time of the Coronado expedition in 1540 the Tusayan province (the Hopi) consisted of seven pueblos and could muster, jointly with the province of Cibola (the Zuni), 3,000—4,000 warriors, Castañeda, in G. P. Winship, 519, 524. A. de Espejo, in *Coll. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 119, reported five pueblos in 1854, one of which, Aguato (Awatobi), was said to number over 50,000 souls — a figure twenty-five times too great, F. W. Hodge, I. 561. Five pueblos, in all 450 houses, J. Oñate in H. E. Bolton 1916, 268; 10,000 souls in 1626—'30, A. Benavides, 36. The pueblo of Oraibi numbered 14,000 souls before the ravages of an epidemic; the pueblo of Awatobi consisted of 800, that of Shongopovi of 500 and that of Walpi of 1,200 souls in 1680, Vetancur, 102. There were 10,846 souls in 1745, according to the reports of Hopi missionaries, H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 364. The Hopi are said to have numbered 7,494 souls in 1774 (or 1775) in seven pueblos, two-thirds of that population being in Oraibi, Father Esculante (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 391, but Gov. J. B. de Anza found in 1780 only 798 souls — no rain had fallen in three years, and during that time 6,698 Hopis had died, H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 266. There were 2,450 souls in 350 lodges in 1846, Ch. Bent, 11. Leroux, 13,

estimated the Hopi in seven villages at 1,120 warriors and 6,720 souls (also J. Ross Browne 1869, 290); 8,000 souls in 1852, Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 85. The Hopi were almost destroyed by smallpox in 1855 and 1857 and many more died owing to the famine of 1867, W. H. Jackson, 103; 6,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1861*, 828 (Col. Collins who visited Moqui villages in 1861, estimated their population at only 2,500 souls; Maj. Kendrick who had visited them previously reported the same number, *Ind. Aff. 1865*, 355). There are various estimates from 4,000 to 7,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1863*, 508 (Ch. D. Poston). They did not exceed 3,000, J. Ward, in *Ind. Aff. 1864*, 357; 4,000 souls, Col. R. Jones, in V. Colyer, *ib. 1869*, 533 (Colyer himself gave them as 1,000—2,000 souls). According to *Ind. Aff.* there were: 1,600 (1875), 1,790 (1878), 2,139 (1885), 2,200 (1890) souls. The Census of 1890, 183, returned 1,996 souls (including 161 souls in the pueblo of Tewa). The Hopi numbered 1,832 souls in 1900, *Ind. Aff. 1900*, 476 (Ch. E. Burton). The Census of 1910 returned 2,009 souls, 99.9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 97. Contrary to the above figures the Hopi probably never exceeded 5,000 souls. Bandelier, III. 136, suggested that at the time of the Coronado expedition the average population of each pueblo did not exceed 300 souls, and of course the Hopi in their seven pueblos may have numbered 2,500—3,000 souls (cf. Castañeda's statements, in G. P. Winship, 512, as regards the pueblo population). J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates their numbers in 1680 at 2,800 souls. Cf. *Rpt. on Indians at the XI Census* (Wash. 1894). 179 and Th. Donaldson, *Moqui*, 15, 45.

5. **Jemez**, a group of pueblos of Tanoan stock. Castañeda, in G. P. Winship, 525, in 1540—'42 reported the Hemes province with seven pueblos; in addition, there was also the Tanoan province of Aguas Calientes with three pueblos. A. de Espejo, in *Coll. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 179, 116, estimated the population of the seven pueblos of the province of the Emeges in 1584 at 30,000 souls; J. de Oñate, *ib.*, XVI. 102, 114, heard in 1598 of eleven Jemez pueblos (no doubt including the Aguas Calientes), but visited only eight. When Benavides came in as custodian, the Jemez nation had been dispersed and already depopulated by famine and wars; they were in about 1626 congregated in two pueblos, and although more than half of them had died, there were still more than 3,000 Indians, Benavides, 24—25. Vetancur, 101, gave the Jemez as 5,000 souls in 1680. The Jemez set up an obstinate resistance to the Spanish efforts to subject them and they took a prominent part in the uprising of 1680. In consequence of their resistance and of epidemics (in the years 1728, 1780—'81) the Jemez population decreased greatly. There were 574 souls in 1749, A. Bonilla, in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 253, foot-note; 373 souls in 1760, P. Tamaron, *ib.*, 279, foot-note; 485 Indians and 375 Spaniards in 1793, Revilla Gigedo, *ib.*, 279; 272 Indians and 314 Spaniards in 1798, F. Osio (Hezio) in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.* 279, and in J. F. Meline, 209; 1,166 Indians and 398 Spaniards



in 1799, F. Chacon, in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 264 Indians and 337 Spaniards in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212. There were 285 souls in 1808 and 297 in 1809, J. Ward 1867, 213; 450 souls in 1844, Capt. Simpson, quoted by A. W. Whipple, 12; 265 souls in 1850, 365 in 1851, J. S. Calhoun, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633; 650 souls in 1860, J. Ward 1867, 213 (and J. F. Meline, 222); 80 families with 346 souls, J. Ward 1864, 343. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 1,344 (1871), 401 (1881), 483 (1890; only 428 according to the Census of 1890, 420), 449 (1900) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 499 souls, all full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 104. J. Mooney 1928, 22, supposes that the province of Jemez (with the Aguas Calientes) contained 2,500 souls in 1680.

6. *Keres*, a group of Keresan pueblos, New Mexico. Castañeda, in G. P. Winship, 525, related that the province of Quirix consisted of seven pueblos; the Spanish found villages of 200 inhabitants in New Mexico instead of populous cities, and only 800—1,000 people in the largest, *ib.*, 512; thus, the population of this province would have numbered about 1,500—2,000 souls, the large Keresan pueblos of Sia and Acoma were reported separately from the province of Quirix as independent social units. A. de Espejo, in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 115, gave five pueblos for 1584, "it appearing to us that there were 15,000 souls." A. Benavides, 22, in 1626—'30 estimated the Queres "nation" at 4,000 souls in seven pueblos (perhaps inclusive of the pueblo of Sia). Vetancur, 100—102 *passim*, mentioned four pueblos: San Filipe with Santa Ana, San Domingo and Cochiti, — in all 1,050 souls; he erroneously regarded San Marcos with 600 souls as a Keresan pueblo. In 1749, the above four pueblos (i. e., San Filipe, Santa Ana, San Domingo and Cochiti) numbered 195 Spaniards and 1,716 Indians, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII. (1888). 253, foot-note. There were 1,736 Indians and 140 Spaniards in 1760, P. Tamaron (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 279, foot-note. Ilzarbe (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 279, in 1788 reported only San Domingo with 608 souls; in 1790—'93 all the above pueblos numbered 400 Spaniards and 2,258 Indians, Revilla Gigedo quoted by H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 279 (and by A. W. Bell, I. 160); in 1798 there were 1,190 Spaniards and 1,904 Indians, F. Osio (Hezio), in J. F. Meline, 209. (In H. H. Bancroft, *l. c.*, 279, foot-note, the figures seem to have been misprinted: apparently instead of 483 Indians in San Domingo, 1,488 were given.) Gov. Alencaster, in J. F. Meline, 212 (and in L. Bradford Prince, 35), found 1,145 Spaniards and 1,728 Indians in 1809. The four pueblos numbered 2,302 souls in 1808 and 2,373 souls in 1809, J. Ward 1867, 213 (and A. W. Bell, I. 160, for 1809). In 1844 there were 2,500 souls, in three pueblos (without Santa Ana), Leroux, 12; in 1850 the four pueblos numbered 1,825 souls, J. S. Calhoun, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633; 1,730 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1851*, 454, and J. S. Calhoun, *l. c.*; 1,109 souls in 1860, and 1,558 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1867, 213 (and A. W. Bell, I. 160). *Ind. Aff.* reported: 1,833 (1871), 2,556 (1881), 2,024 (1890; the Census of 1890,



420, returned 1,746), 1,711 (1900; N. S. Walpole, 292) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 1,775 souls, nearly 100% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 86. (The pueblos of Sia, of Acoma (and Laguna) were not taken into account in our statistics of the Keres population.) J. Mooney 1928, 22, supposes that the province of Keres (contemporary Cochiti, San Filipe, Santa Ana, San Domingo and Sia) contained about 2,500 souls in 1680.

7. **Mahican**, a confederacy of several Algonquian tribes, upper Hudson River, N. Y. There is a reference to 1,200 warriors whom the Loups mustered in 1684, J. de Lamberville, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 201, and in 1687, de Seigneley, *ib.*, 321. Charlevoix 1744, I. 495, reported the figure of 1,200 Mahican warriors in 1684 who intended to assist the Five Cantons. Chauvignerie, 1052, estimated them at 600 men in 1736. In about 1730 they began to emigrate, separated into several bodies and incorporated with other tribes, gradually disappearing as a distinct tribe; only the Stockbridges preserved their distinct existence, although mixed with other Indians. Subsequent figures cover some such separate bodies. The Mahican on the waters of the Ohio numbered 15 warriors in 1748, Weiser, 31. There were 100 men connected with the Five Nations in about 1760, G. Croghan, 167, and Th. Hutchins 1778, 65 (also in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148); 60 warriors in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123; 40 men among the Mohiccons and 70 among the Mohicans, G. Imlay, 291. The Stockbridge numbered 150 families in 1741—'43, *Mass. Hist. Coll.* (comment. to D. Gookin, 195); 222 souls in 1763, *ib.* 221; 300 souls in 1791, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, X (1809). 153; 273 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 300 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 95. There were 400 Stockbridges, jointly with the Munsey, *Ind. Aff. 1868*; 118 souls in Wisconsin, *ib.* 1875; 137 souls, *ib.* 1890. The Census of 1910 returned 533 (502 in Wisconsin) souls. J. A. Maurault, 3, estimated the seven tribes of New England, on an average, at 3,000—6,000 warriors, the Mahican being one of these tribes. J. Mooney 1928, 4, gives the Mahican as 3,000 souls, but the query placed alongside that figure indicates that great doubt must have been entertained in this connexion.

8—9. **Manahoac** and **Monacan**, two confederacies in Virginia, consisting of tribes of Siouan stock. The Manahoac confederacy probably consisted of a dozen tribes, of which the names of eight have been preserved by J. Smith, 71, and W. Strachey, 104, and repeated by Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 134—135; these tribes were apparently very small, living chiefly by hunting but also on roots and fruit. In 1608, J. Smith, 429, referred to 400—500 "of our merry Mannakois", really only of four confederated tribes. The Monacan tribes, very barbarous, and also subsisting chiefly by hunting and gathering fruits, were allies of the Manahoacan tribes, W. Strachey, 104. The Monacan confederacy apparently consisted of more than five tribes. J. Smith, 438, referred in 1608 to two towns of the Monacan tribes, each evidently being the seat of a distinct tribe. Both confederacies probably suffered from relentless

war raged by the Virginians against the Powhatan in 1622—'45: at one time it was enacted that there should be three annual expeditions to sweep the whole country from the sea to the heads of the rivers for the utter extermination of the Indians, J. Mooney: *Siouan tribes*, 28. The leading tribe of the confederacy, the Monacan, was living about 1670 in one village, J. Lederer (ed. Talbot), 149. The census of 1699 reported 30 bowmen in this tribe, E. D. Neill, 326. At the time of R. Beverley 1855, 229, they were already extinct: when the French refugees (Huguenots) took possession of the land, which was formerly the seat of "a great and warlike nation called the Manicans," none of these were then left in those parts. The Manahoac confederacy is supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 8, to have numbered 1,500 souls in 1600 and that of the Monacan 1,200 souls (he seems to consider the Saponi and Tutelo to be survivors of both these confederacies). Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, 137 (and J. Burk, II. 156, foot-note) suggested that "the Monacas and their friends were better known latterly by the name of the Tuscaroras."

10. **Nanticoke**, a confederacy of several petty Algonquian tribes (the Nanticoke, Tocwogh, Cascarawaoc, Ozinies and others), Md. The last-named three tribes numbered about 350 warriors at the beginning of the XVII century (see separate data on these tribes). Nanduge, the residence of the "empress" of the confederacy, numbered 20 families at the beginning of the XVIII century, R. Beverley 1707, 316. About 1750 the Nanticoke moved from their abodes; divided into separate bodies they incorporated with their hosts. A small part remained in their former country: the Wiwash numbered about 30—40 souls in seven houses in 1792, A. Gallatin, quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 967. One of the bands which emigrated settled in the neighbourhood of the Shawnee and numbered 50 men in 1785, J. Heckewelder, 99. A part joined the Iroquois and was said to muster 106 warriors in 1759, G. Croghan, 167, and in 1764 Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148. Wm. Johnson, 582, in 1763 estimated the survivors of four tribes: the Nanticoke, Conoy, Saponi and Tutelo jointly at 200 warriors. There were 80 Nanticoke warriors at the end of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 291. Gifts were given to 37 Nanticokes in 1842 in Canada, *Can. Ind. Returns* 1842 (MSS). J. Mooney 1928, 6, places the number of the Nanticoke and their confederates at 1,600 souls in 1600.

11. **Pennacook**. A confederacy of Algonquian tribes in the basin of the Merrimac River. According to D. Gookin, 149, they were a considerable people and numbered 3,000 warriors in 1674. The confederacy was constituted in the first half of the XVII century by Chief Passaconaway, who had 400—500 men under his command, Th. Dudley, in *P. Force*, II. 6. By 1630 they were reduced to 2,500 souls and by 1674 there were 1,250 souls, F. W. Hodge, II. 225. In spite of the large figure quoted by Gookin, they were not numerous: the confederacy probably numbered as many souls as Gookin said there were warriors.



J. Mooney 1928, 4, estimates them to have been 2,000 souls in 1600. Some tribes of the confederacy joined King Philip, but the greater part kept on friendly terms with the English; these friendly Indians, nearly a half of whom were Pennacooks, were nevertheless treacherously seized to the number of 400 in 1676 at Dover, S. Penhallow 1824, 222. There were 90 men in 1699 and 5 men in 1726 in the ancient abode of the tribe, Wendell, 9. The Wamesit, one of the Pennacook tribes, numbered fifteen families and 75 souls in 1676, *Mass. Hist. Coll.* ser. I, v. I, p. 186.

12—13. **Piros** and **Tompiros**, two Piros provinces of Tanoan stock in the Rio Grande valley. The expedition of Coronado got as far as the Piros. A. Benavides, 21, 23, in about 1626—'30 estimated the nation of the Piros at 6,000 souls in fourteen pueblos and that of the Tompiros at fourteen or fifteen pueblos and 10,000 souls. Vetancur, 98, 103, in 1680 enumerated the pueblos: Chilili with 500 souls (mistakenly, as that pueblo was a Tiguano one), Alamillo with 300 souls, Socorro with 600 souls, Senecu and Sevilleta among the Piros; Quarai (properly a Tiguano pueblo) with 600 souls, Tabira (jointly with Tenabo) with 800 souls, Abo among the Tompiros. Of course, the number of pueblos by 1680 had fallen considerably below Benavides' figures. Some pueblos, given by Vetancur, were abandoned (e. g., Senecu, Sevilleta), Tabira and Abo were depopulated by the Apache. The Piros and Tompiros did not participate in the revolt of 1680 but the inhabitants, except for a few, fled with the Spaniards. The emigrants were established in the new villages of Socorro in Texas and Senecu del Sur in Chihuahua and later Mexicanised. F.W. Hodge, II. 262, estimates the number of the Piros at the beginning of the XX century at 60 souls. Judging by the extent of the ruins, some pueblos were populous: Abo seem to have had about 2,000 souls; Tabira did not exceed 1,500 souls, F.W. Hodge, I. 6, II. 665. F.W. Hodge, II. 262, estimates the entire Piros division of the Tanoan family at about 9,000 souls early in the XVII century (J. Mooney 1928, 22, also supposes such a population but for the year 1680).

14. **Tano**, a group of Tanoan pueblos in New Mexico. Castañeda, in G. P. Winship, 523—524, in 1541 found seven pueblos in the snow-capped mountains under the rule of Cicuye (?): the most important was then Ximena (later Galisteo), some others were already then abandoned or depopulated in the first part of the XVI century, the Teyas having destroyed these settlements. According to Bandelier, A. Espejo, in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 176, 122, seems in 1683 to have reported two divisions of the Tano: the Maguas with eleven pueblos and more than 40,000 souls and the Ubates (Hubates) with five pueblos and 20,000 souls (H. H. Bancroft identifies the Ubates with the Tewa). A. Benavides, 25, 103, in 1626—'30 found five pueblos and 4,000 souls (A. F. Bandelier regards Benavides' figures as reasonable, although probably a little above the true number). In 1680 the pueblo of Galisteo numbered 800 souls and that of San Marcos was said to be inhabited by the Keres, A. Vetancur, 102. Following



the uprising of 1680—'96 they were virtually exterminated. Their only pueblo, Galisteo, was estimated in 1712 at 110 souls, adnotations to Benavides, 230; there were 350 souls in 1749, A. Bonilla, in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 252, foot-note. In about 1793 the Tano abandoned this pueblo and removed to the Keres pueblo of San Domingo. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the province at 4,000 souls in 1680.

15. **Tewa**, a group of Tanoan pueblos, New Mexico. According to G. P. Winship, 525, Castañeda referred to the Tewa as the Yuqueyunque, estimating them at six villages in 1540 (H. H. Bancroft identifies A. Espejo's Ubates (Hebates) with the Tewa; if so, they would have consisted in 1583 of five pueblos and numbered about 20,000 souls, *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XV (1871). 121). According to J. Oñate, in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XVI. 109, 115, in 1598 the Tepua consisted of more than eleven pueblos. In 1626—'30 A. Benavides, 28, 106, reported eight pueblos and 6,000 souls, all baptized, among the Teoas (this estimate may be regarded as in excess of the actual number, A. F. Bandelier, III. 136 and adnotation to Benavides, 258). In 1680, A. Vetancur, 100—101, gave four pueblos and 2,200 souls (San Ildefonso, Nambe, Santa Clara, San Juan; Tesuque was erroneously given as a Tiguan pueblo). The census of 1749, A. Bonilla in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 252—253, foot-note, found 1,892 Indians in six Tewa villages (exclusive of 580 Indians in Santa Cruz de la Cañada) and 535 Spaniards. In 1780 there were 1,592 Indians (besides 316 in Santa Cruz), and about 2,500 Spaniards (1,515 in Santa Cruz), P. Tamaron (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888), 279, foot-note. In 1782, 500 of the Indians of Santa Clara and San Juan died of pestilence in two months, F. W. Hodge, II. 443. There were 985 Indians and 3,316 Spaniards in 1790—'93, Revilla Gigedo, in H. H. Bancroft, 279; 1,058 Indians and 4,483 Spaniards in 1797—'98, F. Osio (Hezio) in H. H. Bancroft, 279, and in J. F. Meline, 208. The Census, taken by order of Gov. Alencaster, in J. F. Meline, 212, found 929 Indians and 3,433 Spaniards in 1805 in the Tewa pueblos. There were 1,111 souls in 1808, J. Ward 1867, 213; 1,004 souls in 1809, a census taken by order of the Spanish authorities, J. Ward 1867, 213, and A. W. Bell, I. 160. The Census of 1850 returned 1,264 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1851*, 453—454 (Leroux, 12, estimated the population of the Tewan pueblos at 3,700 souls); 911 souls in 1860, A. W. Bell, I. 160, and J. F. Meline, 222; 914 souls (253 families and 340 warriors) in 1863, *Ind. Aff. 1864*, 343 (J. Ward), A. W. Bell, I. 160 (and in *J. Ethn. Lond.*, I (1868—'69). 224), J. F. Meline, 222; 947 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1871*; 924 souls, *ib. 1881*. The Census of 1890, 420, reported 969 souls; 910 souls in 1900, N. S. Walpole, 292. The Census of 1910 returned 978 souls in six pueblos, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 105—106. At the close of the XVII century a party of the Tewa removed to the Hopi and settled at the pueblo of Hano; the population of this pueblo was not taken into account in the above figures. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the Tewa province at 2,500 souls in 1680.

16. **Tigua**, a group of Tanoan pueblos, New Mexico. In 1540 Castañeda (in G. P. Winship, 519, 525) found twelve pueblos in the province of Tiguex; in 1588, A. de Espejo, in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XV. (1871) 112, 179, reported sixteen pueblos in 1583. A. Benavides, 21, 99, estimated the Teoas in 1626—'30 at fifteen or sixteen pueblos and 7,000 souls. (The city of Tihues had over 4,000 houses, all very large, in each of which 10 to 15 inhabitants lived, another city was of 3,000 houses, supplement to A. Benavides' *Memorial*, 70—71.) In the XVII century the Spaniards reduced the number of pueblos: A. Vetancur, 99, in 1680 gave the names of four pueblos (Isleta, Alameda, Puarai and Sandia; Tesuqui, given as a Tiguan pueblo, was a Tewan one) with 5,500 souls; but he, *ib.*, 103, referred to some Tiguan pueblos, namely Chilili with 500 souls, Quarai with 600 (and apparently Taxique with 300) as to Piros ones. On account of revolt all the pueblos except Isleta were abandoned in 1681 and were afterward burned down by the Spaniards. In 1760 there were in Tiguan pueblos (together with the pueblo of Beden) 595 Indians and 842 Spaniards, F. Tamaron (MSS) quoted by H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 279, footnote; in 1790—'93 Revilla Gigedo in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, estimated the pueblos of Sandia, Isleta and Belen at 714 Indians and 3,490 Spaniards; 715 Indians and 872 Spaniards (besides the pueblo of Belen with 124 Indians and 1,283 Spaniards), F. Osio (Hezio), in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279, and in J. F. Meline, 209. The census taken by order of Gov. Alencaster (in J. F. Meline, 212) found 733 Indians and 783 Spaniards in 1805 in Isleta and Sandia. There were 829 Indians in 1808 and 851 in 1809 (exclusive of Belen with 135 and 133 Indians), A. W. Bell, I. 160, J. Ward 1867, 213; 850 souls in 1850 and 992 in 1851, J. S. Calhoun, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633, and *Ind. Aff. 1851*, 454 (at the same time Leroux, 12, gave the population of Sandia and Isleta at 1,300); 657 souls in 1860, A. W. Bell, *l. c.*; J. F. Meline, 222; J. Ward 1867, 213; 983 souls (202 families, 280 warriors) in 1863, A. W. Bell, *l. c.*, J. F. Meline, 222, J. Ward 1864, 343. There were 954 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1871*; 1,431 souls, *ib. 1881*. The Census of 1890, 420, found 140 souls in Sandia, and 1,059 souls (Mexicanised!) in Isleta. The Tigua numbered 76 souls in Sandia and 1,021 souls in Isleta in 1900, N. S. Walpole, 292. The Census of 1910 returned 73 souls in Sandia and 956 souls in Isleta (93.5% being full-bloods), *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 104. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the Tigua province at 3,000 souls in 1680.

17. **Wappinger**, a confederacy of Algonquian tribes on the eastern bank of the Hudson River as far as Connecticut. Its tribal constitution cannot be completely determined, especially in the case of tribes inhabiting what is to-day the State of Connecticut. Similarly, there is a lack of figures which would permit us to fix the size of the confederacy. The figures available for the Wacquaesgeek, who were one of the chief tribes, the Montauk and certain tribes in Connecticut (Tunxis, Quinnipiac, Paugusset, all of whom probably belonged to the confederacy) have been given under



the appropriate names. A war with the Dutch in 1640—'45 considerably reduced the Wappinger in numbers. A tide of emigration ensued from their ancestral lands, the refugees becoming absorbed by the broken-up Indians of varied descent known as the River Indians, by the Moravian Indians, the population of Stockbridge, the Delaware, etc. J. Mooney 1928, 4, estimates the Wappinger to have been 3,000 souls in 1600: in this figure he did not include the tribes in Connecticut, and, moreover, he appears to have had doubts himself as to its accuracy since he places a query alongside his estimated figure of population.

18. **Wichita.** The Wichita confederacy consisted of several Caddoan tribes. The best known tribes of this group were the Wichita proper, Tawehash, Tawakoni and Yscanis. Earlier estimates (L. Hennepin 1720, 262, in 1686; Douay in B. F. French, IV. 222, in 1687) were much exaggerated: the Paneassa, i. e., the Wichita, were not inferior to the Panimaha (the Skidi), who had twenty-two villages, the least of these villages containing 200 cabins; D. Coxe in B. F. French, II. 231, even enhanced these exaggerations. According to du Pratz, II. 251, in 1718—'30 the Panis Noirs (Wichita) were more numerous than the Iowa or Osage, but less numerous than the Comanche. La Harpe, in P. Margry, VI. 289—290, visited them in 1719: there were many settlements along the river forming a large aggregate of tribes. This aggregate seems to have included not only the confederated Wichita tribes but also many others. La Harpe estimated it at 6,000 souls (and even at 7,000 at the ceremony of the calumet). Beaurain in P. Margry, VI. 289, estimated it at only 4,000 souls, and the gathering at the ceremony of the calumet at 5,000 souls. La Harpe, in B. F. French, III. 74, reported in 1719 on the four tribes of the Wichita confederacy as also on the Hasinai and Adai: he estimated this aggregate at 4,000 souls. H. Bouquet, 145, put the fighting strength of the Wichita (Panis piqués) in 1764 at 1,700. According to Ripperda, in A. Mezières, I. 270—271, the Tavayas (Tawehash), one of the confederated tribes, had about 2,000—3,000 warriors in 1772; J. Areche, *ib.*, I. 281, quoted this excessive estimate in 1773. A. Mezières, I. 288—289, 292, 294, the authority in relation to this region, estimated in 1772, on the basis of personal contact, that the Tawakoni consisted of two villages, one numbering thirty-six houses (120 warriors with women in proportion and an infinite number of children) and another with 30 families and a great number of children; the Yscanis comprised 60 warriors and many more women and children, the Wichita and Tawehash together had 600 warriors and a great multitude of women and children, in all probably about 4,000—5,000 souls. J. Gagnard, in A. Mezières, II. 85, related in 1773 that the nation of the Wichita contained four villages: Tawehash, Yscanis, Wichita and Tawakoni, and had a total of 1,000 warriors. In 1777—'78 an epidemic ravaged the Tawehash and Tawakoni. In 1778 the Council at San Antonio de Bexar placed the fighting strength of the Tawehash at 500, that of the Tawakoni at 250 and



of the Yscanis at 50 warriors, A. Mezières, II. 165; somewhat later, but in the same year, *ib.*, II. 197, 202, the Tawakoni were estimated at 150 warriors in one of their villages; another village exceeded the former in numbers; the Tawehash inhabited two villages, composed in all of one hundred and seventy houses, each dwelling containing ten to twenty beds: a conservative estimate of men, including youths, yielded more than 800, so that, of course, these two tribes would have numbered 3,500—4,500 souls. At the close of the XVIII century, G. Imlay, 293, estimated the Speckled Panis at 1,200 souls. In 1801 a great number of them were swept off by the smallpox. J. Sibley, 723, estimated the population of the two villages, i. e., those of the Wichita (Panis) and Tawehash, at 400, the Tawakoni at 200 men. Lewis and Clark, VI. 112, in 1804 put the population of the White Panis at 500 warriors and 2,000 souls. Davenport (MSS), quoted by F. W. Hodge, II. 948, gave them as 2,800 souls in 1809. Later estimates do not refer to the confederacy but only to some of the tribes who were once confederated. The census of Texas in 1828, *Bol. Geo. Mex.*, II (1870). 265—268 *passim*, reported the Tawehash and Wichita with 58 families, the Huecas (Waco) with 60, the Tawakoni with 80—100, the Tawehash (Tahuayace) with 200 and the Kichai with 37, in all over 400 families (G. Catlin, II. 73, in 1832 referred to the Pawnee Picts: the old chief told him by signs that they, together with the Kiowa and Waco, had 3,000 warriors, i. e., 12,000 souls.) In 1849, R. S. Neighbors, 963, stated that the Wichita, Waco, Tawakoni and the alien tribe of the Tonkawa were consolidated, numbering in all 200 warriors and 1,000 souls. The Census of 1910 returned 318 Wichita (96.9% being full-bloods); in addition, there were 10 Kichai, 5 Waco and a single Tawakoni, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 80. J. Mooney 1928, 13, supposes that the Wichita, etc. numbered 3,200 souls in 1690.

19. **Zuñi.** A group of seven pueblos of the Zuñian linguistic family. They constituted in 1540 the "province" of Cibola. At the time of the Spanish expedition, in the seven Zuñian pueblos jointly with the seven Tusayan (Moquian) pueblos there were as many as 3,000—4,000 men, Castañeda, in G. P. Winship, 519, 524; in one of these pueblos there might have been 500 families; there was another town, but somewhat larger, and another of the same size, the other four were somewhat smaller, Coronado, *ib.*, 558; Cibola, the largest village, might have had about 200 houses which were of two to five stories, two other villages were of about the same size, whilst others contained between 30 or 50 and 60 houses, *ib.*, 569. In 1583 according to A. de Espejo, in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XV. (1871) 117, 180, there were six pueblos and over 20,000 souls. In 1604, in all six pueblos there were no more than 300 terraced houses of many stories, the largest pueblo consisting of 110 houses, J. Oñate, in H. E. Bolton 1916, 268. A. Benavides, 113, in 1626—'30 wrote of eleven or twelve villages and 10,000 souls — an excessive estimate of the number of pueblos and undoubtedly of the population (there were then probably about

3,000 souls, commentaries to A. Benavides, 255). Vetancur, 101, estimated the population of the pueblo of Halona at 1,500 and that of La Concepcion de Aguico with other smaller pueblos at 1,000 souls. In 1749 the Zuñi numbered 2,000 souls, A. Bonilla, in H. H. Bancroft, XII (1888). 253, foot-note; 664 souls in 1760, P. Tamaron (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279, foot-note; 1,617 souls in 1788, I. Ilzarbe (MSS), in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 1,935 Indians and 10 Spaniards in 1793, Revilla Gigedo in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 2,716 Indians and 7 Spaniards in 1798, F. Osio (Hezio) in J. F. Meline, 209, and in H. H. Bancroft, *ib.*, 279; 1,470 Indians and 5 Spaniards in 1805, Alencaster in J. F. Meline, 212; 1,557 souls in 1808 and 1,598 in 1809, the Spanish Census, in J. Ward 1867, 213, and A. W. Bell, I. 160. In about 1844, J. Gregg, I. 269, foot-note, believed the village of the Zuñi to contain 1,000—1,500 souls; J. H. Simpson, 91, should not have placed the population at above 1,200 souls, although the Governor had given it as 2,000; somewhat later Leroux, 12, put it at 2,000 souls. There were 2,985 souls in 1850, and 1,500 souls in 1851, J. S. Calhoun, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 633, and in *Ind. Aff. 1851*, 454; 1,300 souls in 1860, J. Ward 1867, 213, A. W. Bell, I. 160, J. F. Meline, 222; 1,200 souls in 1863, J. Ward 1864, 343. The Census of 1890 returned 1,621 souls (only 1,547 according to *Ind. Aff.*). There were 1,523 souls in 1900, N. S. Walpole, 292. The Census of 1910 returned 1,667 souls, 99.1% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 34, 110. J. Mooney 1928, 22, estimates the "province" of Zuñi at 2,500 souls in 1680.

## 2. Confederacies (and their equivalents) numbering 5,000—10,000 souls

1. *Apache*, an Athapascan tribe or rather a loose aggregate of bands which are even by some writers considered as independent tribes or at least sub-tribes. There is a great confusion in this respect: some of the common names of apparently different bands are synonymous whilst others are collective designations. A name employed by some writers may cover more bands than when employed by others. The bands were scattered over vast areas. Owing to such dispersion and to their roving manners, the Apache were often said to have been more numerous than they really were. For that reason, "every possible estimate has been made in answer to S. Mowry's inquiries — from 18,000 warriors down to 300" (S. Mowry, in *Ind. Aff. 1857*, 587). Such exaggeration in estimating the numbers of the Apache was a constant occurrence in the past. In 1626, A. Benavides, 94, 130, entitled a chapter of his *Memorial*: "Grandiosa nacion Apache" stating that without exaggeration, it alone had more people than all the nations of New Spain put together, even including the Mexican nation. Even at the beginning of the XVIII century according to J. de Urrutia, quoted by W. E. Dunn, in *Texas Qu.*, XIV (1910—'11). 239, the Apache numbered at times as many as 10,000—12,000 warriors. Of course, these estimates are very much exaggerated. More reliable estimates date from



the beginning of the XVIII century. In 1723 Flores, quoted by W. E. Dunn, *l. c.*, 222, stated that in his campaign he fought one of the five Apache rancherias and that about 200 warriors were engaged; if Flores was correct in his estimate, the total population of this rancheria could not have been less than 800—900 souls (and the population of all the rancherias would have been about 4,000—5,000 souls). The expedition of Bustillo y Zevallos (W. E. Dunn, *l. c.*, 232) in 1732 reached the Apacheria: four Apache "tribes", namely the Ypandis (Lipan), Ysandi, Chentis and Apache were in four separate rancherias; there were more than 400 tents and the enemy numbered over 700 warriors (the first three names appear to have been designations of various Lipan bands); it is possible that the expedition fought only a part of the Apache nation. In the letters of Fray Santa-Anna cited by W. E. Dunn, *l. c.*, 256, 158, in 1743—'45 the numbers of the Apache, at least of the Lipan, were moderate: he related in 1743 that the Apache were far less numerous than was commonly supposed, the three tribes of the Apaches, Ypandes (Lipan), and Pelones not exceeding 1,300 warriors; in 1745, he wrote that the Apache were not nearly so formidable as was generally believed — the Ypandes had only 166 warriors. In 1772 according to de Ripperda, in A. Mezières, I. 328, the Apaches known as the Lipan (Ypandes), numbered 1,500 or more men. The Council at Mondova (A. Mezières, II. 153) estimated the whole body of the Apaches at 5,000 warriors: the groups of Lipanes, Gileños and Nebajos (Navaho?) were the most numerous and all were intermingled by relationship, alliance and close friendship. The Spaniards intended in 1778 to muster various tribes to the number of 1,100 warriors against the Apache, A. Mezières, II. 181. This number sets the best limits for estimates of the Apache population. The same exaggeration in estimating the Apache numbers existed in the XIX century, until the time when the Apache, after an obstinate resistance in 1875—'86, submitted and settled on reservations. They were estimated in 1811 at 2,500 warriors and 8,500 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 29. J. Morse, 374, put the number of the Apache jointly with the Lipan at 3,500 souls. According to R. W. H. Hardy, 438, in 1825—'28 the population of the Apache could not be estimated, but their numbers were very great. J. Gregg, I. 290, in about 1839 supposed them to number some 15,000 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1837, 612 (and H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 661) reported 20,280 souls and this exaggerated estimate was repeated during many years by official reports (*Ind. Aff.* 1841, 247; *ib.* 1844, 316). Many estimates have no value, e. g. that of A. W. Whipple, 9, 14, who in 1854 had estimated the few still existing Lipans at 6,500 souls (the Coyoteros and the Pinaleños at 300 warriors each). Other estimates did not include the whole body of the tribe and referred only to some bands or to a part of the area they roved over; the confusion of names is such that the designation, as employed some writers, in every case embraces some other grouping. In New Mexico in 1846 the Jicarilla numbered 100 tents and 500 souls, the Apache proper 800—900 tents and 5,500



souls, Ch. Bent 1847—'48, 11. Probably 7,000 souls in New Mexico, 400 (Mescaleros) in Texas, 320 in Arkansas and 560 Lipans, *Ind. Aff.* 1855, 575. (We shall not take into account all the estimates referring to a part of the Apache territory and shall consider only those including the whole tribe.) A. W. Bell, in *J. Ethn. Lond.*, I (1868—'69). 240, estimated the seven Apache bands at 5,425 souls in 1858; J. Ross Browne 1869, 290—291, at 12,000 souls (5,100 in Arizona). In 1875 there were on the reservations, jointly with some Tulkepaia and Yavapai, 9,248 Apaches, *Ind. Aff.* 1875, 543. A. F. Bandelier, vol. III, pt. I, p. 175, estimated the Apache in 1880—'85 at 6,000—7,000 souls. The Census of 1890, 135, reported 4,041 souls in Arizona, 3,177 in Oklahoma, New Mexico, etc., of course, a total of 7,218 souls. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 4,342 (1895), 4,470 (1900), 4,238 (1905) and 4,889 (1910) souls in Arizona and Oklahoma, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 77. The Census of 1910 returned 4,973 souls (4,652 in Arizona, 76.4% being full-bloods), but this figure does not include the Jicarilla with 694 souls, the Mescaleros with 424 souls and the Lipan with 28 souls, other bands were so much intermingled in the XIX century as to render separate consideration difficult, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 32, 77, 78. The Apache were in the XIX century apparently more numerous than at any time in the past; their numbers seem to have increased since the advent of the Whites and J. Mooney 1928, 22, puts the numbers of the Apache proper in about 1680 at 5,000 and of the Jicarilla at 800 souls.

2. Creek. The Creek confederacy seems to have existed at the time of de Soto's expedition. At the time of the first contact with the Whites, the numbers of the Creek were apparently moderate and the confederacy probably consisted only of tribes of the Muskogean stock. But in the XVIII century the Creek increased in numbers by the incorporation of entirely alien tribes. "This nation... consists of a mixture of several broken-up tribes" (J. Adair). Several distinct languages were spoken, but the main body of the population spoke the languages of the Muskogean family. It is difficult to compute their number: "the difficulty with Creek figures is the fact that during most of this period (i. e., in the XVIII century) the population was both receiving accessions from outside and giving out part of its population in various directions" (J. R. Swanton 1922, 439). In 1702 the "Conchaques", who probably were identical with the Muskogean tribes, numbered 2,000 families, Iberville, 594, 602. J. R. Swanton quotes some early estimates from manuscripts: in 1708 there were 600 men among the Lower Creek in eleven towns and 1,300 men among the Upper Creek in "many towns"; the population of Chatahoochee town was not enumerated, *Pub. Rec. S. Ca.* (MSS), in J. R. Swanton, 437—438; 731 men and 2,406 souls in ten towns of the Lower Creek, 502 men and 1,773 souls in fifteen towns of the Abihka, 636 men and 2,343 souls in thirteen "Talliboosas towns", in addition, there were the tribes who later joined the Creek, namely the Alibamu with 214 men, the Apalachicola with 64 men, the Yuchi with 130 men, the census

of 1715, in W. J. Rivers 1874, 94. In 1721 there were 560 men in the Alibamu villages, 715 men in the Tallapoosa villages and 640 men in the Kawita villages, Diron d'Artaguet in Marc de Villiers, 134—135 passim. There were 2,200 warriors in 1725—'26, Bienville, in J. R. Swanton, 442. The Creek consisted of about 1,300 fighting men in 1734, Memorial of the General Assembly of S. Ca., in *Ga. Hist. Coll.*, II (1842). 318; 2,063 warriors in 1738 exclusive of the Alibamu and neighbouring towns, a Spanish manuscript in J. R. Swanton, 442; 1,500 warriors in 1739, Col. Oglethorpe, in *Ga. Rec.*, V (1908). 191. The Upper Creek mustered about 700 warriors and the Lower Creek about 1,000 in 1740, *State of the Province of Ga.*, in P. Force, I. 7, and in *Ga. Hist. Coll.*, II (1842). 72. About 1,300 fighting men in 1741, *An account of the Colony of Ga.*, in P. Force, I. 45 (evidently an incomplete estimate); not much over 2,500 men in 1747—'48, *Pub. Rec. S. Ca.* (MSS), in J. R. Swanton, 438; 1,258 warriors about 1750 (an evidently incomplete estimate), an anonymous Frenchman, in J. R. Swanton, 442. About 1,750 men fit to bear arms in about 1750 (?): within the space of the thirty years following they doubled their number, a Gentleman in J. Adair, 258—259. There were 15,000 men, women and children among whom there were over 3,000 warriors and gunmen about 1752, J. G. W. de Brahm, 55 (10,500 souls as corrected by J. R. Swanton, 442). About 1,000 warriors among the Alibamu, Tallapoosa and Abihka, and 2,000 warriors among the Kawita (Lower Creek) in 1758, de Kerlerac, 83, 84; 2,000 warriors in 1760, Bull in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 260 (3,000 in S. Niles, 549); 3,665 men, 12,792 souls, a French census of 1760, in J. R. Swanton, 442. The Upper and Lower Creek came to about 3,000 fighting men in 1761, *N. Ca. Rec.*, VI (1888). 617; 2,500 gunmen about 1761, *A description of S. Ca.* in B. R. Carroll, II. 243; 2,160 hunters in 1761, *Ga. Col. Rec.*, VIII (1907). 522—524. The Creek nation was generally estimated to consist of about 3,500 men fit to bear arms, J. Adair, 257. H. Bouquet, 145, supposed the Creek to number 2,350 warriors in 1764 and the Alibamu 600 warriors; in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 150, 151, Bouquet put the number of the Lower Creek at 1,180, that of the Alibamu at 600, and that of other Creeks evidently at 1,650 warriors; 3,600 gunmen in 1764, J. Stuart, in Cl. E. Carter, 825; the Creek and Cherokee consisted in 1766 of no less than 6,000 or 7,000 fighting men, Stewart, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, VII (1890). 214; 1,600 fighting men in 1768, E. Potter, 121. To all appearance there were 3,500 gunmen, B. Romans, 91; about 2,000 warriors about 1775, R. Rogers, 203 (a questionable source!); 4,000—5,000 gunmen in 1776, W. Jones, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, XXII (1907), 744. A moderate estimate would give 11,000 inhabitants in all fifty-five towns and the many villages in 1775—'78, Wm. Bartram, 464. There were 5,860 warriors and 17,820 souls (including the Seminole) in 1780, Purcell, 99. The Creeks numbered 4,000 and the Kawita 700 warriors in 1785, Smith, in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 557 (700 Creek warriors served in the Ameri-



can Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123). There were 5,400 gunmen in 1785, B. Hawkins, A. Pickens and others, in *Am. State Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 39; 6,000 warriors in the whole Creek nation in 1789, H. Knox, *ib.* 15. According to Gen. M'Gillivray (Caleb Swan in H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 263), the Creek numbered 5,000—6,000 gunmen, in all about 25,000—26,000 souls, in 1791; 10,000 (?) warriors in 1794, Seagrove, quoted by R. Brooke Roberts, in *Am. State Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 482; 3,500 warriors, G. Imlay, 290; probably 5,000 warriors and 20,000 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 19, in about 1814. This figure of 20,000 souls re-appeared in J. Morse, 364 in about 1818 (and D. B. Warden, III. 38), in McKenney, 545, in 1825, in P. B. Porter, 105, in 1829 and in G. Catlin 1841, II. 122, in about 1832. According to the census of Creek in 1833 there were 14,142 (including 445 negro slaves) in Upper towns and 8,522 (including 457 negro slaves) in Lower towns, B. S. Parsons and Th. J. Abbott, in H. R. Schoolcraft, IV. 577, 581. *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 402, reported 17,894 Creeks west of the Mississippi and 4,000 east of that river. About 15,000 souls in about 1842, J. D. Long and S. Taylor, 40; 22,500 souls (including 393 slaves and 1,600 Seminoles) in about 1851, H. Howe, 355; 28,214 souls in 1857, H. R. Schoolcraft, VI. 690. Nearly 20,000 in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 25. J. R. Swanton, 443—447, quotes all the official estimates for the period 1835—1915: there were 22,000 souls in 1835; 24,754 in 1845; 14,396 in 1865—'66; 13,000 (including 2,000 freedmen) in 1875; 14,000 in 1885; 13,863 (including 4,416 freedmen) in 1895; 15,923 in 1905 (including 5,738 Creek freedmen); 18,776 (including 6,809 Creek freedmen) in 1915. The Census of 1910 returned only 6,945 souls (6,654 in Oklahoma), 53.7% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 88. Of course, there is a great discrepancy between the figures of *Ind. Aff.* (based upon the enrollment) and those of the Census, the figure for Oklahoma in 1910 being 11,911 in the former as against 6,654 reported by the latter. J. Mooney 1928, 8, supposes, that the the Creek numbered 18,000 souls in 1650 (probably the population of all the tribes which later were incorporated with the Creek). W. J. Rivers 1856, 35, foot-note, puts their number at 25,000 about 1739. J. R. Swanton, 456, is less liberal in his estimates: the Creek population was about 7,000 in 1700, 12,000 souls in 1750—'60, 20,000 souls in 1832, 15,000 souls in 1857, 10,000 souls in 1898 (exclusive of freedmen) and 7,000 souls in 1910.

3. **Delaware** (Lenape). The confederacy of three Algonquian tribes: Munsee, Unami and Unalachtigo. It is impossible to ascertain the exact numbers of the Delaware at any period. In about 1635—'48 there were in the present State of New Jersey twenty-three Indian petty "kingdoms" (the Lenape distinctly claimed the whole of that State); nine of these divisions could muster 940 warriors (and all the twenty-three kingdoms together probably about 2,000); besides the above-named divisions the Raritan, a local division of the Unami, numbered, under two "kings", at



least 1,200 warriors and two small kingdoms called Tirans and Tiascons (other local Lenape divisions) had 40 men apiece, R. Evelin, 21, 22. The Hackensack, a division of the Unami, were estimated at 300 warriors, or 1,000 souls in 1643, E. M. Rutenber, 90; the Hackensack, Tappans and the Indians of Stanford — they were all Delaware divisions — to the number of 2,000 warriors attacked New Amsterdam. In 1671 according to the Council at Ft. James, the total number of the Indians in New Jersey was estimated at "about 1,000 persons besides women and children", *N. J. Arch.*, I (1880). 73. In 1721 there were only a few Indians in New Jersey and they were "very innocent and friendly", *N. J. Arch.*, V (1822). 22. All the above figures are probably exaggerated though they embrace only a part of the confederacy. In the XVIII century the Delaware ceased to form a single compact body. In the fifties of the XVIII century the greater part of the Delaware were settled in Ohio. In 1748 Conrad Weiser, 31, estimated their number in the Ohio valley at 165 warriors; *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VII. 264, reported there about 130 men in 1757; the Delaware consisted of about 500 fighting men in about 1750, Ch. Gist, 126. The Loups (Delaware) of Ohio numbered 600 warriors in several villages on and about the Susquehanna, Wm. Johnson, 583, in 1763, Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 555, in 1764, and H. Bouquet, 145, in 1764 (H. R. Schoolcraft, V. 140, considers this figure as a manifest exaggeration). G. Croghan, 167, 168, in about 1765, and Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*. 148, in 1768, put the fighting strength of the Delaware at 750 warriors in two separate bodies (150 at the northern branch of the Susquehanna and 600 between the Ohio and Lake Erie), that of the Munsee at 150 warriors. The Delaware and Munsee were estimated in 1778 at 600 warriors, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561. The Delaware had 500 and the Munsee 150 warriors in 1779, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148 (and Dalton, 123, in 1783). According to G. Imlay, 291, there were 150 warriors among the Delaware upon the northern branch of the Susquehanna, the Munsee mustered 120 warriors. There were 500 warriors in 1794, Lassell, 123, and 380 warriors in 1794, a captive in *Am. State Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 489. The Delaware were estimated in 1795 at 300 warriors, J. F. Schermerhorn, 6; 150 warriors and 500 souls in Missouri Territory in 1815, Wm. Clark, 76. In 1818 the Ohio Delaware moved to the White River to the number of 1,800 souls, leaving a small number in Ohio; another change followed eleven years later, when 1,000 of them settled on the Kansas and Missouri rivers, the rest going south to the Red River, W. H. Jackson, 12. J. Morse, 366, gave the Delaware as 1,800 souls, besides those (*ib.* 363) who were estimated with the Munsee, Nanticoke, etc. to the joint number of 1,700 souls. The Delaware numbered 1,800 souls in Missouri, 80 in Ohio and 51 in Louisiana in 1825, McKenney, 545; P. B. Porter, 98, placed their number at 3,000 souls in 1829. H. Atkinson, 20, estimated the Delaware jointly with the Shawnee at 600 warriors in about 1837. There were about 1,000 Delaware and 200 Munsee

in about 1842, J. D. Lang and S. Taylor, 23; 1,000 souls in about 1860, E. Domenech, II. 28. But, owing to their scattering the estimates of the numbers of the Delaware in the XIX century usually embraced only a part of the tribe: about 1900 they were to the number of 1,789 souls, located in seven districts, J. Mooney, in F. W. Hodge, I. 386. The Census of 1910 returned 914 Delawares (874 in Oklahoma), 30.5% being full-bloods; the Munsee were by the end of the XVIII century almost completely dispersed or absorbed by other tribes, and in 1910 the survivors were scattered among several tribes in Oklahoma and Kansas, the total reported being 71 souls, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 32, 73, 75. According to Delaware traditions, they were once very numerous: old men related that their tribe consisted in about 1750 of as many hundreds, as it had formerly numbered thousands, J. Heckewelder, 88. Equally exaggerated are some estimates of their former strength made in the XIX century: B. Möllhausen, 57, reporting 800 souls in about 1858, asserted that the Delaware once numbered about 10,000—15,000 souls. Th. Donaldson, 197, 198, in his commentaries to G. Catlin, called them in 1832 a reduced tribe (824 souls), which once contained some 10,000—15,000 souls; J. Mooney 1928, 4, suggests, but with reserve, that the Delaware and Munsee consisted of 8,000 souls in about 1600. (There are also estimates of the Delaware at 6,000 souls in the year 1616, W. H. Jackson, 12.)

4. *Illinois*. The Illinois confederacy consisted of Algonquian tribes: Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, Tamaroa and several others. Earlier estimates of their population are gross exaggerations, and much confusion reigns. The references to the Illinois in 1658—'60 quoted sixty villages, a fighting strength of 20,000 men, and 100,000 souls, J. de Quen, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLII. 221; Dreuillette, *ib.*, XLIV. 247 (yet, about 1741 these figures were reported by D. Coxe, 231). When the missionaries had settled among the Illinois and their knowledge of these peoples became more exact, the numbers of the Illinois were found to be smaller. But the figures are not reliable partly owing to the fact that the confederacy had entered into a state of disorder and dissolution, whilst, in addition, at the close of the XVII century only a part of the confederacy came into contact with the Whites. About 1669 the Illinois had five large villages, of which one extended for three leagues and numbered nearly 2,000 souls, P. Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 167. About 1670, the Illinois were mainly gathered in two villages, containing more than 8,000—9,000 souls, J. Marquette, *ib.*, LIV. 185; the eight villages of the Illinois were beyond the "Great (i. e. Mississippi) River", Dablon about 1670—72, *ib.* LV. 97. In 1673 the Illinois were divided into many villages some of which were quite distant from the Peoria (this caused some differences in their language); the Peoria had fully 300 cabins, and the village of Kaskaskia had 74 cabins, J. Marquette, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIX. 123, 125. 161, and in B. F. French, II. 287, 288, IV. 28, 29, 51, 244. In 1674 the auditory in the village of Kaskaskia was composed



of 500 chiefs and elders seated in a circle; the youth stood outside to the number of 1,500, not counting women and children, who were very numerous, the town being composed of 500—600 fires, Marquette, in J. G. Shea 1852, 56; Cl. Allouez in 1671 found this village of Kaskaskia much increased in size since the previous years: it had before been composed of only one nation, the Kaskaskia, but in 1676 there were eight, the Indians being lodged in 351 cabins, *Jes. Rel.*, LX. 159, and J. G. Shea 1852, 74. The only great Illinois village (Kaskaskia) was in 1680 composed of 7,000—8,000 souls; of the seventeen Illinois villages the greater part of the population had retired among the Osages, Z. Membre, in J. G. Shea 1852, 150, 162. In about 1680 according to La Salle, in P. Margry, I. 466, 505, II. 96, the Tamaroa, Cahokia, Chépoussa, Peoria, Kaskaskia and several others (ten tribes or bands are named) which were but divisions of the Illinois, made up the village of the Illinois consisting of about 400 cabins and 1,800 fighting men (according to L. Hennepin, ed. Thwaites, 153, this was only the largest village of the Illinois consisting of 400—500 cabins): there were several other villages some of which were very remote. In 1681(?) the village of Tamaroa was composed of 300 cabins, other Illinois tribes intended to settle near the French post; the Matchinkoa contained 300 fires, but there were some alien tribes who were also living with them; the Illinois in all numbered several thousand men, La Salle, in P. Margry, II. 201. About the same time, 1678—'79, Tonti, 62 (and in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, II. 235) mentioned the Illinois village of Pontdalaria, probably the above-mentioned one, with over 500 cabins, but it was deserted and then had no inhabitants. (Each Illinois cabin had apartments where several families might lodge, Tonti, *l. c.*; it had five or six fires, with one or two families to a fire, Hennepin, *l. c.*; La Salle, *l. c.*, reported four or five fires per cabin.) There were as many warriors among the Illinois as among the Iroquois, i. e., 1,500, Jean Cavalier about 1689<sup>7</sup> in P. Margry, III. 589. L. Vivier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXIX. 149, states that at the time when the first missionaries came among the Illinois, i. e., about 1690, the latter numbered 5,000 persons of all ages. The Illinois had eleven villages in 1692(?); their village on the Illinois River had 300 cabins, each of them with four or five fires, one fire always for two families, S. Rasles, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII. 163. There were 800 warriors in 1702 among the Illinois of the main village and of Tamaroa, 200 warriors among the Michigamea, Chépoussa and Mesopeloa, Iberville, 601. About 1720 the Illinois tribes, known as Peoria, the Tamaroa, the Cahokia and Kaskaskia, were much intermingled and reduced to very inconsiderable numbers; there remained but very few of the Kaskaskia and the two villages that bear their names were almost entirely inhabited by the Tamaroa and the Michigamea, an alien nation, whom the Kaskaskia had adopted, Charlevoix 1766, II. 170—171. The Illinois of the Rock numbered 400 men in 1718, there were also other Illinois bands or villages, *N. Y. Coll. Dcts.*, IX. 890, and *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI (1902). 374. About 3,000 men, an



official document of 1721 ("State of British Plantations in America"), in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 622. Chauvignerie, 1057, in 1736 reported the Michigamea with 250 men, the Kaskaskia with 100 men (and 8 among the Potawatomi, *ib.* 1056), the Peoria with 50 men and the Cahokia and Tamaroa jointly with 200 men. The Illinois had four villages and numbered but 2,000 souls in 1750: three of these villages (between the Mississippi and the Kaskaskia River) did not contain more than 800 savages of all ages (i. e., 300 men capable of bearing arms), a fourth one was almost as large as the other three together, L. Vivier, in *Jes. Rel.*, LXIX. 145, 149, 221. About 1757 the Cahokia and Michigamea were living in the same village of about 400 warriors, the Kaskaskia mustered about 400 warriors, 700 Peoria men frequented Ft. Pimiteoui, de Bougainville, 48. There were 300 warriors among the Kaskaskia and 300 among the Illinois, according to G. Croghan, 168, in about 1764 and to Th. Hutchins in 1768, in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 149. The Kaskaskia, or Illinois, numbered 600 warriors, and the Peoria 800 warriors, H. Bouquet, 146 (and J. Buchanan, 138) in 1764, and Th. Hutchins in H. R. Schoolcraft, 555. In 1765 the scattered Illinois tribes numbered about 650 men able to bear arms, Al. Fraser (MSS), quoted by F. Parkman, II. 253, foot-note. The Kaskaskia, Peoria and Michigamea numbered 300 warriors, Th. Hutchins 1778, 67. At the close of the XVIII century the Illinois could raise 260, the Peoria 400 and the Kaskaskia 250 warriors, G. Imlay, 290. The Kaskaskia, Peoria, Cahokia and Illinois were nearly all destroyed by the Sauk and Foxes and mixed with Whites, their whole population probably not exceeding 500 souls (150 warriors) in about 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, 8, 13 (and D. B. Warden, III. 587). At the beginning of the XIX century the name of the Illinois disappeared, the survivors being represented by the Kaskaskia and Peoria (see these tribes). The Illinois seem to have once numbered about 10,000 souls, probably rather less than more; J. Mooney 1928, 11, supposes that in 1650 they numbered about 8,000 souls.

5. **Iroquois.** The Five Nations comprised the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca. Later, in about 1722, the Tuscarora were adopted (the Six Nations). In 1603, the Malecite, Algonkin and Montagnais to the number of 1,000 warriors set out against the Iroquois who outnumbered these three tribes, S. Champlain, II. 9, Lescarbot, III. 117. There were 2,200 warriors in 1660, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 206; 2,000 or thereabouts in 1661, le Jeune, *ib.*, XLVII. 104; 2,240—2,340 in 1665, *ib.*, XLIX. 256, 258. All the Iroquois together did not number more than 2,000 men under arms in 1668, J. Bruyas, *ib.*, LI. 139. About 2,000 warriors in 1671, Remy de Courcelles (in P. Margry, I. 178, and in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 79). About 2,150 fighting men in 1677—'78, Coursey, 80, and W. Greenhalph, 250—252; 2,500 excellent warriors in 1682, de la Barre, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 196; 2,050 men in 1685, de Denonville, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 282, and a document in P. Margry, V. 9. More than 2,000 armed men fit for war in 1687,

de Seigneley, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 321 (and O. H. Marshall, in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, ser. II, v. II (1849). 165). Not more than 1,500 warriors in 1689, Jean Cavalier, in P. Margry, III. 589; at the same time the Iroquois are said to have numbered 2,550 men, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 337, 420. About 1690, war and smallpox ravaged the confederacy (nevertheless, Brooke and Nicoll, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 181, estimated the whole of the Five Nations to have had 2,500 men in 1696). Only 1,320 warriors in 1697, an official document in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IV. 337, 420. At the most 1,200 warriors in 1701, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 725; 1,450 warriors probably at the end of the XVII century, L. Hennepin 1720, 320. In 1720 the Five Nations did not have in all over 2,000 fighting men, R. Hunter, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, V. 557. Later estimates were more moderate, although the Five Nations were strengthened by the accession of the Tuscarora (on account of that accession, Began, in *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XVI. 321, estimated them in about 1715 at 3,000 men bearing arms). There were 1,480 warriors in 1721, P. Dudley, 244. In 1736, 850 Iroquois warriors and a Tuscarora village of 250 men were south of Lake Frontenac; five Iroquois villages were in the interior, north of Lake Ontario; the Iroquois to the number of 8—10 men retired to Toniata; nearly 300 warriors were living at the Sault St. Louis; there was a village with 50 men; some Iroquois had cabins at the Portage, Chauvignerie, 1053, 1056, 1057. They had 1,500 warriors together with neighbouring Indians in 1738, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VI.; 600 men in 1743, *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, IX. 1099; 1,200 in 1756, Smith quoted by de Witt Clinton, 81. The fighting men of the "Five or Six Nations of Mohawk" might be reckoned at 1,500 (? 1,440), besides there was a tribe of "scoundrel runaways", called Caughnawaga, in about 1760, W. Douglas, I. 185—186. The Six Nations mustered 1,950 warriors in 1763, the emigrants (the Caughnawaga and Oswegatchie) 380 warriors, Wm. Johnson, 582. All later figures also include the Tuscarora: 1,550 warriors, H. Bouquet, 144, in 1764; 2,120 warriors, G. Croghan, 167, in about 1764, and Th. Hutchins (in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148) in 1768. The Six Nations in 1773 had about 2,000 fighting men in all, the total number of souls, according to the last returns, was at least 10,000, Wm. Tryon, 452; 2,000 men in 1774, G. Johnson, in *N. Y. Col. Dcts.*, VIII. 517; 1,600 men in 1779, Dodge in Th. Jefferson, *l. c.*, 148 (also, a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561). J. Sullivan supposed the Six Nations to have had 1,500 warriors at the Battle of Newton in 1779 (among them there were some warriors of the northern tribes, but only a part of the Onondaga), Fr. Cook, 298. In 1780 the number of men in the Six Nations (exclusive of their people to the south) was about 1,600, over 1,200 of whom were warriors, G. Johnson, in *N. Y. Col. Dct.*, VIII. 797. During the Revolutionary War the British had in their service 1,580 men, besides 220 who adhered to the United States, Dalton, 123, de Witt Clinton, 81. After the Revolutionary War the greater part of the Six Nations removed to Canada, the minority

remaining in the United States. (Owing to that separation it was difficult in the XIX century to ascertain the numbers of the Six Nations.) In 1790 there were 6,330 souls, including those who resided on the Grand River in Canada with the Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, Kirkland, quoted by de Witt Clinton, 82. There were about 6,000 souls in 1792, of whom 1,000 were warriors, Duncan Ingraham, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I (1792). 287. In 1794, on the division of an annuity, their number was ascertained to be 3,298 in the United States and 760 in Canada (exclusive of the Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians), de Witt Clinton, 81, 82. In all the above estimates the settlements of Catholic Iroquois who had withdrawn from the confederacy were not taken into account, i. e., the Oka, St. Regis and Caughnawaga. The influx from the territories of the League to the missionary establishment at Oswagatchie was very great — in 1754 the number of inhabitants in their three villages was estimated at 3,000 souls, L. H. Morgan 1851, 26. The Iroquois population at various periods of the XIX century (1796—1890; in all, twenty-two figures) in the State of New York as also in general in the period 1660—1791 is given in the Census of 1890; their numbers oscillate there from 3,748 souls in 1796 to 5,239 souls in 1890. The Census of 1910 returned 7,437 (excluding 400 Tuscarora) in the United States, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 83—84. The Canadian Iroquois numbered 5,881 souls in 1868 and 8,483 souls in 1890. In 1896 there were 8,994 Iroquois in Canada, but this figure was somewhat below their actual number, E. M. Chadwick, 24—25, foot-note. In all, there were 13,668 souls in Canada and in the United States in 1877, and 15,870 souls in 1890, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 450, 451. In 1904 the Six Nations with the Caughnawaga and St. Regis Iroquois were estimated at 10,418 souls in Canada and 5,290 souls in the United States including half-breeds, F. W. Hodge, I. 619. The population of the Iroquois has been variously stated and has also varied much at different periods owing to the adoption of broken-up tribes. Some early estimates are much exaggerated (cf. de Witt Clinton, 79—80): according to Lescarbot, III. 117, at the beginning of the XVII century (1605—'09) the Iroquois numbered 8,000 men; Lahontan, I. 30, placed the fighting strength of each canton at 1,500 warriors and 14,000 souls, in all, 70,000 souls in the five Iroquois cantons (or tribes). Of course, Iroquois traditions also overrate their former strength. There is a tradition among the Seneca that at the period of their greatest prosperity they took a census of their nation by placing a kernel of white corn into a basket for each Seneca — taking the smallest size of basket, this would give the number of the Seneca alone at 17,760 souls, L. H. Morgan, 1851, 25. According to L. H. Morgan, *ib.*, 26—27, about the year 1650 (i. e., at the height of their power) their total population may be safely placed at 25,000, but later, L. H. Morgan (New York 1877). 124, was more conservative: the Iroquois did not at any time exceed 20,000, if they ever came to that number. R. G. Thwaites, in *Jes. Rel.*, I. 11, supposes, that about 1614, the population of the confederacy was not over 17,000 souls. According



to J. N. B. Hewitt, in F. W. Hodge, I. 619, the Iroquois number more at present than at any former period — in 1677 and 1685 they were over-estimated at about 16,000: the most accurate estimates for the XVIII century gave to the Six Nations and their colonies from about 10,000 to 12,000 souls. J. Mooney 1928, 4, places their population in about 1600 at only 5,500 souls. The Iroquois seem not to have exceeded 10,000 souls at the time of their first contact with the Whites or exceeded that number by only very little. In 1677, the English sent W. Greenhalph to ascertain their number: he visited all their towns and villages and reported their aggregate force at 2,150 men, i. e., about 7,500—8,000 souls.

6. **Powhatan**, a confederacy of about thirty petty Algonquian tribes in Virginia. At the beginning of the XVII century, J. Smith gave the total fighting strength of twenty-eight Powhatan tribes as 2,385 fighting men, but in that list he omitted several "king's houses." In conformity with Smith's figures, Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 134—135, put the fighting strength of the confederacy at about 2,400 warriors, and the population at 8,000 souls. Some tribal names and figures in W. Strachey, 56—60, differ from those in Smith's list; according to Strachey's estimates, the Powhatan would have mustered about 3,320 warriors (i. e., 8,500 souls, J. Mooney, in *Am. A.*, IX (1907). 130), but some of his figures are too high. The census of 1669, in E. D. Neill, 326, found 605 warriors in sixteen tribal communities (exclusive of the eastern shore, which was not noted, J. Mooney, *l. c.*, 135). At the beginning of the XVIII century, R. Beverley 1855, 183, 184, stated that the Indians of Virginia were almost extinct, all together could not raise 500 fighting men and among them the Meherrin, Nansemond and Nottoway (i. e., the tribes which were not members of the confederacy) numbered 160 bowmen; this would leave about 350 warriors for the Powhatan tribes, or 1,150—1,200 souls. The Census of 1910 returned 131 Powhatan in Virginia distinct from Chickahominy, Mattaponi and Pamunkey (who were other survivors of the confederacy), *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 76. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates the Powhatan at 9,000 in 1600.

7. **Tuscarora**, a confederacy of at least three tribes of Iroquoian stock, N. Ca. Their traditions narrate that they had once twenty-four towns and could raise 6,000 warriors, D. Cusick, 36, or rather, souls, as J. N. B. Hewitt, in F. W. Hodge, I. 842, corrects this statement. In 1701 they could muster 1,200 fighting men in fifteen towns, J. Lawson 1714, 234 (i. e., about 5,000 souls) — perhaps, according to Hewitt, a minimum estimate of the true number of their fighting men. The estimates, made at the outbreak of the war of 1711—'12, were more liberal: A. Spotswood, I. 131, 167, estimates them with allied tribes at 2,000 fighting men; Barnwell, in Hewitt, *l. c.*, at not less than 1,200—1,400 warriors. The war destroyed the Tuscarora: Col. Moore stated that at least 800 Indians were taken or killed in the Tuscarora fort, *N. Ca. Rec.*, II. 37. A part of them remained in their country and mustered about 200 fighting

men in 1731, G. Burrington, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, III (1886). 153. Their number was small in 1752, Spangenburg, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, IV (1886). 1313; they amounted to 100 men and 201 women and children in 1754—'55, Militia Returns, in *N. Ca. Rec.*, XXII (1907). 311, and A. Dobbs, *N. Ca. Rec.*, V (1887). 155, 161, 320—321; about 100 fighting men in 1761, *ib.* VI. (1888). 616; 300 warriors in 1762, *ib.* VI. 787. The majority fled for refuge to the Iroquois and were later incorporated into the League. They numbered 250 men in 1736 in a division near Oneida, Chauvignerie, 1057; 140 men in 1763, Wm. Johnson, 489; 200 warriors in about 1765, G. Croghan, 167, and Hutchins 1778, 65. Together with the Oneida they mustered 400 warriors in 1778—'79, J. Dodge in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 148 (and a trader in H. R. Schoolcraft, III. 561); 200 men served in the American Revolutionary War, Dalton, 123. In 1793 there were near Queenstown, two Tuscarora villages, one of thirty and the other of about twelve odd houses, Gen. Lincoln in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ser. III, vol. V, p. 127. G. Imlay, 292, at the close of the XVIII century, estimated them at 170 warriors. After the Revolutionary War some of the Tuscarora remained in the United States, others removed to Canada. Of course, both divisions were returned separately. There were in the United States 253 souls in 1825, McKenney, 545; 250 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 95. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 312 (1849), 280 (1855), 360 (1866), 423 (1870), 402 (1875), 423 (1880), 414 (1885), 398 (1890), 378 (1895), 373 (1900) and 364 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 400 souls (382 in the State of New York), 76.3% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 84. There were 416 souls in 1910 in Canada. J. Mooney 1928, 6, estimates the Tuscarora at 5,000 souls in 1600.

### 3. Confederacies (and equivalents) numbering 10,000 souls and over

1. **Dakota (Sioux)**, a confederacy of seven council fires (or sub-tribes). In the XIX century the connection was very loose: "this nation (about 1804) is divided into twenty tribes (i. e., bands) possessing separate interests... their interests are so unconnected that some bands are at war with nations, with which other bands are on the most friendly terms" (Lewis and Clark, I. 132). Within this aggregate three distinct dialects were spoken: Santee, Teton and Yankton. The Nadouessiouek had fully forty villages in the fifties of the XVII century, J. de Quen, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLII. 221; (Nadouechiouek and Mantouek), G. Dreuillette, *ib.*, XLIV. 349; *ib.*, XLVI. 69. One of their divisions, the Nation du Boeuf (the Santee, i. e., the "Sioux sedentaires"), numbered 4,000 men, *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 160. In 1660 the French visited these forty villages: there were 5,000 men in five of them, H. Lalemant, in *Jes. Rel.*, XLV. 237. About 1656—'62 the Dakota mustered 3,000 warriors against the Huron; they formerly numbered more than 7,000—8,000 warriors, N. Perrot, 89, 91. In about 1670 they consisted of thirty villages, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 167; a large nation, Marquette, in *Jes. Rel.*, LIV. 191; a very

populous and warlike nation, Dablon, in *Jes. Rel.*, LV. 97. In 1680 there were 8,000—10,000 warriors, La Salle, in P. Margry, I. 481; or 8,000—9,000, L. Hennepin (ed. Thwaites), 225—226. In 1694 a Dakota chief marked out, by arrows on his robe, the situation of twenty-two Dakota villages, P. Margry, VI. 56. About 1694 (or 1695) the Sioux mustered 2,000—3,000 warriors for the purpose of seizing the village of the Foxes, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX. 619; 4,000 warriors in 1697, Aubert de la Chesnaye, in P. Margry, VI. 6, and in 1701, *ib.*, IV. 587 (the Western Sioux had a thousand cabins more than the Eastern, Le Sueur, 79); 4,000 families in 1701, Iberville, 601; in 1719 there were from twenty to twenty-six villages, five of which contained 1,200 men, E. D. Neill, 235; in 1736 the Sioux of the Woods and along the Lakes numbered 300 men whilst those of the Prairies came to 2,000, Chauvignerie, 1055; 1,200 men in three large villages in 1758, besides the Sioux of the Prairies, who were a roving people, de Kerlerac, 66; 10,000 fighting men in forty odd villages in 1759, G. Croghan, 169 (and in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 147). "It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found," 30,000 warriors (?), J. Gorrel, I. 23, 36; 2,500 warriors among the Sioux of the Meadows and 1,800 warriors among those of the Woods in 1764, H. Bouquet, 145 (and J. Buchanan, 139). In about 1766 the Sioux nation, when united, consisted of more than 2,000 warriors, J. Carver, 80 (according to W. H. Keating, I. 382, J. Carver's estimates refer only to the Sioux of the Plains, exclusive of those of Spirit Lake, and include the Cheyenne and Omaha, so that no conclusion can be drawn from his statement). There were 10,000 warriors in 1768, Th. Hutchins in Th. Jefferson: *Notes*, 147; 3,000 men in 1786, Memorandum of the Committee of Merchants (Montreal), *Wisc. Hist. Coll.*, XII (1892). 80; the Sioux of the Meadows numbered 2,500 warriors and the Sioux of the Woods 4,000, those between the head-waters of the Mississippi and Missouri came to 3,000, and the Sioux on the eastern head-branches of the Mississippi and on the islands of Lake Superior totalled 500, — in all 10,000 warriors, G. Imlay, 292, 293. Lewis and Clark, VI. 93—99 passim (and *Am. State Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I. 712) in 1804 estimated the Sioux at 1,010 lodges, 2,520 warriors and 8,410 souls. Z. M. Pike, 136, in 1805—'07 put their number at 3,835 warriors and 21,675 souls. All the bands together numbered 13,600 souls, J. Morse, 365; 44,950 souls about 1823, G. C. Beltrami, II. 207—208; 2,330 lodges, 7,055 warriors and 28,100 souls, W. H. Keating, I. 380 (some time earlier, Renville visited all the Dakota villages and camps and by a close calculation estimated the number of warriors at 7,600); 3,400 warriors and 17,000 souls in 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 606, 607; 15,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 101. In 1832 there were some 40,000—50,000 souls, they were undoubtedly able to muster, if the tribe could be moved simultaneously, at least 8,000 warriors, G. Catlin 1841, II. 208 (the tribe lost about 8,000 by smallpox a few years before, G. Catlin, in Th. Donaldson, 53); 2,360 lodges.



and 11,800 souls among the Teton and Yankton bands, F.V. Hayden, 371. *Ind. Aff.* 1836, 403, and *ib.* 1837, 612, give 27,500 and 21,000 souls. In about 1837, McKenney and Hall, I. 33, reported 15,000 souls. H. Atkinson, 19, 20, placed the fighting strength of the Dakota of Upper Missouri at 4,000—6,000 warriors, and those on the border of the United States at 700—800 warriors. M. Wied-Neuwied, I. 388, reported 20,000 souls, saying that some estimated the Dakota at 15,000 warriors, but that this was an exaggeration. P. J. de Smet 1863, 327, gave them as 32,000 souls; 21,600 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1841, 246; 25,000 souls, *ib.* 1844, 317. In 1846 there were 5,000 lodges, averaging over ten souls per lodge, Moore quoted by A. Ramsay, in *Ind. Aff.* 1849, 1013, 1014; 2,520 lodges and 19,660 souls, *ib.* 1847, 850 (G. C. Matlock); about 21,300 souls in 1849, *ib.* 1849 (A. Ramsay), 1015—'23 *passim*. St. R. Riggs 1893, XV—XVI, estimated the Dakota at 25,000 souls in about 1850 (?). *Ind. Aff.* 1852, 353 (Vaughan) referred only to some bands and estimated them at 1,955 lodges, averaging eight souls per lodge. G. K. Warren, 15—16, in 1855 placed the Dakota on and west of the Missouri River (Yankton, Yanktonai and Teton) at 3,000 lodges, 4,800 warriors and 24,000 souls and the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton and Sisseton at 6,200 souls. *Ind. Aff.* 1855 reported 6,383 Mississippi Sioux, 15,440 as those of the Missouri and 5,600 as those of the Plains, in all, 27,423 souls. P. J. de Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson, 785, 857, in 1862—'65 estimated them at 30,000—40,000 souls; E. Domenech, II. 27, at 30,000 souls. According to *Ind. Aff.* there were 27,765 (1866) and 31,747 (1880) souls. The Census of 1890, 356, 509, 573, returned 19,068 souls in S. Dakota, 5,134 souls in N. Dakota, 1,121 souls in Montana, 869 souls in Nebraska, — in all 25,675 souls. There were 27,169 souls, *Ind. Aff.* 1900. The Census of 1910 returned 14,824 Tetons (74.2% full-bloods), 2,088 Yanktons (64.6% full-bloods), 1,357 Yanktonai (84.3% full-bloods), 2,514 Sissetons (and Wahpetons) (64.9% full-bloods), 1,539 Santees, i. e., Mdewakanton and Wahpekute, (51.9% full-bloods), 996 Sioux (among the Teton the Census enumerated 1,072 Hunkpapa, 6,045 Oglala, 806 Brule, 1,395 Minniconjou, Sans Arc, Sikasapa and Two Kettle), *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 34, 102, 103. In the sixties of the XIX century a part of the Dakota emigrated to Canada but some returned to the United States. *Can. Ind. Aff.* gave their number as 1,200 (1879 sqq), 2,000 (1886), 920 (1890) souls. J. Mooney 1928, 13, estimates the Sioux (Dakota) at 25,000 souls in 1780.

2. **Huron**, a confederacy of four tribes of Iroquoian stock and of several small dependent communities. S. Champlain, IV. 74, V. 288, in 1603—'16, estimated the Huron at 2,000 warriors and 30,000 souls in eighteen towns and villages; later he reduced his estimate to 20,000 souls (cf. Radisson, 88). G. Th. Sagard, 80, prior to 1632, reported twenty-five towns or villages, 2,000—3,000 warriors and 30,000—40,000 souls; the main town numbered 200 large cabins full of families. Le Jeune (P. Brebeuf), in *Jes. Rel.*, VII. 225, and *ib.* VIII. 115 and *ib.* X. 313,

about 1634—'36 estimated them at more than 30,000 in twenty bourgs. J. Lalemant, *ib.*, XVII. 223, about 1640 stated that in less than ten years the Huron had been reduced from 30,000 souls to 10,000; *ib.* XIX. 127, that they consisted of thirty-two hamlets and straggling villages, which comprised in all 700 cabins, about 2,000 fires and about 12,000 persons. About 1644—'45 there were 10,000 to 20,000 souls, *ib.*, XXVIII. 67. The confederacy was destroyed by the Iroquois in 1648—'50; the fugitives fled for refuge to various tribes, some surrendered to the Seneca and were incorporated with them. A part of the Huron fused with the remainder of the Tionontati, forming the aggregate later known as the Wyandot. R. G. Thwaites, in *Jes. Rel.* I. 21, 25, supposes that at the time of the coming of the French (about 1614) the Hurons numbered about 16,000 souls and dwelt in several large villages. According to J. Mooney 1928, 24, and Fr. Parkman, I. 22, the population of the Huron did not exceed 10,000 souls; J. N. B. Hewitt, in F. W. Hodge, I. 587, places their population in about 1648 at 20,000 souls.

3. **Neutral People**, a confederacy of several tribes of Iroquoian stock. S. Champlain, IV. 60, in 1616 gave their fighting strength as 4,000 warriors. According to le Jeune, in *Jes. Rel.*, VII. 225, they were in 1634 more numerous than the Hurons. In 1640—'41 they had about forty villages and at least 12,000 souls in the whole extent of their country; they were still able to furnish 4,000 warriors notwithstanding the wars, famine and sickness which for three years had been common there; Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot passed through eighteen hamlets and villages and estimated ten villages, where they made a special stage, at about 500 fires and 3,000 persons, J. Lalemant, in *Jes. Rel.*, XXI. 191, 223. In 1643 the people of the Neutral Nation went, to the number of 2,000 warriors, against the Nation of Fire, J. Lalemant, in *Jes. Rel.*, XXVII. 25. The confederacy was destroyed in 1650—'51. The main body was incorporated chiefly with the Seneca, a part remained independent and wintered in 1653, to the number of 800, at Skenchioc, *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVIII. 181. J. Mooney 1928, 24, places the population of the Neutral Nation at 10,000 in 1600.

4. **Pawnee**, a confederacy of several tribes of Caddoan stock. There are some exaggerated estimates of their population in the XVII century, e. g., the Skidi (Panimaha), one of the confederated tribes, was said to inhabit twenty-two villages in 1687, the smallest of which had two hundred cabins, or to have not less than twenty towns, scarcely any of which counted less than two hundred cabins, Douay, in B. F. French, IV. 222; L. Hennepin 1720, 262, D. Coxe, 231. In 1702 there were 2,000 families, Iberville, 601. J. B. Dunbar, 254, quotes an estimate of du Tisne in 1719 that the Pawnee numbered 25,000 souls. We have been unable to locate this estimate in the latter's report. It may, however, be deduced from the text of La Harpe's report and Tisne's figure. (Namely. La Harpe in 1719, in P. Margry, VI. 293, reported that the Pawnee



had forty-five villages (seven of which belonged to the Arikara); du Tisne, in *La Harpe* 1831, 171, and in *P. Margry*, VI. 312, related that one of the Pawnee villages contained a hundred and thirty cabins and 200 warriors, another village was of the same size, and besides there were other Pawnee villages, not yet known. Of course, if all the thirty-eight Pawnee villages were as large as the one with 200 warriors, there would have been 7,600 warriors, or about 20,000—25,000 souls in all.) In 1721 the Pawnee were a numerous nation, divided into many cantons, each of which had its own name, *Charlevoix* 1744, VI. 142. In 1723, *la Renaudière*, in *P. Margry*, VI. 394, referred to a Pawnee village of a hundred and fifty cabins: there were still eight other villages, half a league from each other, but the number of the inhabitants was unknown. There were 2,000 warriors in 1764, *H. Bouquet*, 145 (and *J. Buchanan*, 138). The Ouacee (Skidi) contained 600 warriors in 1773, *J. Gaignard* in *A. Mezières*, II. 90. In 1777 the Panis Mahas could send 300 warriors against the Osage without leaving their villages defenceless, *A. Mezières*, II. 145; in 1778 the Council at San Antonio de Bexar estimated the Aovages at 600 warriors, *A. Mezières*, II. 166; the Ovaees were estimated to muster 250 warriors against the Apache, *A. Mezières*, II. 181. In 1777 the Republican Pawnee numbered 350—400 warriors. the Pawnee (proper) 500—600 warriors and the Mahas (if they were not Omaha) 450—500 warriors, a Spanish Report in *L. Houck*, I. 143—144. There were 1,500 warriors at the close of the XVIII century, *G. Imlay*, 293; 700 warriors in four villages, *Acc. of La 1803*, 350 (and *J. Davis*, in *Berquin-Duvalon*, 100, foot-note). *Lewis and Clark*, VI. 86—87, in 1804 reported several divisions numbering 980 warriors and 4,000 souls (after the epidemic of 1801 brought there by a Pawnee war party). (*N. Biddle*, I. 34, reported four bands and 1,430 warriors.) The Pawnee numbered 1,993 warriors and 6,223 souls in 1805—'07, *Z. M. Pike*, 258; 1,050 warriors and 5,100 souls in 1811, *H. M. Brackenridge*, 85; 1,200 warriors and 6,000 souls in 1815, *Wm. Clark*, 76; 330 earthen lodges, 1,650 families and 6,500 souls in about 1819—'20, *S. H. Long* in *E. James*, II. 364—365; 10,250 souls at about the same time, *J. Morse*, 366; 12,000 souls in 1829, *P. B. Porter*, 103; 10,000 to 12,000 souls in 1832, an epidemic of smallpox in 1823 swept off about a half of the number they had in 1832, *G. Catlin* 1841, II. 24; 10,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403. *Maj. Dougherty*, the Pawnee agent, estimated them in 1834 at 12,500, *J. B. Dunbar*, 254, and this figure for many years reappeared in official returns, namely in *Ind. Aff. 1837*, 612; *ib. 1841*, 246; *ib. 1844*, 316. In 1835—'38 two missionaries, *Dunbar and Allis*, who accompanied the tribe during three years, thought this estimate too high and placed its population at 10,000 souls. In 1838 the tribe suffered very severely from smallpox; about eighteen months after this scourge, *Dunbar and Allis* made a careful census and found 6,787 souls, exclusive of some absent detachments who would have probably raised the total to about 7,500, *J. B. Dunbar*, 254. *J. V. Hamilton*



in *Ind. Aff. 1840*, 319 gave 6,244 souls; the number of souls in 1847 was not far short of 8,400, J. B. Dunbar, 254. In 1849 they lost one-fourth of their number through cholera; estimates of the Pawnee population at 10,000 souls (2,500 warriors) made by H. Howe, 356, in about 1851, and E. Domenech, II. 50, in about 1860 are greatly exaggerated. The Pawnee decreased to 4,000 in 1855, *Ind. Aff. 1855*, 576. They numbered 800 warriors in about 1856, G. K. Warren, 19 (4,686 souls, J. B. Dunbar, 254). The Pawnee were reduced to less than 3,000 souls by about 1868, W. Blackmore, in *J. Eth. Lond.*, I (1868—'69). 290). Their removal to Indian Territory in 1873—'75 was disastrous. *Ind. Aff.* reported: 3,414 (1861), 2,831 (1868), 2,325 (1870), 2,200 (1875), 1,306 (1880), 1,045 (1885), 804 (1890), 710 (1895), 650 (1900), 639 (1905) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 633 souls, 85.9% being full-bloods, *Ind. Pop. 1910*, 33, 80. J. Mooney 1928, 13, estimates the Pawnee at 10,000 souls in 1690.

5. **Siksika** (Blackfeet), a confederacy consisting of three Algonquian tribes. It had 2,250—2,550 warriors (or about 9,000—10,000 souls) in 1789—'93 after an epidemic, A. Mackenzie, LXX. "They are the most numerous and powerful nation we are acquainted with," E. Umfreville, 200, in 1790; 650 lodges, 1,420 warriors at the beginning of the XIX century — they increased fast after the epidemic, A. Henry and Thompson, 530. There were 2,500 warriors or 5,500 souls in about 1811, H. M. Brackenridge, 86 (2,500 warriors or 8,000 souls, J. F. Schermerhorn, 42; D. B. Warden, III. 363, quoted 2,500 warriors, but 5,000 souls); 5,000 warriors about 1825, H. Atkinson and B. O'Fallon, 607; about 2,500 lodges or families in 1828, Th. J. Farnham, 62. In 1828 they were attacked by smallpox and of the 2,500 families existing at the time of the epidemic, one or a few members of only 800 families survived: in 1843—'50 the bones of 7,000—8,000 Blackfeet lay unburied among the decaying lodges of their deserted villages, A. J. Allen, 379—381 passim, H. Howe, 358. The confederacy numbered 15,000 souls in 1829, P. B. Porter, 104; 1,650 lodges in 1832, averaging ten persons to a lodge, the total was about 16,500 souls, but, according to Maj. Pilcher, the Blackfeet were not far short of 60,000 souls in number (including also the Sarsi and Kootenay), G. Catlin 1841, I. 52. There were 30,000 souls, *Ind. Aff. 1836*, 403; *ib. 1837*, 612, *ib. 1841*, 247. M. Wied-Neuwied 1839, I. 558, estimated them at 5,000—6,000 warriors or at 18,000—20,000 souls. The epidemic of 1837—'38 was disastrous: 15,000 fell victims of the disease, K. M'Kenzie quoted by G. Catlin: *Okeepa*, 50. Together with the Atsina and Sarsi, they were reckoned at not less than 30,000 souls, but smallpox carried off two-thirds of them: they counted in 1842 not more than 1,500 tents, or about 10,000 people, H. Hale, 220 (and Duflot de Mofras, II. 342); 900 tents and 6,300 souls in the Saskatchewan district in 1841, G. Simpson, I. 102. The total number of the Blackfeet, together with the Atsina and Sarsi, was supposed to have been no less than 20,000 souls

in about 1841 (this figure is doubtlessly much exaggerated), Ch. Wilkes 1846, IV. 500; 1,500 tents, 4,500 warriors and 13,000 souls in the United States, *Ind. Aff.* 1842, 425 (D. D. Mitchell), and *ib.* 1845, 459. The Blackfeet Nation (with the Atsina) consisted in about 1847 of approximately 1,000 lodges or 10,000 souls, P. J. de Smet 1863, 256; 810 lodges, 6,480 souls, G. C. Matlock, in *Ind. Aff.* 1847, 850. P. Kane 1862, 198 sqq., referred to a large war party of mounted Blackfeet (and Sarsi and Atsina): there were 1,500 warriors from 1,200 lodges. The Blackfeet numbered 1,200 lodges, i.e., about 9,600 souls (together with the Atsina), in about 1850, Th. A. Culbertson, 144. About 1853 the total of their lodges did not exceed 1,200, averaging nine souls per lodge, A. D. Vaughan, 356; 950 lodges, 2,375 warriors, 6,650 souls (excluding the Atsina) about 1853, J. Doty, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 443 (Doty had the opportunity of making an actual count of more than a half of these Indians; the number of 950 tents is also given by Rowand, in H. Y. Hind: *Red R.*, II. 152). J. M. Stanley, in *Pac. Rr.*, I. 449, at about the same time, estimated them at 1,330 lodges, averaging ten persons per lodge; about 800 lodges, E. A. C. Hatch, in *Ind. Aff.* 1856, 626—627. About 1856 the Siksika, jointly with the Atsina and Sarsi, numbered about 15,000 souls, A. N. Armstrong, 114; 910 lodges and 7,300 souls, A. J. Vaughan, in *Ind. Aff.* 1858, 432, and in *ib.* 1860, 308. About 1860, E. Domenech, II. 55, reported 15,000—20,000 souls (together with the Atsina and Sarsi). In 1857—'58 they suffered from smallpox. About 6,400 souls in the United States, *Ind. Aff.* 1865 sqq.; 9,560 souls, *ib.* 1868, 812. Smallpox carried off large numbers in 1870: previous to the ravages of the epidemic, the confederacy was believed to comprise 12,000—15,000 souls all told (including the Sarsi); in the seventies there were about 9,200 (the Sarsi numbering barely 200 souls) according to the annual counts of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s agents, H. M. Robinson, 189. *Ind. Aff.* 1875 estimated the Blackfeet in Minnesota at 7,200 souls, *ib.* 1880 at 7,500 souls. *Can. Ind. Aff.* gave them as 9,000 souls (1871), 5,050 (1877), 7,549 (1880), 6,415 (1885), 5,648 (1890), 3,475 (1895), 2,804 (1900) souls in Canada. The Piegan in the United States numbered 2,173 (1890), 2,085 (1900), 2,269 (1910) souls. The Census of 1910 returned 2,268 Piegans and 97 other Blackfeet within the United States, *Ind. Pop.* 1910, 72, 75. The Blackfeet used to live in the United States as well as in Canada; probably therefore many of the above estimates refer only to a portion of the confederacy. Besides, some estimates also cover the Sarsi, or the Sarsi and the Atsina. The confederacy is supposed by J. Mooney 1928, 13, to have numbered about 15,000 in 1780. Of course, their traditions exaggerate the former strength of the confederacy: one of its tribes, the Pekuni (Piegan), was said to have numbered 8,000 lodges or 40,000 persons, G. B. Grinnell 1892, 177.

6. **Three Fires**, the loose alliance of the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi. It was not, properly speaking, a confederacy but the consequence of a friendship made durable by centuries of amical intercourse,

which caused these tribes on certain occasions to act in concert, then forming something like a transient and loose confederacy. This friendship found its expression in the tradition which announced that these three tribes once constituted a single tribe. Their various divisions co-existed territorially, and those who removed in 1846 beyond the Mississippi, referring to their former connection, asked to be allowed to remain together again, F.W.Hodge, II. 289. F.W.Hodge, I. 278, even stated that the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi "have always formed a sort of loose confederacy." During the American Revolutionary War the aggregate of this customary alliance received the name of the Three Fires, *Am. St. Pap.: Ind. Aff.*, I (1832). 575, cited by F.W. Hodge, II. 745. For the population of this loose alliance, see data for the respective tribes in Appendix II.

7. **Wickaninnish.** At the close of the XVIII century there were references to Chief Wickaninnish who had his residence in Port Cox (43 *Ho. Doc.* 1839—'40, 3, gave the village of Opetsitar as his residence) and "his subjects amounted to about 30,000 people," although in a detailed enumeration the number of only 13,000 souls was given. Meares, 230, enumerates by name eight of the villages "belonging" to Wickaninnish. Really these names are those of tribes: the Ekoolthaht, Kyoquot(?), Nitinat, Ucluelet, Uchucklesit; we have been unable to identify others. It is difficult to ascertain the actual nature of that "belonging": whether it was an alliance, if so, probably very loose, or if the authority of Wickaninnish was an enforced one. It is doubtful if it was a durable alliance. Hall J. Kelley, 60, 68, who probably had taken his information from Meares' *Voyage*, enumerates only four villages and estimates them at 7,000 souls. This alliance at the most numbered about 10,000 souls, but it is even possible that it did not attain that number.



#### APPENDIX IV.

### AGE OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN AT FIRST CHILD-BIRTH

#### Under the age of twelve years:

1. On the Paroo and Warrego Rivers, E. M. Curr, II. 272 (at the age of ten to eleven years: the correspondent thinks this is a mistake).
2. The Queeriburra, E. M. Curr, II. 401 (at the age of eleven years).
3. At Encounter Bay, H. E. A. Meyer, 190 (at the age of eleven or twelve years).
4. In Victoria, P. Beveridge 1880, 15.

#### At the age of twelve years or thereabouts:

1. Near Perth, E. M. Curr, I. 330.
2. Among the Yercla-Meening, *ib.*, II. 402.
3. Among the Karrandie, *ib.*, II. 307.
4. On Walsh River, *ib.*, II. 408.
5. On Cape River, *ib.*, II. 474.
6. Among the Mungerra, *ib.*, II. 465.
7. Among the Pegulloburra, *ib.*, II. 474.

#### At the age of thirteen years or thereabouts.

1. Among the Kanoloo, E. M. Curr, III. 97.
2. On Fraser's Id., *ib.*, III. 144.
3. In Victoria, R. Brough Smyth, I. 78 (at the age of thirteen, or when even younger).

#### At the age of fourteen years:

1. Among the Narrinyeri, G. Taplin in J. D. Woods, 15.
2. Among the Ballerdong, E. M. Curr, I. 343.
3. Near the station of Charlotte Waters, *ib.*, I. 417.
4. Among the Parroinge, *ib.*, II. 182.

#### At the age of fourteen to sixteen years:

Among the Oonoomarra, E. M. Curr, II. 342 (at 14—15 years of age).

#### At the age of sixteen years:

1. Among the Wonnarua, E. M. Curr, II. 353 (*Au. A. J.*, I. 180, gives the age of 15—16 years).
2. In general, E. J. Eyre, II. 323 (child-bearing does not often commence before the age of sixteen, nor did E. J. Eyre notice pregnant women under that age).

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Beyond the age of sixteen years:

1. At Port Lincoln, Schürmann in J.D. Woods (it was not observed that the native women had children at an earlier age than is common among Europeans).
2. In Queensland, K. Lumholtz 1892, 173 (at the age of eighteen to twenty years in South Queensland, but the women become wives at an earlier age on the Herbert River, *ib.*, 207).
3. In general, *Au. A. J.*, X (1908), No. 4, p. 57 (at the age of eighteen to twenty years).





## BIBLIOGRAPHY



The bibliography given hereunder is really the key to quotations included in the text. For that reason, whenever a work to which we referred in the text has its title mentioned therein, we have not required to identify or include it in the bibliography below. Likewise, in the majority of cases the titles of works referred to only once, have been given in the text and for that reason such sources have rarely been referred to in the bibliography. In the text and foot-notes the name of the author, volume and page, have been given, whilst the bibliography gives the title of the work in question; wherever material has been gained from several works of an author, the year of publication or the fundamental words of the title have been given after his name. (The only exception admitted is in the case of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, referred to by quoting the name of the publisher, F. W. Hodge, without the year being given, contrary to the rule in those cases where other publications connected with the above scientist have been cited.) Sometimes, several editions of one and the same book were used: of course all the dates of these are cited in the bibliography; if the year has not been given in the text as regards such books, supplementary data have been included in the bibliography against the given author and work. Annuals of periodical publications have often been distinguished by giving the number of the volume before the name of the publication, e. g. XV *CR. des Amer.*, II *B. Am. E.* In those cases where the name of a cited author or that of the periodical publication printing his researches has been misprinted or mis-spelt in the text, such discrepancies have been appropriately corrected in the bibliography.

## 1. Periodical and Serial Publications

### (Abbreviations)

*Abor. Pr. Pap.* Extracts from the Papers and Proceedings of the Aborigines Protection Society, London.

*Acc. of La 1803*, see *Account of Louisiana*.

*A. f. A.* Archiv für Anthropologie, 1866 sqq. Braunschweig.

*A. G. Vhd.* Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, etc.

*A. I. Stat. (A. I. St.)*. Annuaire internationale de Statistique, 1916 sqq. 's Gravenhague.

*Alaska*, see *United States: the XI Census 1890*.

*Allg. Hist. Reisen*. Allgemeine Historie der Reisen, 1747 sqq. Leipzig.

*Am. A.* American Anthropologist, 1888 sqq.

*Am. A. A. Sci.* Proceedings of Amer. Association for the Advancement of Science, 1849 sqq.

*Am. Anthr. Ass. (Mem.)*. Memoirs of American Anthropological Association, 1906 sqq. Lancaster.

*(Am.) Anthr. Pap.* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898 sqq. New York.

*Am. Atq.* American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 1878 sqq. Chicago.

*Am. F.*, see *J. Am. F.*

*Am. St. Pap.*, see *American State Papers*.

*Aperçu demogr.* Aperçu de la démographie des divers pays du Monde, 's Gravenhague.



- Au. A. A. Sci.* Reports of the Meetings of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney.
- Au. A. (J.).* Australian Anthropological Journal, later: Science of Man and Australasian Anthropological Journal, published under the auspices of Royal Anthr. Society of Australasia, Sydney.
- Au. M. Mem.* Memoirs of the Australian Museum.
- Au. Rec.* Historical Record of Australia, 1914 sqq. (The Library of the Commonwealth Parliament, ed.).
- B. Am. E.* Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1879—'80 sqq. Washington.
- Bijd. N. Ind.* Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1853 sqq. 's Gravenhague.
- Bol. Geo. Mex.* Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana.
- Bol. Geo. Arg.* Boletino del Instituto Geográfico Argentino, Buenos Aires..
- Bull. Am. Mus.* Bulletins of the American Museum of Natural History, 1881 sqq. New York.
- Bull. Geo. Par.* Bulletins de la Société de Géographie de Paris, Paris.
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## 2. Non-periodical Publications

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## ERRATA

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217 Table	4.8—5.0	4.6—5.0
219 line 14	17 (years)	18 (years)
384 „ 12	52	521













